3/83
.003
WK-H20504-3-G3124

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XXXI.

3

JULY—DECEMBER, 1858.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

THACKER, SPINK AND CO.,

AND SOLD BY

ALL THE BOOK-SELLERS.

1858.

CONTENTS OF No. LXI.

SEPTEMBER, 1858.

ART. I.—JOHN LEYDEN.

1. The Poetical Remains of the late Dr. John Leyden, with Memoirs of his Life. By the Rev. James Morton. London, 1819 1
2. Asiatic Researches, Vol. X. On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. By J. Leyden, M. D. Calcutta, 1808 . . . . . *ib.*
3. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI. On the Roshenïah Sect and its Founder Báyezíd Ansárí. By J. Leyden, M. D. Calcutta, 1810. . . . . *ib.*
4. Malay Annals. Translated from the Malay Language. By the Late Dr. John Leyden, with an Introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F. R. S., &c., &c. London, 1821. . . . . *ib.*
5. Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself in the Jaghatae Turki, and translated partly by the late J. Leyden and partly by William Erskine, Esq., with Notes and Geographical and Historical Introduction, together with a map of the countries, the Oxus and Jaxartes, and a Memoir regarding its construction. By Charles Waddington, Esq. London, 1826. . . . . *ib.*
6. The Edinburgh Annual Register, Vol. IV. Biographical Memoir of John Leyden, M. D. By Sir Walter Scott. Edinburgh, 1811. . . . . *ib.*
7. The Complaynt of Scotland, written in 1548, with a Preliminary Dissertation and Glossary. By John Leyden. Edinburgh, 1802. . . . . *ib.*
8. A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa, at the close of the Eighteenth Century. By John Leyden. Edinburgh, 1799. . . . . *ib.*

ART. II.—A DISTRICT DURING A REBELLION.

1. Papers submitted to Parliament on the Mutinies in the East Indies 54
2. Acts of the Legislative Council of India . . . . . *ib.*

ART. III.—MORTALITY OF EAST INDIANS.

1. Rules of the Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund 85
2. Reports on the Bengal Civil and Military Funds. . *ib.*
3. Pamphlets on the Insurrection in India . . . *ib.*

ART. IV.—SIEGE OF LUCKNOW.

1. Rough Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow. By Lieutenant J. J. McLeod Innes, Bengal Engineers. Calcutta, 1857. 112
2. A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow, from the Commencement to the Relief by Sir Colin Campbell. By L. E. R. Rees. London, 1858. . . . *ib.*
3. The Defence of Lucknow, a Diary from 30th May to 25th September, 1857. By a Staff Officer. London, 1858. . . . . *ib.*
4. A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow. By Captain R. P. Anderson, 25th N. I. London, 1858. *ib.*
5. A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow, written for the perusal of Friends at Home. London, 1858 . *ib.*
6. Day by Day at Lucknow; a Journal of the Siege of Lucknow. By Mrs. Case. London, 1858 . . . *ib.*

ART. V.—THE MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF CASTE.

1. Original Sanskrit Texts on the origin and progress of the Religion and Institutions of India, collected, translated into English, and illustrated by Notes. By J. Muir, Esq., D. C. L. Part 1. The Mythical and Legendary accounts of Caste. London, 1858 . 150
2. A History of Greece. By George Grote, Esq., Vols. I., II. Legendary Greece. London, 1846. . . . *ib.*

ART. VI.—RUGBY IN INDIA.

1. Tom Brown's School Days. By an Old Boy. Cambridge, 1857. 172
2. Preface to the Sixth Edition of Tom Brown's School Days 1858. . . . . *ib.*

ART. VII.—BENGAL VILLAGE BIOGRAPHIES.

1. Statistics of Cawnpore. By R. Montgomery, C. S. . 193
2. Report on the 24-Pergunnahs. By Major Ralph Smyth. Calcutta, 1857. . . . . *ib.*
3. Alarer Ghorer Dulal. By Tekchand Thakur. . . *ib.*

ART. VIII.—THE EAST INDIA RAILWAY.

1. Selections from the Records of the Government of India. *Papers on the proposed Railway in Bengal*, I. Calcutta, 1853. 230
2. *Correspondence received from the Governor-General of India in Council*, relative to Railway undertakings in that country. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed; 19th July, 1853. . . . . *ib.*
3. A Copy of the Memorandum laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company upon Railways in India. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed; 24th July, 1857. . . . . *ib.*

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES, AND LIST OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

1. Christian Education for India in the Mother Tongue. A Statement on the formation of a Christian Vernacular Education Society. London, 1858. . . . i
2. Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. Occasional Papers, Nos. I and II. London, 1858. . . *ib.*
3. The Educational Destitution in Bengal and Behar; and the London Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. Calcutta, 1858. . . . . *ib.*
4. General Introductory Lecture delivered to the Students of the Calcutta Medical College at the opening of the Session of the 15th June, 1858. By Thomas Thomson, M. D., F. R. S., Surgeon, Bengal Army, Professor of Botany. Calcutta, 1858. iii
5. My Journal; or what I did and saw between June 9th and November 25th, 1857; with an account of General Havelock's march from Allahabad to Lucknow. By a Volunteer. Calcutta, 1858. iv
6. Ex Oriente. Sonnets on the Indian Rebellion. London, 1858. v
7. Will He marry Her? A Novel. By John Lang, Author of "Too Clever by Half," "The Forger's Wife," "The Wetherbys," etc. London, 1858. . vii
8. Le Général D'Orgoni—Sa Mission, en France et à Rome et Plan de Campagne pour une Croisade Française en Indo-Chine et en Chine. Nancy, 1858. *ib.*

List of Works on India and the East published during the Quarter xiii

ERRATUM IN ARTICLE VI. OF NO. LX.

In page 407 line 31 read "through the Chullum mere *in Rajshahye*, or through what we have chosen to denominate the Salt Water Lake, *near Calcutta*."

CONTENTS OF No. LXII.

DECEMBER 1858.

ART. I.—THE COURT AND CAMP OF RUNJEET SING.

1. Memoirs of the Reign of Runjeet Sing. By Dewan Ummer Nath, late Pay-Master of the Seikh Army. MS. Lahore. 247

ART. II.—THE INTERLOPER IN INDIA.

1. First, Second, Third, and Fourth Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Colonization and Settlement in India; with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them. London. 1858. . 303
2. Papers relating to the Settlement of Europeans in India. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co. 1854. . . *ib.*
3. A Further Inquiry into the Expediency of applying the Principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India, and of effecting an essential change in its Landed Tenures and in the character of its inhabitants. By the Author of the Original Inquiry. London, J. M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill. 1828. . *ib.*

ART. III.—THE POETRY OF THE REBELLION.

1. Sorrows, Aspirations, and Legends from India. By Mary E. Leslie, Calcutta. London, John Snow, 35, Paternoster Row. 1858. 349
2. The Moslem and the Hindoo, a Poem on the Sepoy Revolt. By a Graduate of Oxford. London, Saunders and Otley. 1858. . . . . *ib.*
3. Poetics, an Essay on Poetry. By E. S. Dallas. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1852. . *ib.*

ART. IV.—THE CHINESE COLONY IN CALCUTTA.

1. The Chinese and their Rebellions viewed in connection with their National Philosophy, Ethics, Legislation, and Administration; to which is added an Essay on Civilization and its present state in the East and West. By Thomas Taylor Meadows, Chinese Interpreter in H. M.'s Civil Service. London; Smith, Elder and Co. 1856. . . 368
2. The New Calcutta Directory for the Town of Calcutta, Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Punjab, Arracan, Assam, Pegu, Tenasserim, &c., &c., for 1858, compiled by A. G. Roussac. Calcutta: Military Orphan Press. 1858. . . . . *ib.*

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES, AND LIST OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

1. Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futteghur, and Oude, by William Edwards, Esq., B. C. S. London. Smith, Elder and Co. 1858. xxiii

2. Notes on the Revolt in the North-West Provinces of India, by Charles Raikes, Judge of the Sudder Court at Agra, &c. London. Longman. 1858. xxvi

3. Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army, during the Mutiny, of 1857. By Colonel George Bourchier, C. B., Bengal Horse Artillery. London. Smith, Elder and Co. 1858. . . . xxix

4. An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh, by Martin Richard Gubbins, of the Bengal Civil Service, Financial Commissioner for Oudh. London. Bentley. 1858. xxx

5. Scraps from the Kit of a Dead Rebel. Edited by C. D. L. London. John Chapman. 1858. . xxxii

6. The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, from the Outbreak at Meerut to the Capture of Delhi. By John Edward Wharton Rotton, M. A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; one of the Chaplains of Meerut, and Chaplain to the Delhi Field Force. With a Plan of the City. London. Smith, Elder and Co. 1858. xxxiii

7. The English Captives in Oude, an Episode in the History of the Mutinies of 1857-58. Edited by M. Wylie, Esq. Calcutta: G. C. Hay and Co., Cossitollah. London, W. H. Dalton. 1858. . xxxiv

8. A Few Words anent the 'Red' Pamphlet. By one who has served under the Marquis of Dalhousie. Third Edition. London. James Ridgway. 1858. . xxxv

9. The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India. Edited by his daughter, the Marchioness of Bute. In two volumes. London. Saunders and Otley. 1858. xxxvii

10. Papers on the subject of the Instruction of the Native Employés of Government in the Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Offices. Lahore. 1858. . . xxxix

11. William the Conqueror, a Historical Romance, by General Sir Charles Napier, G. C. B. London. Routledge and Co. 1858. xli

12. A Memoir, Letters and Diary of the Rev. Henry S. Polehampton, M. A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, Chaplain of Lucknow. Edited by the Rev. Edward Polehampton, M. A., and the Rev. T. S. Polehampton, M. A. London. Richard Bentley. 1858. xlv
13. Six Months in British Burmah: or, India Beyond the Ganges in 1857. By Christopher T. Winter. London. Richard Bentley. 1858. . . . xlix
14. Japan Opened. Compiled chiefly from the Narrative of the American Expedition to Japan in the year 1852-53-54. London. The Religious Tract Society. 1858. . . . . ib.
15. An English-Hindustani Law and Commercial Dictionary of Words and Phrases used in Civil, Criminal, Revenue, and Mercantile Affairs; designed especially to assist Translators of Law Papers. By S. W. Fallon. Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co. and R. C. Lepage and Co. 1858. . . . l
16. An Elementary Treatise on Plane Geometry, according to the method of Rectilineal Co-ordinates. By the Rev. Thomas Smith, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta. Edinburgh W. Whyte and Co. 1857. li
17. Narrative of the Campaign of the Delhi Army. By Major H. W. Norman, Deputy Adjutant General of the Bengal Army. London. W. H. Dalton, Cockspur Street. 1858. lviii
18. Alláler Gharer Dulál [Dulál of the house of Allál; or The Spoiled Child.] By Tek Chand Thacoor. Calcutta. 1858. lxi
19. Padártha Juán Darpan, [The Mirror of Natural Science.] lxviii
20. Swapna Darshan, [A Dream.] By Behari Lal Chakrabarti. . . . . ib.
21. Khrista-Dharmma-Sar [The Essence of the Christian Religion.] lxix
22. Padyete Rachita Jishu Khrishta Charitra, [The Life of Jesus Christ in Bengali Verse]; Calcutta; Baptist Mission Press. 1858. . . . . ib.
23. Shiber Britanta, [Account of Siva, &c.] Calcutta; Baptist Mission Press. 1858. . . . . ib.
24. Padmini Upákhyán (Padmini—A Tale of Rajasthan.) By Ranga Lal Banerjea. Calcutta. 1858. . lxx
List of Works on India and the East published during the Quarter. lxxiii

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1858.

ART. I.—1. *The Poetical Remains of the late Dr. John Leyden, with Memoirs of his Life.* By the REV. JAMES MORTON. London, 1819.

2. *Asiatic Researches, Vol. X. On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations.* By J. LEYDEN, M. D. Calcutta, 1808.

3. *Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI. On the Roshenïah Sect and its Founder Báyezíd Ansárí.* By J. LEYDEN, M. D. Calcutta, 1810.

4. *Malay Annals. Translated from the Malay Language. By the late* DR. JOHN LEYDEN, *with an Introduction by* SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F. R. S., &c., &c. London, 1821.

5. *Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself in the Jaghatae Turki, and translated partly by the late* J. LEYDEN *and partly by* WILLIAM ERSKINE, ESQ., *with Notes and Geographical and Historical Introduction, together with a map of the countries, the Oxus and Jaxartes, and a Memoir regarding its construction.* By CHARLES WADDINGTON, ESQ. London, 1826.

6. *The Edinburgh Annual Register, Vol. IV. Biographical Memoir of John Leyden,* M. D. By SIR WALTER SCOTT. Edinburgh, 1811.

7. *The Complaynt of Scotland, written in* 1548, *with a Preliminary Dissertation and Glossary.* By JOHN LEYDEN. Edinburgh, 1802.

8. *A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa, at the close of the Eighteenth Century.* By JOHN LEYDEN. Edinburgh, 1799.

THERE are few things so difficult in all literature as to present a fair and honest picture of the life of any man, and especially of such an one as John Leyden. To write without

life and enthusiasm, without entering into the inner nature of the subject of the sketch, and sympathising thoroughly with him in all his experiences, is to produce what is in itself repulsive, and in its results worse than useless. The tendency is rather to give way to that *furor biographicus* which insensibly seizes the pen, and to launch forth on a course of extravagant praise or undeserved and undiscriminating eulogy, in which all faults are hidden, and all drawbacks to the perfect picture kept in the background, or but obscurely hinted at. Such has been too much the usual mode of proceeding in the case of Leyden. The tendency has been to praise him overmuch, and as his biographers and admirers have been usually those of his own country, he has been naturally raised to a place of honour, considerably higher, perhaps, than he would otherwise have filled in the estimation of sober men. There was in Leyden everything calculated to awaken the enthusiasm and call forth the admiration of his countrymen and contemporaries. He appeared at a time when Scotland had ceased to deserve that high reputation for scholarship, which she had gained for herself in the middle ages throughout the whole continent of Europe; her genius for scholarship had become extinct; the spirit of Buchanan and Major and Leslie had passed away; poverty had, instead of sending her scholars to other lands to gain at once support and renown, checked their growth altogether, and England had completely carried off from her more barren rival the palm of erudition. True, Scotland had never yielded in that which was so emphatically her own—the metaphysical sciences, but of scholarship in the high English sense of the term, there was but little. That glorious scheme of education which Knox had elaborated and vainly striven to carry out on the absorption of the church lands by the nobles and the state, had never had fair play. Starved and stunted in its infancy, limited to Parish schools, and a few ill-endowed straggling Grammar schools, it had been still further shorn of all power as a means for raising scholars, during the anarchy and national woe of the times of Charles and the Second James. That state of things which in England introduced a ribald and artificial French literature with a foreign court, which converted Dryden into a hypocrite and a sycophant, and polluted the pure streams of our literature, produced no effect in Scotland whatever, but total barrenness and gloomy silence. The big heart of the Scotch nation ceased for a time audibly to beat, her nationality became soon politically extinguished, and her roll of great names miserably small.

The national system of education established by Knox

was well fitted to diffuse a sound but limited education among the many, but quite unfitted to carry it on to the higher regions of scholarship. Such endowments as Wolsey and Cranmer almost wrested from Henry VIII., on the dissolution of the monasteries and previous to that time, had no existence in Scotland. There was no Edward VI., no Elizabeth, under whose fostering care education might grow up a hardy plant, bringing forth the fruits of education and high refinement. What England had in intensity, Scotland had in extension and wide diffusion; and hence from that day to this, while England can point to her many scholars and her accurate learning among the favoured few—albeit her peasantry is ignorant and her lower classes degraded, Scotland can point to her noble yeomen, her intelligent cottars, her well-read peasantry, who are at once her pride and the basis of her universal success in the world. Deficient, however, as the Scotch have generally been in scholarship, they have none the less appreciated its importance, and envied the English its possession, and have at all times been ready to recognise its existence in however modified a form among themselves, to exalt cases which did occur to an undue position, and to look upon them with too flattering eyes. Hence one great source of Leyden's reputation in his own country. He was a scholar, in their eyes a real genuine scholar, who mastered whatever he applied his mind to with wonderful rapidity, who, at an early age, was supposed to shew the fruits of ripe scholarship, and who, in an incredibly short space of time, made himself master of many oriental tongues. The Scotch could triumph with him, they could set him over against Sir William Jones, and he himself almost led them to do so, by professedly making the rivalry, aye, the surpassing of Jones, the great object of his ambition.

A second reason for the over-estimate generally formed of Leyden is the fact that, in all his peculiarities and habits, he was essentially a Scotchman, and that to the last he continually gloried in his nationality. This was much more common a century ago than it is now. Placed as the Scotch continually were in the early ages of their history in continual antagonism to the English, they felt themselves driven to assert their separate and independent position, and ever to recur to the fact, circled by so many glowing memories, that they were Scotch. This was increased by the accession of a Scotch king to the English throne, and still more so by the political contests and animosities that were excited at the time of the Union. The migratory habits of the Scotch, too, but deepened this feeling, and

hard, and 'canny,' and *dour* as they seemed, their feelings were none the less real and intense, because they were deep and seldom manifested. The exile clung to the remembrance of his native land like the Switzer, and years of absence from it only strengthened the cord that bound him to it. This was emphatically the case with Leyden. Real deep affection, and no mere sentiment, filled his breast for Scotland, for the Tweed and the Teviot and the "scenes of infancy," and in both his poems and letters this is most markedly evident. His countrymen appreciated this, and to them he was all the dearer as being emphatically one of themselves.

A third reason for the over-estimation in which, not only Leyden, but all subjects of biography are held, is that the qualities of the man as such too often interfere with the impartiality of the judgment passed on his writings and his deeds. The 'heart' enters much as an element into the estimate in which a man is held. The warm sympathy that everywhere distinguishes Leyden is infectious, the grand enthusiasm that led him to pursue his favourite objects, to study ten hours a day when under an Indian fever, carries the critic away from soberness and calm decision. We look into his heart and see there all those social virtues that form at once the basis and the undying tie of friendship; we almost seem to feel the firm grasp of the hand of affection, and to look upon the lustrous eye that fascinates and attracts; we join in the merry laugh, or sit down at the jovial feast, and as we listen to the flow of wit and mirth and anecdote, we forget the scholar and the poet in the man, and transfer to the two former that which is only the delightful attraction of the latter. This was greatly the case with Leyden, both in his intercourse with Sir Walter Scott and the wits of the northern metropolis, and in his intimacy with Sir John Malcolm and his Indian friends.

Our estimate of such a man as Leyden is also very much affected by the circumstances and time of his death. His youth and his manhood were alike promising; he had spent no little time and labour in sowing seed, the fruits of which he might reasonably expect soon to pluck. He had laboured for results which were, in part at least, beginning to be apparent, and which he might in time hope to gather in, in all their full fruition. The eyes of scholars of other lands as well as his own were on him, and the best wishes of all accompanied him. The friends of his youth, who had helped and guided him to honours, were ready to welcome him when he returned adorned with them. He had

reached a point in his career, when the sad laborious past was giving way to a golden present, and an auspicious future. He might well have hoped for that future. But it was not so. The tree was struck when covered by blossoms, ere fruit could be gathered, and its desolate branches and riven trunk told to the world the saddest of tales—of hope frustrated, of manhood blighted, of labour lost for this world. Such a fate was well calculated to call forth sympathy, and how easy was it to transfer that from the man to the scholar, and so to raise the reputation of the latter higher than was meet, to look upon him rather as ideal, as what he might possibly have been, had he been spared, than as what he really was!

While, however, we would desire to avoid that lavish praise and indiscriminate eulogy which many, and especially his own countrymen, have heaped upon Leyden, we think that there is much that is interesting in his career as a man and wonderful in his achievements as a linguist. Let us look a little at the details of his life, and shortly consider those works of his which have come down to posterity, and by which chiefly they may be enabled to judge of him.

He was born in Roxburghshire on the banks of the Teviot—a stream he often celebrates in his poems—September 8th, 1775. Denholm, the village in which he was born, was situated on the old estate of Cavers, whose present proprietor Mr. Douglas has lately become so well-known in religious and philosophical literature. His parents filled but a humble station in life, his father, John, being a farmer, not on his own account, but as the manager of a farm held by his mother's uncle. Having removed to this farm shortly after his birth, the boy spent his infancy and youth in a simple cottage at the foot of a hill, with wild and rude scenery all around. His biographer says it was such a scene as poets have imagined in their descriptions of the innocence and happiness of rural life. Like most Scotch children in their earliest years, his home was his school, and here, like Sir W. Jones with his mother, at his grand-mother's feet he learned to read, and first manifested that insatiable desire for knowledge of all kinds, which was one of the most marked characteristics of his after life. His library was but small, but was all the more used. As became a Scotch family the Bible was first and foremost, and in the pictured pages of the historical books of the Old Testament, and in the scenes of the life of Christ in the New, he took especial delight. The Bible and the History of Wallace and Bruce, with other parts of Scottish story, were all that his own cottage possessed, but among his neighbours he soon found out such books as Chapman's Homer, Sir David Lindsay's Poems, Milton's

Paradise Lost, and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Sir Walter Scott tells a characteristic anecdote with reference to the last mentioned work—a work which had no slight influence in tinging his boyish mind with orientalism:—

"A companion had met with an old volume of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and gave an account of its contents, which excited the curiosity of young Leyden. This precious book was in the possession of a blacksmith's apprentice, who lived at several miles distance from Denholm, and the season was winter. Leyden, however, waded through the snow, to present himself by daybreak at the forge door, and request a perusal of this interesting book in presence of the owner, for an unlimited loan was scarcely to be hoped for. He was disappointed, was obliged to follow the blacksmith to a still greater distance, where he was employed on some temporary job, and when he found him, the son of Vulcan, with a caprice worthy of a modern collector, was not disposed to impart his treasure, and put him off with some apology. Leyden remained stationary beside him the whole day, till the lad, softened or wearied out by his pertinacity, actually made him a present of the volume, and he returned home by sunset, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, but in triumphant possession of a treasure, for which he would have subjected himself to yet greater privations. This childish history took place when he was about eleven years old; nor is there any great violence in conjecturing that these fascinating tales, obtained with so much difficulty, may have given his youthful mind that decided turn towards oriental learning which was displayed through his whole life, and illustrated by his regretted and too early decease. At least, the anecdote affords an early and striking illustration of the ardour of his literary curiosity, and the perseverance which marked his pursuit of the means for gratifying it."

His education was not, however confined to books. Even at this early age he was strangely susceptible to the influences of outward nature, and to the gloom, the grandeur, and the desolation of the scenery around him. His boyish soul drank in much of the imagination and fear that spring from these; and in after life he seems to have been in the habit of astonishing his friends with his tales of the terrible and the striking, and with his affected or real belief in the superstitious and supernatural. In all respects he was a Borderer, and grew up as such, retaining all the features that characterised his ancestors in the days of feud and foray, to the last. Had he lived then he would have buckled on his sword with the best of them, blood and burning would have marked his track, the hated Southron would have been the object of his fury, and the gloomy and terrible have predominated in his stern soul. But all these qualities, that would thus have evidenced their existence in such a state of society, found vent in his mad raids into every realm of knowledge, in

his fierce onslaughts on every eastern tongue, in his indomitable perseverance and unconquerable enthusiasm, in his rough uncouthness of manner, and love of the peculiar and *outré*, and in his warm affection and demonstrative friendship.

But the boy must go to school, and to school he went—the Parish school of Kirktown, two miles distant from his cottage. In the short space of three years, during which he received instruction within its walls, he had three masters with long *interregna* between the appointment of each. Luckily they were all good at different studies, with the second he mastered the Latin rudiments, and with the third the intricacies of arithmetic. We fear that to this circumstance, as well as to the natural bent of his disposition, we must look for much of that characteristic of Leyden's mind, which prevented him from reaching the first rank of scholarship. In his early studies he was versatile and desultory, and though his capacious memory prevented him from often falling into the gross and unscholarly sin of inaccuracy, yet the whole build of his attainments was too superficial and extensive. No doubt the frequent change of masters and the long vacations were beneficial to a boy of his temperament in this respect, that they led him to depend more upon himself, to storm the strongholds of knowledge by his own strength, and scale its heights with unaided and daring step. But on the other hand his were the mental and social faults of the 'self-educated' man, and he lacked the benefits that glorious *discipline*, that mental training, which, while it does not interfere with the bent of genius, supplements its defects, and guides in a right path; and the habits of mind thus formed continued with him at College, and, throughout all his career. His principle is thus enunciated in his own favorite expression, "Dash it, 'man, never mind: if you have the scaffolding ready, you 'can run up the masonry when you please."

The scholastic career of Leyden at this period is eminently characteristic of that of the majority of Scottish students, and admirably illustrates the greatest of the advantages of the Scottish University system, with all its defects. Poor, almost self-educated, by no means a 'gentleman' in the social sense of the term, he could never, in those days, have dared to aspire to the society and the teaching of an English University. But to such as he, the Scotch ever open their halls with pleasure, and of such as these they make the men who, as pioneers of civilisation, have built up and consolidated our greatest Colonies and our Indian Empire. Men of action as well as thought, with sufficient scholarship to develope, but not to crush, native genius, with an independence as rugged, an integrity as firm, and a perseverance as enduring as their own glorious hills, they

have paved the way for civilisation, they have filled the intellectual and working market with skilled labour, they have bound firmly to the British throne that which their stout arms have gained for it. Both classes are necessary to the great work of making this earth God's once more, and restoring the race to their allegiance to Him—both the men of intellectual action and intellectual and erudite quiet. The one can grapple with humanity on a large scale, and lift it up to the platform on which civilisation places it, the other may elevate, extend, and adorn that platform. We cannot enter into a comparison between them; we can only say that India wants, emphatically wants, the former.

Leyden's parents, like so many of the homely rustics of Scotland, wished nothing higher for their son than that he should "wag his head in a poopit," that he should enter the Church of Scotland as a Minister. His wondrous appetite for knowledge and his past success in his studies justified them in their anticipations of his success. Previous, however, to going to the University of Edinburgh, from 1786 to 1790 he was under the training of Mr. Duncan, a Cameronian minister at Denholm, which was three miles distant from his home. Here he carried on his studies in Latin with credit, so that in 1790 he set foot within the College walls. He was at this time fifteen years of age, by no means too early, in those days, for beginning a Scotch University education. Andrew Dalzell was at that time Professor of Greek, and through both astonishment and ridicule met the boy when he first stood up in the class with his peculiarities of dress, speech, and manner, he soon won the respect of his fellows, and the approbation of his Professor, by his rapid progress and eager enthusiasm. He soon distanced many, who were ahead of him at the 'start,' and could then afford to laugh at him. Though he thought and said that "he passed muster pretty well when introduced to Dr. Parr," we have no good ground for believing that his attainments in Latin and Greek corresponded with his love for them. The truth is that his ardent and fickle mind, impelled by an unquenchable craving for a knowledge of something new, soon led him to other studies. He was not in the habit of confining himself to his own classes or his own studies for the session. Like the students of whom St. Augustine in his "Confessions" complains of at both Carthage and Rome, he roamed from lecture-room to lecture-room, but with less noise and more benefit than they. He was throughout all his life a perfect *helluo librorum*, and in the College library and circulating libraries of the city, and in the very book-stalls that so often tempt the student, he indulged to the full.

The close of the session in May did not bring to him such joys, as to the many whose hearts are more in the rest and quiet of home than in the eager pursuit of study. But he still felt a deep pleasure on his return to his native wilds. He was the same boy, yet in mind how different! He had drunk of the pure streams of knowledge, he had striven to quench his thirst at the fountain-head, and yet he was not sated. He made a bower for himself on the bank of the river with a wild cascade near him, and there, looking down on the scenery he has so well described in his Scenes of Infancy, in quiet he pursued his studies; there too he made a furnace for the purpose of pursuing practically the study of chemistry to which his ardent mind had, for a season, turned itself. Another favourite haunt of his was the Parish Church, which was small and the object of superstitious feelings to the peasantry all around. Here, day after day, he quietly ensconced himself, undisturbed and untroubled, and gained for himself the reputation among the neighbouring rustics of being "no canny." Year after year passed on much in this way, the winter was spent at college, the summer at his own home.

The University had at that time many great names connected with it among its Professors and Students, both of whom had not a little influence on Leyden. Among the former we have, besides Dalzell already mentioned, Playfair, the expounder of Hutton's system and then in the chair of mathematics, and Dugald Stewart who was then at the height of his renown and usefulness. Among the latter, through the Debating Society which he early joined, he came into contact with Brougham and Horner, with Thomas Brown and William Erskine, and with Robert Lundie, William Gillespie, and Dr. Logan who afterwards became distinguished ministers in the Church of Scotland. Many are the anecdotes told of his mistakes and difficulties in attempting to speak in this literary society, but with his usual perseverance he finally overcame them all. He was afterwards a member of the famous "Academy of Physics," which existed but two years, but numbered among its members such men as Brown, Jeffrey and Sydney Smith. It was here that his literary talents were much exercised and improved, by the practice which obtained in the society of writing abstracts of and criticisms on new works, a practice which finally gave rise to the idea and the plan of the *Edinburgh Review*.

Desultory and various as his studies too often were, throughout the whole of them we see a decided tendency to the linguistic. He loved the study of languages, and he loved, like Mezzofanti, the excitement and triumph of mastering

new ones. Hence he gradually obtained, during his student career, an acquaintance with the modern languages—French, Spanish, Italian, and German, while his divinity studies led him to Hebrew, and from that to Arabic and Persian. The oriental longings of his mind began to take a more definite shape at this time. In the course of his studies he had hitherto kept himself free from that occupation which consumes so many of the valuable hours of the Scotch student, but on which he is too often forced to depend for subsistence—private tuition. In 1796, at the end of the College session, intead of visiting his father and his home as in former years during the summer vacation, he was engaged in his tutorial work in Edinburgh. No work is harder and none more miserably paid—at the rate of from £1 to £2 a month for an hour daily—and yet none is more sought after by the manly and zealous student, whom poverty would otherwise pinch, or at least deprive of his books and opportunities of literary enjoyment. When the successful student meets with much patronage in this way, he too often sacrifices to it the hours that ought to be devoted to study, or, attempting to take his place in the foremost rank of his fellows, falls a prey to sickness and often death; and yet, on the whole, such a life as this raises the best of men, manly, self-dependent, self-denying fellows, who are fitted to do God's work in the earth in their day and generation. Mark Akenside and Thomas Carlyle passed through the same trials.

Leyden soon, through the interest of Professor Dalzell, obtained the permanent situation of tutor in the family of Mr. Campbell of Fairfield, two of whose sons he accompanied to the old University of St. Andrew's. There he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Scotch Latinist, Dr. Hunter, by intercourse with whom he was not a little benefitted. When at his own studies in the University, as he neared the goal of his parents' ambition, he still pursued his old course of studying all subjects at least superficially. He frequently attended the Medical classes, and there laid in a small stock of knowledge which was afterwards most useful to him. In May 1798, he was finally 'licensed,' as the Scotch call it, to preach, licensing being distinct from ordination, and entitling the student, who is meanwhile merely a "probationer" only to preach. He is not ordained so as to have power to administer the sacraments, and to perform the rite of marriage, until he receives a "call" from a congregation to be their permanent and regular pastor. And now he was found not unfrequently in the pulpits of the Edinburgh churches, where, as a critic says, on account of the manner of his delivery and the tones of his voice, "he was 'not remarkably successful as a preacher, yet by the judicious

his discourses were justly prized for the impressive vigour of their style, the originality and beauty of the illustrations, which arrested and fixed the attention, and for the sound and rational piety which they breathed." On the whole he was not, however, an acceptable preacher, nor was his heart fully set to the profession that his parents were so anxious for him to adorn.

Leyden loved literary work and literary society, and the other characteristic of his mind at this time was an ardent longing for travel, for studying on the spot those languages which he had formed a wish to acquire. His desires were, when at St. Andrew's, very much inflamed by the publication of Mungo Park's Travels in Africa, and the fame which that distinguished traveller had acquired for himself by those discoveries. His feelings found vent, first of all, in an attempt to collect all the information which had been gathered previous to his time regarding that mighty continent. His imagination was filled with the tales told of it, and much of his waking time spent in dreams regarding it. It was then to the learned of Europe very much what India had been to the Greeks of old—the land of myths and monsters, of tribes whose manners were as strange as their habits were barbarous. The imagination of the boy, that had been impressed by the grand and gloomy scenery of Ruberslaw and the Teviot, and had brooded over the tales and traditions of Border story, found now in the unknown and the horrible connected with Africa a wide field for its delighted exercise. After some hasty reading he issued his first literary work—a work which, like some of the early productions of Sir William Jones, foreshadowed his future as it expressed his longings—"A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlement of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa." It was well received on its publication, for a vein of interesting story and also of the wonderful ran throughout it. It brought him into contact with the admirers of Mungo Park in a strange fashion. Sir Walter Scott thus tells the story:—

"Among Leyden's native hills, however, there arose a groundless report that his work was compiled for the purpose of questioning whether the evidence of Mungo Park went the length of establishing the western course of the Niger. This unfounded rumour gave offence to some of Mr. Park's friends, nicely jealous of the fame of their countrymen, of whom they had such just reason to be proud. And thus, what would have been whimsical enough, the dispute regarding the course of the Niger in Africa had nearly occasioned a feud upon the Scottish Border. For John Leyden happening to be at Hawick while the upper troop of Roxburghshire Yeomanry were quartered there, was told, with many exaggerations, of menaces thrown out

against him, and advised him to leave the town. Leyden was then in the act of quitting the place; but, instead of expediting his retreat, in consequence of this friendly hint, he instantly marched to the market-place, at the time when the corps paraded there, humming surlily, like one of Ossian's heroes, the fragment of a Border Song,

"I've done nae ill, I'll brook nae wrang,
But back to Wamphray I *will* gang."

His appearance and demeanour were construed into seeking a quarrel, with which his critics, *more majorum*, would readily have indulged him, had not friendly interposition appeased the causeless resentment of both parties."

In 1817, the well-known and industrious scholar and compiler, Hugh Murray, made good use of Leyden's work in his "History of African Discoveries."

Thus launched upon the sea of literature, he was not long in entering with full relish on the pleasures of that society of literary men, in which the Scottish metropolis at that time abounded. One now looks back almost with regret on these days, when the northern wits were no mean rivals of the southern, as he sees that the great have passed away and let their mantle fall on but few successors, who are no longer united, as their predecessors were, into a band of literary brothers. London is more attractive now than Edinburgh, and even as old Holyrood was stripped of her glories and her grandeur, when a Scotch King mounted the English throne, and now stands gloomy and desolate like a widowed queen, so is it with the University and her literary offspring. In the middle of the seventeenth century there were, in the famous "Select Society," Allan Ramsay, Principal Robertson, David Hume, Adam Smith, the Lord Chancellor Wedderburn, Lord Kames, John Home, Dr. Carlyle, Sir Gilbert Elliot,* Lord Alemoor and others. Of some of these, Gibbon said, "a strong ray of philosophic light has broke from Scotland 'in our own times; and it is with private as well as public 'regard that I repeat the names of Hume, Robertson, and 'Adam Smith." At the end of the century these men were succeeded by others, well worthy of them and of their achievements. Such names as Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Woodhouselee, Henry Mackenzie, Thomas Campbell, Francis Jeffrey, Leonard Horner, Henry Brougham, Dr. Alexander Murray, and Dr. Robert Anderson, with the associated talent of Sydney Smith and Richard Heber, are well fitted to cast a lustre on any country and any period. But, alas! they were the last of their race. Great men there

* Afterwards Earl of Minto.

were after them, but they stood isolated and alone. The only approach to such another band was in the select circle that Professor Wilson gathered around him, the greatest of whom undoubtedly were Sir William Hamilton who has now passed away, and Thomas De Quincey, who still, from his quiet retreat near Edinburgh, occasionally delights the world with some specimen of his singular erudition and matchless style.

Leyden was in the society of Scott and the others very much what Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd was with Wilson and the "Blackwood" coterie. Their peculiarities were much the same; while the former excelled as a Linguist, the latter was a true Poet. Leyden's first introduction to this circle was through Dr. Robert Anderson, with whom he became acquainted and formed a close intimacy so early as 1794. Dr. Anderson was the first to make a collection of the British poets. He was, of all men then in the north, perhaps the most literary, and his advice and aid were welcomed by Leyden. He was editor of the "Edinburgh Literary Magazine," and in it appeared several of his early attempts at poetry, the first being "An Elegy on the Death of a Sister." All his pieces bore the signature "J. L. Banks of the Teviot." They at once attracted the notice of Sir Walter Scott, and he felt a desire to know their author, which was soon gratified. Through Dr. Anderson Leyden became acquainted with Dr. Alexander Murray, who was a kindred spirit, and with whom he formed a warm friendship which was broken off by the death of the latter. He was a distinguished orientalist and linguist, and no man's society was more enjoyed by Leyden than his. He died soon after he had been appointed to the chair of Hebrew in the Edinburgh University. Leyden, in a letter to Dr. Anderson on the death of his friend, thus writes:—The extract is characteristic at once of the warmth of his nature and the philological bent of his mind. "When recently engaged in 'researches into the several affinities of certain languages in 'which he was extremely conversant, I felt an anticipation 'of pleasure from the thought that my enquiries would in due 'time come under his eye, and undergo the friendly correction 'of his learned judgment. Alas! this expectation was utterly 'vain, for the possibility of its being accomplished was already 'past!"

Another friend who had no little influence on his future life was Richard Heber of Brasenose College, Oxford, famous enough as a scholar and antiquary, though not so well-known as his celebrated brother Reginald—the Bishop

of Calcutta. He had come to Edinburgh to pursue his antiquarian researches, and especially to make investigations into ancient Scottish literature. His introduction to him was characteristic of both parties. Like all students who are book-worms, he was accustomed to ransack the stalls of the many second-hand book-sellers who abounded in the neighbourhood of the University, and none more frequently than that of Archibald Constable.

Great as Constable afterwards was as a publisher, like Lackington in London, and the brothers Chambers in Edinburgh at the present time, he began life as the "keeper of a small book-shop." Heber was a frequenter of this shop as well as Leyden, and not only appreciated the collection of books, but their young possessor. On one occasion he was hunting for MSS. or books that might be of use to Sir Walter Scott in the publication, which he was then contemplating, of the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," and happening to fall into conversation with Leyden he discovered, to his amazement, that Border Ballads and traditions were what he was quite *au fait* in. He felt that he had found out what was superior to either MSS. or books—a veritable rough diamond, and was not long in making the discovery known to Scott. Recognising in him the "J. L." of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, he was anxious to form his acquaintance. This was speedily accomplished, and thus through Heber and Scott, our hero obtained the right of *entrée* into the highest literary circles of the Scottish metropolis. All the names we have already given as constituting it became well-known personally to him, as well as William Erskine from his own native district.

Leyden's connexion with Sir Walter Scott was throughout a most pleasant one. Scott thus describes his introduction to him: "He became intimate in the family of Mr. 'Walter Scott, where a congenial taste for ballad-romance 'and Border Antiquities, as well as a sincere admiration of 'Leyden's high talents, extensive knowledge, and excellent 'heart, secured him a welcome reception." He gave great assistance to Scott in his literary pursuits, and with most enthusiastic zeal rendered him no slight service in the compilation of his "Minstrelsy." Lewis at this time (1801) was engaged in the publication of his "Tales of Wonder," and Leyden contributed to the collection his ballad "The Elf-King." To the Minstrelsy he contributed what Lockhart has called "those highly spirited pieces"—The Court of Keildar, Lord Soulis and The Mermaid. In the second volume, Scott acknowledges his obligations to him for great assistance in his Dissertation on Fairies. He had high ideas of the work that

Scott projected, and when his printer Ballantyne thought that a single volume would be sufficient for the collection of old Ballads, Leyden burst forth in his usual style "Dash it, does 'Mr. Scott mean another thin thing, like Goetz of Berchilingen? 'I have more than that in my head myself; we shall turn out 'three or four such volumes at least." Scott tells a characteristic anecdote of him in this matter:—

"In this labour, he was equally interested by friendship for the editor, and by his own patriotic zeal for the honour of the Scottish Borders, and both may be judged of from the following circumstance. An interesting fragment had been obtained of an ancient historical ballad, but the remainder, to the great disturbance of the editor and his coadjutor, was not to be recovered. Two days afterwards, while the editor was sitting with some company after dinner, a sound was heard at a distance like that of a whistling of a tempest through the torn rigging of the vessel which scuds before it. The sounds increased as they approached more near, and Leyden (to the great astonishment of such of the guests as did not know him) burst into the room, chaunting the desiderated ballad, with the most enthusiastic gestures. It turned out, that he had walked between forty and fifty miles, and back again, for the sole purpose of visiting an old person who possessed this precious remnant of antiquity."

When Scott was engaged on his "Sir Tristem" and applied to Ellis for his opinion of it, he spoke thus of Leyden: "These pages are transcribed by Leyden, an excellent young 'man of uncommon talents, patronized by Heber, and who is 'of the utmost assistance to my literary undertakings." In a subsequent letter to him he says, "Leyden has taken up a 'most absurd resolution to go to Africa on a journey of dis-'covery. Will you have the goodness to beg Heber to write to 'him seriously on so ridiculous a plan, which can promise nothing 'either pleasant or profitable. I am certain he would get a 'church in Scotland with a little patience and prudence, and it 'gives me great pain to see a valuable young man of uncommon 'genius and acquirements fairly throw himself away."

While most active in assisting Scott, he was not a little engaged with other undertakings. He had the opportunity, in 1800, of making a tour through the Highlands with two young foreigners, and occupied his leisure in hunting for original passages of the poems of Ossian. The result was that he was inclined to favour their authenticity, but the enthusiasm of his nature, no doubt, led him somewhat farther than his very scanty evidence warranted. The poetical fruits of his journey were seen in two Ballads published in the third volume of the "Minstrelsy"—Macphail of Colonsay and the Mermaid of Corrievrekin. When at Aberdeen he visited Pro-

fessor Beattie, famous at that time both as a philosopher and a poet. He was possessor of the only extant copy of a Scotch Poem written in 1723, entitled 'Albania.'* Beattie allowed him to copy it, and he afterwards published it along with "Wilson's Clyde," in a volume called "Scottish Descriptive Poems" 1802. On the recommendation of Dr. Anderson and Mr. Heber, Constable employed him to prepare a new edition of the old work, the "Complaynt of Scotland," described as "an "ancient and singularly looking tract bearing that title, writ-

* Mr. John Hill Burton, in his History of Scotland, thus speaks of it:—
"Though the poet's countrymen preserved no notice of his individuality, the poem in its day attracted the notice of Aaron Hill, who said of its author—

"Known, though unnamed, since, shunning vulgar praise,
Thy muse would shine, and yet conceal her rays."

The commencement, though so common a thing as an invocation, is expressed with so much beauty and power, that had there been a feeling to appreciate poetry, it must have at once stood prominently forth from the current literature of the day.

"O loved Albania! hardy nurse of men,
Holding thy silver cross, I worship thee
On this thy old and solemn festival,
Early, ere yet the wakeful cock has crowed.
Hear! goddess hear! that on the beryl stood
Enthroned of old, and 'mid the waters' sound,
Reign'st far and wide o'er many a sea-girt spot.
Oh smile!—whether on high Dunedin thou
Guardest the steep and iron-bolted rock,
Where, trusted, lie the monarchy's last gems—
The sceptre, sword, and crown that graced the brows,
Since father Fergus, of a hundred kings:
Or if, along the well-contested ground
The warlike border land thou marchest proud
In Teviotdale, where many a shepherd dwells,
By lovely winding Tweed or Cheviot brown."

The most curious peculiarity of this poem, perhaps is, that, with patriotic aspirations and picturesque allusions to the wild local superstitions, there is interwoven a kind of inventory of the material productions of Scotland, in which the author handles the most humble domestic elements with a beauty that reminds one of the lobsters and flounders in the Raphaelite arabesques.

"And hence the loving sea thy eastern coast
Supplies with oysters soft and lobsters red,
And turbot, far-requested for his white
And mellow flesh—sea-pheasant often named;
And bearded cod, and yellow ling. Nor now
Can I rehearse the kind of mackerel streaked,
Omen of derth if too abundant found;
Nor angel fish, viviparous and broad,
Hung up in air and seasoned with the wind;
Nor perch, whose head is spangled red and blue,
Foreboding woeful wars, as fishers swear;
Nor ravenous seal, that suckleth on the shore
Her hairy young, unawed by eye of man
Her meeting oft at sunset on the coast
Of Angus fruitful land of vital grain,
The wanton damsel mocks, and children join
Insultant to provoke with rustic names."

John Malcolm, and Lord Minto, the Governor General who was Leyden's kind patron, came from Leyden's district—the banks of the Teviot, and after spending the greater part of his youth and early manhood at Edinburgh, he went along with his friend Sir J. Mackintosh to Bombay, on his being appointed Recorder of that Presidency. There his friend soon appointed him to an office in his court, and he subsequently presided over the Small Cause Court, strengthening still further his intimacy with Mackintosh by becoming his son-in-law. Like Leyden he entered on the pursuit of Oriental studies with burning enthusiasm, devoting his attention more especially to the early and to the Mohammedan History of India. With Leyden, as we shall afterwards see, he translated the "Memoirs of the Emperor Baber," and his "History of India under Baber and Humayoon"* gave promise of great results. But like Leyden, though not so early, he was cut off ere he could realize the well-founded hopes of his admirers, and give to the world a complete and worthy history of the Mohammedans in India.

Leyden had now been a few years a "Probationer" in the Church, and had not yet obtained any definite employment in it. He began to feel that he must have some more stable staff on which to lean through life than his literary efforts, which, after all, were more by way of recreation than as a means of support. We have already seen how his attention had been directed to Africa, and how his imagination had been fed and his desires excited by the publication of Mungo Park's Travels. He went so far in his scheme, that he actually offered himself to the Sierra Leone Company, that he might be appointed to undertake a journey of discovery. All his friends objected, but he used to answer them in the words of Ossian "Dark Cuchullin will be renowned or dead." This was in 1802. His friends, seeing that his ardent spirit could not be checked, turned his attention to India, as a sphere where his abilities might be better appreciated, and he would have many opportunities of adding to his stock of linguistic knowledge. All of them accordingly interested themselves in the scheme, and none more so, nor with better success, than Sir Walter Scott. We find him writing at this time to his new friend George Ellis, the well-known author of "Specimens of the Early English Poets." "Some prospect seems to 'open for getting Lyden out to India, under the patronage 'of Mackintosh, who goes as chief of the intended academical 'establishment at Calcutta. That he is highly qualified for

* Reviewed in Volume XXV. p. 235.

'acting a distinguished part in any literary undertaking 'will be readily granted; nor do I think Mr. Mackintosh 'will meet with many half so likely to be useful in the 'proposed institution. The extent and versatility of his talents 'would soon raise him to his level, even although he were 'at first in a subordinate department. If it be in your power 'to second his application, I rely upon Heber's interest 'with you to induce you to do so." A month later he again writes, "I am infinitely obliged to you, indeed, for your in-'terference in behalf of our Leyden, who, I am sure, will do 'credit to your patronage, and may be of essential service to 'the proposed mission. What a difference from broiling him-'self, or getting himself literally broiled, in Africa 'Que diable 'vouloit-il faire dans cette galère?' His brother is a fine 'lad, and is likely to enjoy some advantages which he wanted, 'I mean by being more early introduced into society." Scott again and again returns to the subject in his letters at this period, and uses all his influence in behalf of his friend. On 27th December 1801, he again writes Ellis, "I am truly 'anxious about Leyden's Indian journey, which seems to hang 'fire. The various kinds of distress under which literary 'men, I mean such as have no other profession than letters, 'must labour, in a commercial country, is a great disgrace 'to society. I own to you, I always tremble for the fate of 'genius when left to its own exertions, which, however power-'ful, are usually, by some bizarre dispensation of nature, useful 'to every one but themselves. If Heber could learn by 'Mackintosh, whether anything could be done to fix Leyden's 'situation, and what sort of interest would be most likely to 'succeed, his friends here might unite every exertion in his 'favour."

The influence of Scott, Heber, and Ellis, was effectual. The well-known William Dundas was at that time in the Board of Control, and he at once met the wishes of Leyden's friends. But the only appointment that was left, the last of the season, was that of Assistant Surgeon in the Madras Presidency. Leyden had no regular medical knowledge, and it was necessary that in six months he should pass for the degree of M. D. This, which to any other man would have been a blow, was to Leyden a grand opportunity of following the bent of his mind, and manifesting his power of will and intense application. He at once set himself to the study of medicine and laboured at it incessantly. He was assisted by Mr. John Bell, then the most distinguished Surgeon in Edinburgh, and in six months obtained his diploma as surgeon in what was then the highest of Medical Schools, and obtained it too with

CRCU 23

credit. With his usual frankness he boasted of the deed, which effectually prevented his obtaining his degree of M. D. in Edinburgh. He gained it at St. Andrew's. He was now all the physician, and ludicrous stories are told of him at this time, even as of Dr. Goldsmith in similar circumstances. It may be remembered that Dr. Milner, the quondam employer of the latter at the Peckham School, promised to use his influence with an East India Director to obtain him an appointment in India, and he was nominated "physician and surgeon to one of the factories on the Coromandel Coast," with a salary of £100, and prospects of private practice to the extent of £1,000. But, alas for Goldsmith, though perhaps happily for his future patients, the appointment was given to another candidate, and his patron died. There is much that is like Leyden's career in the life of Goldsmith at this period:—

"The sudden change of his profession gave great amusement to some of his friends, especially when a lady having fainted in a crowded assembly, Dr. Leyden advanced to her assistance, and went through the usual routine of treatment with all the gravity which beseemed his new faculty. In truth, the immediate object of his studies was always, in season and out of season, predominant in Leyden's mind; and just about this time he went to the evening party of a lady of the highest rank with the remnants of a human hand in his pocket, which he had been dissecting in the morning, and on some question being stirred about the muscular action, he was with difficulty withheld from producing this grisly evidence in support of the argument which he maintained. The character of Leyden cannot be understood without mentioning these circumstances that are allied to oddity; but it is not so easy to body forth those qualities of energy, application, and intelligence, by which he dignified his extravagancies, and vindicated his assumption of merit, far less to paint his manly, generous, and friendly disposition."

Though Leyden had thus satisfied the India House as to his medical acquirements, it was never intended that his time in India should be devoted to the practice of the profession which he had thus, so to speak, stormed. The merits and capabilities of Leyden were well understood by Dundas, and he knew that in sending Leyden to India he was advancing the then rising cause of Orientalism in all, but especially its linguistic, forms. He was appointed, however, to the Madras medical service, and great was his joy when he felt secure of being raised above that poverty which he had lately begun to contemplate with fear, of being freed from that dependence on mere literary effort which has been well termed, by one who had felt it to be so in his bitter experience,—a crutch, and of having opportunities of pursuing his studies and

GS 1324

distinguishing himself as an Orientalist, of which he had often dreamed, but which he had hardly dared to hope he would ever obtain.

Amid all his pleasure in the anticipation of a bright Indian career, he felt not a little, for the moment at least, as he said farewell to that circle of friends which his genius had created, his eccentricities amused, and his warm enthusiasm had attached to himself. At the close of 1802, he revisited the old haunts which he was even at that time engaged in marrying to verse, certainly not immortal, and took a last farewell of those scenes towards which he often looked longingly in imagination afterwards when in a foreign land, and of which he sometimes sung, as in his Ode to an Indian Gold Coin:—

"By Chéricál's dark wandering streams,
Where cane-tufts shadow all the wild,
Sweet visions haunt my waking dreams
Of Teviot lov'd while still a child,
Of castled rocks stupendous pil'd
By Esk or Eden's classic wave,
Where loves of youth and friendship smil'd
Uncursed by thee, vile yellow slave!"

Then too he bade his parents adieu, and we can understand the stern, old, honest yeoman, his father, resigning his son as a matter of duty, and as he checked the paternal tear and hurried the paternal farewells, sending him forth with his blessing.

He had fairly started but—

"Some accident changed his purpose, and his unexpected arrival at Edinburgh was picturesque and somewhat startling. A party of his friends had met in the evening to talk over his merits, and to drink in Scottish phrase, his *Bonallie*. While about the witching hour they were crowning a solemn bumper to his health, a figure burst into the room, muffled in a seaman's cloak and travelling cap, covered with snow, and distinguishable only by the sharpness and ardour of the tone with which he exclaimed, "Dash it, boys, here I am again!" The start with which this unexpected apparition was received, was a subject of great mirth at the time, and the circumstance has been often recalled by most of the party with that mixture of pleasure and melancholy which attaches to the particulars of a last meeting with a beloved and valuable friend."

Scott thus writes on the subject of Leyden's departure, "How truly vexatious that such a man should embark, not for 'the 'fines Atticæ,' but for those of Asia; that the Genius 'of Scotland, instead of a poor *Complaint*, and an address 'in the style of 'Navis, quæ tibi creditum debes Virgilium— 'reddas incolumem, precor;' should not interfere to prevent

his loss." A few months before Leyden left, he had accompanied Scott to the Borders. They returned "loaded with the treasures of oral tradition." At the close of 1802, Leyden left Scotland for ever, and went up to London to make all necessary arrangements for setting out for the East. There, through the kindness of George Ellis and Richard Heber, he met with many friends. He accompanied Heber to Oxford, and by him was introduced to his brother Reginald—the future Bishop, Bishop Cleaver, and several of the Professors. In London he was introduced to Lord Castlereagh, the Marquis of Abercorn and the Honorable Mr. Greville. By them he received strong recommendations to Lord William Bentinck who had just been appointed Governor of Madras. Leyden afterwards found these recommendations of great use to him.

He received orders to leave about the middle of January 1803, by the *Hindostan*, but could not set sail in her as he was unwell when the time came for embarkation. He gives a humorous account of the whole in a letter to Mr. Ellis:—

"You will no doubt be surprised at my silence, and indeed I cannot account for it myself; but I write you now from the lobby of the East-India House, to inform you that G. Ellis has saved my life, for without his interference I should certainly, this precious day, have been snug in Davy's locker. At my arrival in town, or rather on my journey, I was seized with violent cramps in the stomach, the consequence of my excessive exertion before leaving Scotland, a part of which you know, and a greater part you do not know. The clerks of the India House, who, I suppose, never had the cramp of the stomach in their life, paid no kind of respect to this whatever, but with the most remorseless sang froid, told me either to proceed to the Downs, or to vacate the appointment. Neither of these alternatives were much to my taste, especially as I found that getting on board at the Downs would cost me at least 50l. or 60l. sterling, which I imagined, unlike the bread cast upon the water, would not return even after many days. I, however, passed the principal forms, and was examined by Dr. Hunter on the diseases of warm climates, with tolerable success, but most intolerable anguish, till I contrived to aggravate my distemper so much from pure fatigue and chagrin, and dodging attendance at the India House from ten till four each day, that Dr. Hunter obstinately confined me to my room for two days. These cursed clerks, however, whose laws are like those of the Medes and Persians, though I sincerely believe there is not one of them who has the slightest particle of taste for either Arabic or Persian, not to speak of Sanscrit or Tamalic, made out my appointment and order to sail in the *Hindostan* without the slightest attention to this circumstance, and I dare say they would not have been moved had I written and addressed to them the finest ode ever written in Sanscrit, even though it had been superior to those of the sublime Jayadeva. Heber was in Paris, and every person with whom I had the slightest influence out of town, and Ellis, even in the

distressed state of his family, as Lady Parker is just dying, and several others dangerously unwell of his relations, was my only resource. That resource, however, succeeded, and I have just got permission to go in the *Hugh Inglis* to Madras, and am at the same time informed that the *Hindostan*, which I ought to have joined yesterday morning, was wrecked going down the river, and one of the clerks whispered me that a great many passengers have been drowned. About fifty individuals have perished. So you see there is some virtue in the old proverb, "He that is born to be hanged," &c. I feel a strange mixture of solemnity and satisfaction, and begin to trust my fortune more than ever."

He finally arranged to go by the *Hugh Inglis*, which left on 7th April, 1803. Meanwhile he continued to employ his time in preparing for the press his "Scenes of Infancy," which he intended to leave as a legacy to his friends and his native land. Its concluding portions are filled with allusions to many of these friends, and give vent to his feelings as he contemplated his departure. He chose Ballantyne as his printer, and was enabled to correct the final sheets ere he left. Dr. Thomas Brown who himself had tasted, if he had not drunk deep of, the Pierian spring, conducted the work through the press, and at Leyden's request exercised his critical skill on it, but in a manner that called forth a playfully indignant remonstrance from the author when it was too late. He had at first intended to call the poem "The Vale of Teviot," but exile with its sadness, bringing, as it does, the associations of the past crowding into the present, caused him to change its name.

He sailed from Portsmouth in April 1803, and found to his delight, in those days of tedious Indian voyages, much in the society of his fellow passengers that made the hours pass quickly by. He especially enjoyed intercourse with Robert Smith the brother of Sydney, who with his wife was looking towards Bengal. He reached Madras on the 19th of August—rather a speedy voyage for these times. The most striking incident in the course of it was a mutiny, in putting down which Leyden gave the most courageous assistance. He must himself describe his first impressions:—

"We landed after passing through a very rough and dangerous surf, and being completely wetted by the spray, and were received on the beach by a number of the natives, who wanted to carry us from the boat on their naked, greasy shoulders, shining with cocoa oil. I leapt on shore with a loud huzza, tumbling half a dozen of them on the sand, but the sun was so excruciatingly hot, that my brains seemed to be boiling, for which reason I got into a palankeen, and proceeded to the principal inn. On my way thither, wishing to speak to one of my messmates, I overset the palankeen by leaning incautiously to one side, and nearly tumbled head foremost into the street. At the inn I was tormented to death by the impertinent persevering of the black people, for every one is a beggar as long

as you are reckoned a griffin, or new-comer. I then saw a number of jugglers, and fellows that play with the hooded snake a thousand tricks, though its bite is mortal ; and among the rest I saw a fellow swallow a sword. You are not to suppose, however, that this was a Highland broad sword, or even a horseman's sabre ; it was only a broad piece of iron, perfectly blunt at the edges. I then set out to survey the town in the self-same palankeen. The houses had all of them an unearthly appearance, by no means consonant to our ideas of Oriental splendor. The animals differed a good deal from ours, the dogs looked wild and mangy, their hair stood on end, and they had all the appearance of being mad. The cows and bullocks had all bunches on their shoulders, and their necks low, and apparently bowed beneath the burden. The trees were totally different from any that I had seen, and the long hedges of prickly aloes, like large house leeks in their leaves ; and spurge, whose knotted and angular branches seemed more like a collection of tape worms than any thing else. The dress of the natives was so various and fantastic, as quite to confuse you ; and their complexions of all kinds of motley hues, except the healthy European, red and white. Can you be surprised that my curiosity was so thoroughly satisfied that I even experienced a considerable degree of sickness, and felt all my senses so dazzled and tormented, that my head ached, and my ears tingled, and I was so completely fatigued by the multitude of new sensations which crowded on me on every side, that to free myself from the torment, like an ox tormented with gad-flies, I took to the water, and got again on ship-board with more satisfaction than I had descried land after a five months' voyage. The first night I slept ashore I was waked by my side smarting very severely, and rolling myself on my side, discovered, with very little satisfaction, that the smart was occasioned by a large animal, which I imagined to be a snake. As the chamber was dark, I disengaged myself from it with as little bustle and violence as possible, not wishing to irritate such an antagonist. With great pleasure I heard it make its way from the couch to the floor, and with great *sang-froid* lay down to sleep again as quietly as my blistered side would permit. On the morn, however, I discovered it to be a large lizard, termed a blood-sucker here, which nods with its head when you look at it, and it saluted me with a nod from the window like Xailoun's cousin, the Karduwan in the Arabian Tales, which saluted him so kindly, though it would not condescend to enter into conversation."

And now Leyden was fairly in India. He had reached the land of his longings and of his dreams—"perhaps the first 'British traveller," Scott says, "that ever sought India, moved 'neither by the love of wealth nor of power, and who, despising alike the luxuries commanded by the one, and the 'pomp attached to the other, was guided solely by the wish of 'extending our knowledge of oriental literature, and distinguishing himself as its most successful cultivator." The only British traveller it may be, but Wilford and the younger Schlegel,

the former a Hanoverian and the latter an Austrian, may be included in the list.

Like all newly-arrived assistant surgeons, Leyden at first did duty in the Madras Hospital,—and duty in reality, not nominally as is too often the case, for he had almost sole charge of it for four months. But though his pursuits were much more of a professional character than he had expected, or indeed his friends had bargained for, he lost not a moment in setting himself to the study of the languages of South India. We have seen that he had, before leaving England, received very strong recommendations to the favourable notice and assistance of the Governor of Madras—Lord W. Bentinck. He interested himself in him, and appointed him to an office more suited to his genius and his likings, than his temporary duties in the Hospital. The war with Tippoo Sultan had resulted, in 1799, in placing the whole of his territories at our feet, so that we became masters of the whole of Mysore. Wellesley, even with all his genius and daring, felt no little difficulty in disposing of it, though there was his ally the Nizam to share it with him. In the division that he finally made, a large share fell to the Nizam; a second kingdom was created yielding in revenue thirteen lacs of pagodas, which was made over on certain conditions to the direct male descendant of the ancient Mysore Rajahs, who had been imprisoned by Hyder Ally and Tippoo. He was a mere child, and the conditions on which he received the honour were such, that the English could at any moment put down any attempt against their own power on his part, and use him as an ally in their contests with other states. The third part the Governor General kept for the British, to pay the expenses of the war, and to afford security against future aggression on the part of the native states. He selected the districts to be annexed with much foresight and political prudence. They ran contiguously from coast to coast, connecting the British territory on the east with that on the west; they comprehended a vast extent of the Malabar coast and the whole of Coimbatore and Daramporam; they included all the principal strongholds, passes, and forts in the Ghauts, Wynaad, and Seringapatam itself. Such were the arrangements made by the Partition Treaty of Mysore.

Lord William Bentinck, when at the head of the Madras Government in 1808, was anxious that the whole of this valuable territory should be carefully surveyed and reported on, and a Commission was accordingly appointed with Major Mackenzie at its head. Leyden was nominated to the desirable post of Surgeon and Naturalist to the Commissioners, with whom he set out on the 9th of June of that year. This was

really the first starting point in his Indian history, which was brought to so sudden a close three years afterwards. Their route lay through Bangalore and Seringapatam, Soonda close to Goa, and south by the western Malabar Coast to Cape Comorin. Such a road laid open to the delighted eyes of Leyden the whole of South India, and gave him opportunities of mastering its dialects, such as few had previously enjoyed. Nor did he confine his observations and studies to languages. True to his new profession and the office that he held, he studied the diseases and cures of the natives, the Geological or rather, as Geology was then but little known as a science, the mineralogical character of the strata, and the agricultural capabilities of the districts through which he passed. Much of the information that he thus collected he sent in, formally, to the Government that had appointed him. How much is it to be regretted that records were not published in those days, as now. He met with not a few adventures, also, in a country much of which had never yet been visited by a European.

But the excitement and fatigues of a Survey party were too much for his constitution, and after five months of these, he was obliged to leave his fellows just when entering the districts of Wynaad and Coimbatore. He returned to Seringapatam, the subject of what has sent so many Europeans to an early grave, and so many back to their own land—liver complaint. He was most kindly received by Colonel Wilks, whose acquaintance he had made when there before, and he met with Sir John Malcolm who was his countryman and fellow Borderer. Malcolm was at this time returning to his old appointment of Resident of Mysore, looking forward to rest and leisure for the composition of his History of Persia. He pounced upon Leyden, and considered him a perfect treasure amid the dullness as well as the literary labour on which he was about to enter, and at once carried him off from his Assistant's house to his own. There Leyden speedily recovered, and almost renewed the days of his early life in the Hawick country, and his intercourse with the Edinburgh wits. The following, mentioned by his biographer, gives us an insight into the pleasant life that he led:—

"When Leyden was at Mysore, an occurrence took place which shewed that ill-health had neither subdued his spirit, nor weakened his poetical powers. His host, Sir John Malcolm, one morning before breakfast, gave him back his poem of the "Scenes of Infancy," which he had borrowed a few days before;—on looking at the title-page, Leyden observed that Sir John had written with a pencil the stanzas which follow:—

"Thy muse, O Leyden, seeks no foreign clime,
For deeds of fame, to twine her brow with bays;
But finds at home whereon to build her rhyme,
And patriot virtues sings in patriot lays.

'Tis songs like thine that lighten labour's toil,
That rouse each generous feeling of the heart,
That bind us closer to our native soil,
And make it death from those we love to part.

'Tis songs like thine that make each rugged wild,
And barren heath, to Scotia's sons more dear
Than scenes o'er which fond nature partial smil'd,
And rob'd in verdure thro' the varied year.

'Tis songs like thine that spread the martial flame,
Mid Scotia's sons, and bid each youth aspire
To rush on death, to gain a deathless name,
And live in story like his glorious sire.

While the clear Teviot thro' fair meads shall stray,
And Esk still clearer seeks the Western main;
So long shall Border maidens sing thy lay,
And Border youths applaud the patriot strain."

"Leyden read these verses once or twice over, with much apparent satisfaction, and then exclaimed, "What! attack me at my own trade; this must not be. You gentlemen," addressing himself to two or three who were in the parlour, "may go to breakfast, but I will neither eat nor drink, until I have answered this fine compliment." He retired to his room, and in less than half an hour, returned with the following lines, addressed to Colonel Malcolm:—

"Bred mid the heaths and mountain swains,
Rude nature charm'd my early view;
I sighed to leave my native plains,
And bid the haunts of youth adieu.

Soft as I trac'd each woodland green,
I sketch'd its charms with parting hand;
That memory might each fairy scene
Revive within this eastern land.

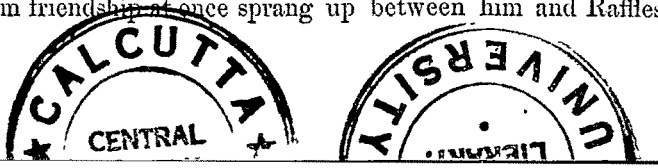
Careless of fame, nor fond of praise,
The simple strains spontaneous sprung,
For Teviot's youths I wrote the lays,
For Border-maids my songs I sung.

Enough for me if these impart
The glow to patriot virtue dear;
The free-born soul, the fearless heart,
The spirit of the mountaineer.

Torn from my native wilds afar,
Enough for me if souls like thine,
Unquench'd beneath the eastern star,
Can still applaud the high design.

We shall soon see how his intimacy with Malcolm was renewed in different circumstances. Having, as he thought, almost completed his recovery, he set out towards the Malabar Coast, passing through Coorg, Cherical, and Cotiote, determined to perfect his health by a sea-voyage. He reached Cananore, and being deterred by the monsoons from sailing, as he had intended, to Bombay, spent a few months with great delight amid the temples, tongues, and peoples of Calicut, Cochin, and Travancore. Sanscrit, Persian, and Hindustani had been occupying not a little of his leisure, in addition to the list of languages which he himself details,—Arabic, Mahratta, Tamal, Telinga, Canara, Malayalam, Malay, and Armenian. He was particularly *au fait* at Tamal, translating some inscriptions in an old dialect of it, and written in a character called the "Lada Lippee, or Verraggia," which he made out by 'comparison.' His versatility is farther seen from his successful attempt to interpret the "Tambuca Shashanas, or brazen inscriptions, belonging to the Jews of Cochin." At the end of September he embarked at Quilon in a Parsee vessel for Penang, which he reached on the 22nd of October. Amid all this, his friends in Scotland had not forgotten him. Scott writes to George Ellis that he had heard news of his bad health, "such indeed, as to give room to apprehend the very worst."

This introduces us to the *second* period of Leyden's short Indian career—his residence at Penang. During his stay in the Madras Presidency, and his rambles throughout its wide and then little known extent, he had had opportunities of studying with all his characteristic ardour, and at the same time his unscholarly versatility, the South Indian, or, as they are now called, Dravidian family of languages. He had now an opportunity of acquiring on the spot, and in circumstances even more favourable than the great Indo-Chinese linguist, Marsden, had enjoyed, the whole class of Malay dialects and tongues; and to their study he devoted himself with the greatest eagerness and success. In 1805, the Court of Directors had resolved to form an establishment in Penang, and entertained high hopes of its value and importance in the future, which have never been realised. He found the infant Government in full order, and with the leading members of it he speedily became intimate. The society consisted in the beginning of 1806, only of Mr. Philip Dundas, the Governor; Mr. John Oliphant, first member of Council; Mr. Pearson, Secretary, and Mr. Raffles, Assistant Secretary. While all of these, and especially the Governor, shewed Leyden not a little kindness, a warm friendship at once sprang up between him and Raffles.



He was his guest during the greater part of his stay in the island, and together they pursued their linguistic studies, while each thoroughly appreciated and entered into the tastes of the other. The fruits of his studies, assisted by Raffles, were shortly seen in his Dissertation, and in his translation of the "Malay Annals."

In the verses "The Dirge of the Departed Year," which he addressed on his departure from Penang to 'Olivia,' the wife of Mr. Raffles, he expresses his regret at leaving the island, and the friends whose society he had so much enjoyed. The melancholy induced by his frequent sickness had not passed, and in its sadly closing lines, we have his own anticipations as to an early grave,—

"Friends of my youth, for ever dear,
Where are you from this bosom fled?
A lonely man I linger here,
Like one that has been long time dead.

"Foredoom'd to seek an early tomb,
For whom the pallid grave-flowers blow,
I hasten on my destined doom
And sternly mock at joy or woe."

With the departing 1805 he left Penang for Calcutta, the *third* scene of his Indian experiences. He sailed in a Portuguese vessel, the "*Santo Antonio*." In his journal we find the usual traces of a mind that was ever active and observant, that was ever restless in its search after "eastern lore." Confined for three weeks amid the disagreeables of a country trader, he passed his time in noticing the crew, speculating as to their origin, and making enquiries as to Macao, the settlement from which most of them had come.

On the eighth day of February 1806, John Leyden landed in Calcutta. His reputation, and, we may add, his notoriety, had gone before him, and his firm friend, Sir John Malcolm, was ready to receive him and introduce him to the scholars who then adorned Calcutta society by their genius and their learning. Sir W. Jones had landed in 1783, with similar desires to sound the depths of Oriental lore, but with a higher enthusiasm, for he had a brighter destiny before him, and a more accurately trained and extensively cultivated mind. In 1794 he died, but left behind him his works, his followers, and the Asiatic Society, as monuments of the most distinguished scholar that England has yet sent to the East. Twelve years after his death, when Leyden visited Calcutta, the fruits of his labours were still evident, and the Asiatic Society was still worthy of its founder. The

College of Fort William was still what Wellesley had wished it to be—a nursery of scholars and the promoter of Orientalism, and Lord Minto was a worthy successor of Wellesley. In the brilliant Society of the Capital, Leyden found many of congenial tastes and habits, and many so far advanced in the Sanscrit class of languages, that he was quickened to increased exertion in what to him was almost a new study. For more than a year his health was not sufficiently recovered to allow of his filling any office. A large part of this time he devoted to the compilation of a Dissertation on the "Indo-Persian, Indo-Chinese, and Dekhani Languages," embracing the three classes of tongues which he had studied. We have not been able to meet with it; probably it was never printed, as it was presented to the Council of the College of Fort William, and sent up by them to the Secretary of Government, with a recommendation that its author should be created a Professor in the College. He was accordingly appointed to the Professorship of Hindustani—a language which his previous Persian studies, and his pursuits in South India, seem to have made him master of.

Lord Minto was at this time Governor General, and being greatly interested in, and a liberal patron of, Oriental scholars, and being not only a countryman of Leyden but a fellow Borderer, he proved a kinder friend to him than even Lord W. Bentinck had been at Madras. We do not think that this nobleman has always received justice at the hands of historians and writers upon India. Two circumstances have united to depreciate him—his repressive policy with regard to Missions, and the general moderation and caution of his administration. The former is, we admit, in itself indefensible, but may be at least apologised for by the position which the question of Missions held during the English part of the Earl's career as a statesman, and the traditionary policy on the subject, which at that time was universally supreme in both England and India. Personally no man more admired the Serampore Missionaries than Minto, and no one was more liberal in assisting them in the publication of their translation of the Scriptures with the funds of Government than he. As Sir Gilbert Elliot, he had been one of the most distinguished of that literary circle which attracted all eyes to the metropolis of Scotland in the middle of last century, and as an English Statesman—as President of the Board of Control, he had gained an Indian reputation for himself ere he set foot in the country. The Commons had shewn their confidence in him and appreciation of his character and abilities, by appointing him as one of the managers to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and he was also to have discharged the same office in

the case of Sir Eliah Impey. Thus the prosecutor of the great Governor General became himself his successor, and learned to modify considerably those opinions, that had led him to take so prominent a part in the impeachment. The peculiar position of political parties at home on the death of Pitt, the collision between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control as to the appointment of a Governor General on the death of Lord Cornwallis, and the odium excited by the supersession of Sir G. Barlow and his removal to Madras, beset the early part of Lord Minto's Indian career with difficulties and misunderstandings. Nor was he to blame in the matter of the Pindaree, Ghoorka, and Burmese wars. These were not only a heritage from former wars, but the necessity of our destiny urged them on, and had he not been checked by the delays consequent on a reference to England, all of them would have been brought to a much more successful and speedy conclusion. His great claims on posterity are, his conquest of the Eastern Archipelago and his munificent patronage of Oriental literature. In this latter respect he well deserves to be named with Warren Hastings and the Marquis Wellesley.

Such was the man, who, with all the power and patronage of the Governor General, manifested great interest in Leyden. Leyden was too independent a Scotchman to seek for offices. As Sir John Malcolm says—"He never solicited favour, but 'was raised by the liberal discernment of his noble friend and 'patron—Lord Minto, to situations that afforded him an oppor-'tunity of shewing that he was as scrupulous and as inflexibly 'virtuous in the discharge of his public duties, as he was atten-'tive in private life to the duties of morality and religion." We regret that we can find no records of his Professorship. Its duties he was well qualified to discharge, and they must have been a source of pleasure to him, for he looked upon everything—money, comfort and health, as subservient to his linguistic pursuits. He lived in comparative plainness; like Sir W. Jones, not a little of his income was spent on his pundits and on the purchase of Oriental MSS.; while he never forgot his duty to his parents at home, to whom he was, like many other sons in India before and since, in the habit of remitting a considerable part of his salary.

He was tempted, however, at the request of Lord Minto to change his office in the College for the somewhat dissimilar one of "Judge of the twenty-four Pergunnahs of Calcutta"* His

* Sir Walter Scott, the firmest of all the friends Leyden left behind him in Scotland, thus writes on this subject to Ellis, "Leyden, by the by, is triumphant at Calcutta—a Judge of all things!—And making money! He has flourished like a green bay tree, under the auspices of Lord Minto, his countryman.

duties here were as much military as magisterial, partaking largely of those of a Commissioner for the suppression of Dacoity. That this should be to him a most congenial employment will not seem strange to one who is acquainted with his early life. In such a pursuit all his Border enthusiasm found vent, and with full zest he entered on duties that were as new to him as they were delightful. As if on some Border foray like his ancestors of old, he chased the dacoits repeatedly out of his own jurisdiction, and restored the peace of the districts around Calcutta. They were then in a very different state from what they are now, and the power of Britain had not then reached the elevated platform on which it now is, and from which a rebellion, unparalleled in Asiatic history for its extent and intensity, has not been able to shake it. On the last occasion of his chasing these 'freebooters,' as his Biographer terms them, up to Nuddea, he received the thanks of the Governor General in Council. He was afterwards, for some months, also Magistrate of Nuddea, where he was still frequently engaged in "bush-fighting in the jungles." In these posts his knowledge of the vernacular availed him much, and he was thus enabled to perfect it colloquially. In the beginning of 1809 he was nominated one of the Commissioners of the Court of Requests in Calcutta, an office which entailed on him harder work than either of those which he had previously filled, and which called forth all his knowledge of the languages in use in Northern India. But with restored health and rising spirits, he was enabled not only to discharge his duties successfully, but to devote himself with renewed zeal to his oriental pursuits. As a member of the Asiatic Society, as the correspondent of Malcolm, Mackintosh, Erskine, and others in India and at home, and as the intimate friend of Henry Colebrooke, at that time President of the Asiatic Society, he was in the very midst of the duties that pleased him best.

The last mentioned orientalist had a most salutary influence on Leyden, guiding him by his more matured scholarship and Indian experience, directing his studies into channels of utility and accuracy, and preventing him, with his ardent nature, from falling into those errors of rashness in speculation and carelessness in the collection of materials with the help of deceiving Pundits, which so ruined the character of the equally enthusiastic Wilford. It is evident that the short Calcutta period of his Indian life was for him the best. He was then not only the most zealous, but the most accurate and scholarly in his studies, and to Colebrooke must much of it be ascribed. He wrought hard at Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit, translating largely from all;

he wrote several philological papers, and, while contemplating the compilation of several grammars, certainly completed two —those of the Malay and Prakrit. The list of situations that Leyden filled in Calcutta is completed by that of Assay Master in the Mint, to which he was promoted—for promotion it was as to emoluments—two years after. In writing his parents, who were anxious, like Jacob, to see their son once more ere they died, he spoke of probably returning to them, and in announcing his new appointment, thus wrote, "I have laid 'aside the scales of Justice for those of mammon; and instead 'of trying men and their causes, I have only to try the baser, 'but much less refractory, metals of gold and silver." He filled this new office, like the former, not quite two years.* Lord Minto seems to have ever kept him in his eye with a view to advancing his interests.

We come now to the *fourth* and last period of Leyden's Indian career—to the event which put an end to his life, and blasted the expectations of himself as well as the hopes of his friends—the British expedition under Lord Minto to the Eastern islands. Our readers know how great was the power and influence of the French in South India in the middle of last century, and how, at one time, it seemed doubtful whether they or the Protestant English were to be the civilisers of her millions. Clive shattered her power into fragments, and his successors, and especially the great Wellesley, swept them, with the exception of a few stragglers in the service of native princes, from the face of the continent. Still from their position in Mauritius and Bourbon, and the new power which they acquired by the cession of the Dutch possessions in the Indian Archipelago consequent on the subjection of Holland to their parent country, they had considerable power. Sir Thomas Stamford—then Mr.—Raffles was the first to suggest to Lord Minto the propriety of crippling the French fleet in the Indian seas, and stripping France of all the possessions that she then had in these quarters. The French had, moreover, long played the game of pirates, so that navigation in the Indian ocean was rendered dangerous to all British vessels. The merchants of Calcutta were roused by their

* In a letter to Raffles he says, "The civilians of the Mint Committee have already discovered me to be a very devil incarnate, and the greatest mischief-maker in the land. They will be very glad to see the back-seams of *my* hose at all events." At the time of the fitting out of the expedition for Java, Leyden was of the most essential service in advancing the interests of Raffles with the Governor-General, and thus strove to make some return for all the hospitality of Penang. In the same letter he says: "Indeed, Raffles, he has always talked of you to me, with a kindness very uncommon in a Governor General, and says that he is pleased with thinking he will be able to arrange matters very much to your satisfaction, when he arrives. I am glad that I have been able to keep him tight up to this point."

losses, the Court of Directors at home felt them not less severely, while the ministry were influenced by the strongest of political motives, to agree to the recommendation that the Governor General had sent home, not only to take Bourbon and Mauritius, but also the whole of the Dutch possessions in the Straits, of which they had made themselves masters. The former was soon accomplished, though Bourbon was afterwards restored to the French.

Minto shewed less than his usual caution in the expedition against the Straits. He was prepared to set out before the receipt of an answer to his recommendation, and when an answer did come, the instructions so limited him, and were drawn up, evidently, in such ignorance of the circumstances and even of geography, that he determined, urged by the advice of Raffles, to annex the whole of what the Dutch had formerly occupied to the British Crown. On the fitting out of the expedition he immediately appointed Leyden to the honorable, and to him delightful, post of interpreter, naturalist, and investigator general into the language, literature, manners and customs of the inhabitants of these islands. Of all men then in India, he was best fitted for this office by his former studies and opportunities when resident in Penang. As the Naval force started from Madras he left Calcutta to join it.* After spending thirty tedious days on the voyage, and fifteen at Madras, he set sail. There are few periods in the bye-history of British India so exciting as this, either in romantic adventure or personal exploit. But we must confine our attention to that part of the force in which Leyden was.

From Madras, they went to Penang, and from Penang to Malacca, where he met with his friend Raffles, and renewed that intercourse that had been broken off by his departure from

* "During this voyage he gave a striking proof of that rash intrepidity which formed always a conspicuous feature in his character. Two of his fellow passengers, with whom he was upon terms of intimacy, offered to bet with him sixty gold mohurs, that he durst not climb up to the top-gallant-royal of the vessel; a plan having been privately formed to have him bound there, until he should purchase his release by paying a fine. Leyden, whose courage was equalled by an unfortunate passion for displaying it, which sometimes made him appear to disadvantage, accepted the wager, and fearlessly mounted to the top; when, perceiving the intended sequel of this insidious joke, he made a desperate but successful effort to frustrate it. He hastily grasped a coir rope, with the assistance of which he threw himself down, though, as it slid through his hands, it cut them most severely. It must be added, that though he had thus more than won the wager, he refused to take the money, but having received a written order for the sum, immediatly destroyed it. Such were the virtuous and strictly honorable principles in which he had been brought up, that he looked upon it as in some degree disgraceful to gain money by wagers, or other species of gaming, or in any way in which it could not be regarded as an equivalent for the performance of useful services."

Penang. As they remained here for a short time, Leyden, as usual, set off on an excursion of six days' duration, into the interior. As they threaded their way among these islands, they received both visits and letters from the rajahs round about. Leyden's linguistic acquirements were sometimes put to a severe test by the letters in different dialects that he had to translate. He speaks in his letters of Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Bali. The third of these is the dialect of a people, who live in *Bony*, a town in Celebes, standing at the head of Bay Buggees. The people who speak it are to these islands what the Cossacks are to Russia—the great traders and general carriers of the straits. They are the most civilized of the neighbouring tribes. The Bali is the tongue of the Bali people, in a little island separated from Java by a strait of the same name. Amboyna of infamous memory, the Bandas to the south-east of it, and Ternate being taken, the conquest of the Molucca group of islands was completed, and the last and greatest prize alone remained to be seized from the unwilling hands of the Dutch and the French.

The conquest of Java was so important, and the advantages arising from it were so evident, even without the enthusiastic representations of Raffles, that Lord Minto was himself at the head of the expedition directed against it. The king's regiments that had been engaged against the French islands, some from Bengal, some sepoys, and the Governor General's Body Guard, constituted a large force, which was placed under the Madras Commander-in-Chief, Sir Samuel Achmuty. Malacca had been the rendezvous, and when all were assembled, the force set out in two divisions, under Gillespie and Gibbs. The Governor General, like more famous examples in recent times, went as a volunteer. Napoleon, anticipating an attack, had sent out as large re-inforcements as he could then spare, under General Daendals as Governor, but ere the attack took place, he was superseded by Jansens, who was transferred from the Cape of Good Hope when it fell into our hands. On the 4th of August, the fleet, under Rear-admiral Stopford, anchored in the Bay of Batavia, and preparations were made for effecting a landing at Chilingyi, ten miles to the east of the town of Batavia. Leyden, with all his curiosity roused, and eager with excitement, was the first to touch the ground, leaping into the surf, and triumphantly rejoicing in the exploit. They marched in two divisions on Batavia and on Cornelis. Jansens had abandoned the former for the latter fort, which he was busily strengthening.

When Batavia was thus quietly taken possession of, Leyden lost no time in pursuing his search after books, MSS., anti-

quities, and whatever could throw light on the literature and customs of the Javanese. There was a library in the town, which was reported to be rich in MSS. such as he wished to lay his hands on. On his way to it, his attention was directed for a little to a "godown," or low room in one of the Dutch public offices, which was a repository of their records, and in which several Javanese curiosities were said to be kept. It had been long shut, and the air of the room was most deadly. In this place, and not in the library as is sometimes asserted, Leyden caught that ague and fever which prostrated him at once, and finally carried him off three days after on the 28th of August, 1811,* in the thirty-sixth year of his age. No men in the expedition were more affected by the sudden stroke than Lord Minto and his attached friend Mr. Raffles. They carried him to the grave, and, with their own hands, consigned his body to its sad resting-place,

> "A distant and a deadly shore
> Has LEYDEN's cold remains."

Leyden's death was in keeping with his life, and was truly one befitting a linguist. He was a martyr to his too eager pursuit of that orientalism, which had been the dream of his youth and the study of his manhood, and had formed the basis of anticipations, which, if they were sometimes extravagant, owing to the honest integrity and frank expression of his character, had a more solid foundation than perhaps those of any scholar in the East, save Jones, Colebrooke and Wilkins, and, if we look at him merely as a linguist, save Jones alone. His former kind patron Richard Heber, and his intimate friend William Erskine, were

* On the very day that Leyden was seized by his mortal sickness, Sir Walter Scott wrote him, introducing to him Lady Hood, the wife of Sir Samuel Hood, who was appointed to take the naval command in the Indian seas, and who had, first formed a high opinion of Leyden and, as Scott says, gained his own heart, by her admiration of the 'Scenes of Infancy' The letter is most interesting. It was returned unopened by Lady Hood, when she heard of his death, accompanied by a letter on the subject from herself, and one from Sir J. Malcolm, along with some "spirited stanzas," on Leyden's untimely fate, from Henry Ellis, afterwards the Right Honorable, and, in 1836, our ambassador at the Court of Persia. In Scott's letter he says, "my last went by favour of John Pringle (a son of Pringle of Whytbank) who carried you a copy of the Lady of the Lake, a poem which I really think you will like better than Marmion on the whole, though not perhaps in particular passages. Pray let me know if it carried you back to the land of mist and mountain? * * * The best domestic intelligence is that the Sheriff of Selkirkshire, his lease of Ashestiel being out, has purchased about 100 acres, about three miles from Melrose. There, saith fame, he designs to bigg himself a bower, *sibi et amicis*, and happy will be he when India shall return you to a social meal at his cottage. * * * * Adieu, dear Leyden! Pray brighten the chain of friendship by a letter when occasion serves; and believe me ever yours most affectionately.

WALTER SCOTT.

his literary executors, and his life was written and poetical remains edited by a relative of his own, the Rev. James Morton. A more genial and perhaps laudatory memoir is that by Sir Walter Scott, who was better fitted to appreciate the moral characteristics and purely literary attainments of the man, than to estimate the relative acquirements of the scholar.

Our task would be but imperfectly accomplished without a glance at Leyden's works, and an attempt to assign him his position as a scholar, on the basis of these and of the other testimony that we have on the subject.

In the sketch that we have given of his life, we have made sufficiently full allusions to his purely literary works published ere he left for India. They are chiefly of a poetical cast, and at the time of their publication met with much favour from the public and from the literary men of his own country and time. We cannot agree in the estimate that was then formed of him as a poet, and that has floated down by tradition and general consent to our own day, and is now current among many who have never read his poems. Our decided opinion is, after having read with some care all his effusions, that he is not entitled to the rank of even a third-rate poet. We would hold that the few poetical essays in which Sir William Jones was accustomed to regale his leisure; to relieve the severer pursuits in which he spent his life, and to express the elegance and polish of his mind, were much, very much, superior to anything that Leyden has composed; and yet no one has ever laid claim, on behalf of Sir W. Jones, to the character of the true poet, on whom the *divinus afflatus* has conferred the rare gift. Much of Jones' poetry was composed with reference to his orientalism, and called forth by his oriental pursuits. The strains of the Persian poets demanded, in translation, a poetic dress, and few have ever been able to express in their own tongue the poetry of another so elegantly and truthfully as he. In nothing that Leyden has written, can we find the equal of what has been so often quoted as Jones' masterpiece —a translation of a Persian epigram.

> On parent knees, a naked new-born child,
> Weeping thou sat'st while all around thee smil'd;
> So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
> Calm thou may'st smile, while all around thee weep.

Now if we do not claim, and if few, but the most enthusiastic admirers of Jones, have ever claimed for him the character of a true poet, especially as such is understood in this age of the predominance of the lyric, the subjective and intensive school, when Pope's merits are, not questioned, but almost decid-

edly, and as of course, denied; much less can we calmly and critically give Leyden even a very low niche in the poetic *fane. He lived at a time when poetry was dead or but beginning to revive; when the wretchedly artificial and immoral school of the Restoration, followed by the no less artificial, but not immoral, though less talented school of Queen Anne,* had brought forth their bitter fruits in barrenness, flippancy, and conceit; when the strains of Leyden's fellow-borderer Thomson, and those of the gentle Cowper, were just beginning to be heard, and to recall the nation to nature and to God, to the simple, the pure, and the truly poetical. Sir Walter Scott was a transition between the two schools, seeking refuge from the dreary artificialities of his predecessors in the glorious freedom and life of a semi-barbarous age. Leyden was essentially of the old and the dying school, a versifier like Pope, but not a poet, a jingler of rhymes and a selecter of appropriate epithets and artistic scenes, but destitute of self-unconsciousness, of natural elegance, of æsthetic culture, of deep feeling, of ability to 'subjectify' himself, of the gift, in a word, that raises man nearer to God than any, save inspiration, our race has ever enjoyed.

And let not this seem to be strange, because not borne out by his life, which we have seen to be that of the poet, as to character at least. Like many men he could appreciate, judge of, enjoy true poetry. But he was not a poet, a maker, a creator, one who could express in, and marry to, immortal verse his feelings and ideas. Hence he who was Scott's most able and indispensable assistant in the publication of that work, which, with those of George Ellis and Bishop Percy, constituted the dawn of the 'real' in poetry—the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, failed, when, as in the ballads he contributed to it, and in the "Scenes of Infancy," he attempted himself to describe the old life and scenery of that Border. Hence that latter work, which was his poetical *Magnum Opus*, and which he wrote under the same circumstances that occasioned some of the most glorious passages in the "Childe Harold," and after being surrounded with the same scenery and associations as Thomson had gazed on and immortalised in his "Seasons," has been well described by a critic, as "one of the heaviest descriptive poems in our language, and that is saying much." We cannot fill our pages with extracts from this poem, or from his shorter odes and occasional pieces. As a descriptive poem the "Scenes of Infancy" required but little of the power of *conception*, which, after all that has been written about poetry, constitutes the one poetic pole, of which *unconsciousness* is the other. We prefer almost any of his smaller pieces to it, as is

edly, and as of course, denied; much less can we calmly and critically give Leyden even a very low niche in the poetic fane. He lived at a time when poetry was dead or but beginning to revive; when the wretchedly artificial and immoral school of the Restoration, followed by the no less artificial, but not immoral, though less talented school of Queen Anne, had brought forth their bitter fruits in barrenness, flippancy, and conceit; when the strains of Leyden's fellow-borderer Thomson, and those of the gentle Cowper, were just beginning to be heard, and to recall the nation to nature and to God, to the simple, the pure, and the truly poetical. Sir Walter Scott was a transition between the two schools, seeking refuge from the dreary artificialities of his predecessors in the glorious freedom and life of a semi-barbarous age. Leyden was essentially of the old and the dying school, a versifier like Pope, but not a poet, a jingler of rhymes and a selecter of appropriate epithets and artistic scenes, but destitute of self-unconsciousness, of natural elegance, of æsthetic culture, of deep feeling, of ability to 'subjectify' himself, of the gift, in a word, that raises man nearer to God than any, save inspiration, our race has ever enjoyed.

And let not this seem to be strange, because not borne out by his life, which we have seen to be that of the poet, as to character at least. Like many men he could appreciate, judge of, enjoy true poetry. But he was not a poet, a maker, a creator, one who could express in, and marry to, immortal verse his feelings and ideas. Hence he who was Scott's most able and indispensable assistant in the publication of that work, which, with those of George Ellis and Bishop Percy, constituted the dawn of the 'real' in poetry—the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, failed, when, as in the ballads he contributed to it, and in the "Scenes of Infancy," he attempted himself to describe the old life and scenery of that Border. Hence that latter work, which was his poetical *Magnum Opus*, and which he wrote under the same circumstances that occasioned some of the most glorious passages in the "Childe Harold," and after being surrounded with the same scenery and associations as Thomson had gazed on and immortalised in his "Seasons," has been well described by a critic, as "one of the heaviest descriptive poems in our language, and that is saying much." We cannot fill our pages with extracts from this poem, or from his shorter odes and occasional pieces. As a descriptive poem the "Scenes of Infancy" required but little of the power of *conception*, which, after all that has been written about poetry, constitutes the one poetic pole, of which *unconsciousness* is the other. We prefer almost any of his smaller pieces to it, as is

the case so often with those who have but a doubtful title to the sacred character of *Vates*. As a fair specimen, and as an illustration of a subject which is at once Indian and admirably poetical in its capabilities, we give the following "Verses, 'written at the island of Saugur, in the mouth of the Ganges, 'in 1807:"—

"On sea-girt Sagur's desert isle,
Mantled with thickets dark and dun,
May never moon or starlight smile,
Nor ever beam the summer sun!—
Strange deeds of blood have there been done,
In mercy ne'er to be forgiven;
Deeds the far-seeing eye of heaven
Veiled his radiant orb to shun.

To glut the shark and crocodile
A mother brought her infant here:
She saw its tender playful smile,
She shed not one maternal tear;—
She threw it on a watery bier:—
With grinding teeth sea monsters tore
The smiling infant which she bore:—
She shrunk not once its cries to hear!

Ah! mark that victim wildly drest,
His streaming beard is hoar and grey,
Around him floats a crimson vest,
Red-flowers his matted locks array.—
Heard you these brazen timbrels bray?
His heart-blood on the lotus flower
They offer to the Evil Power;
And offering turn their eyes away.

Dark Goddess of the iron mace,*
Flesh-tearer! quaffing life-blood warm,
The terrors of thine awful face
The pulse of mortal hearts alarm.—
Grim Power! if human woes can charm,
Look to the horrors of the flood,
Where crimson'd Ganga shines in blood,
And man-devouring monsters swarm.

Skull-chaplet-wearer! whom the blood
Of man delights a thousand years,
Than whom no face, by land or flood,
More stern and pitiless appears,
Thine is the cup of human tears.
For pomp of human sacrifice
Cannot the cruel blood suffice
Of tigers, which thine island rears?

* Kali.

Not all blue Ganga's mountain flood,
That rolls so proudly round thy fane,
Shall cleanse the tinge of human blood,
Nor wash dark Sagur's impious stain:
The sailor, journeying on the main,
Shall view from far the dreary isle,
And curse the ruins of the pile
Where Mercy ever sued in vain."

The two passages of his poetry that have been most praised by critics are his "Verses on the Death of Nelson," and his description of the spectre-ship in the "Scenes of Infancy." The former is not superior to the piece given above, and the latter is utterly defective in imaginative power. Viewed in the light of the "Ancient Mariner" of Coleridge, the slave pieces of Cowper, and even the "City of the Plague" of Wilson, it is not once to be mentioned. Yet Sir Walter Scott, living at the dawn instead of the full noon-day of the poetry of the nineteenth century, praises the Scene in his notes to Rokeby.* The same district gave birth to Thomson, and to Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd, and the same scenery and early life to Burns. The "Seasons" and "Bonny Kilmeny" and every Scotch line of Burns, now live in the hearts and on the tongues of their countrymen, but the muse of Leyden is dead, the faint breeze that swept through his lyre has ceased to blow, and its strings lie, broken, useless, forgotten, on the ground. Who quotes his lines, who remembers his song? He expressed not the great thoughts and feelings of the big heart of humanity in his verse, and humanity has let him die.

Leyden was not a poet. We do not even grant that he was a great scholar, in the sense that Sir William Jones was; but he was a linguist, a great, even a wonderful linguist, and it is in this capacity that we admire and wonder at his powers, that we praise his perseverance and his talent, and that posterity, if it think of him at all, will remember him. We have seen that the whole characteristics and habits of his mind, the genius and aims of the nation to which he belonged, and the nature of the education which he received, unfitted him for scholarship. In the first place he had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge of all kinds. If this is not limited and checked, or rather intensified by being confined to one channel, the necessary result is sciolism, versatility, uselessness. Such a thirst can only be regulated by discipline, and this he did not enjoy or did not benefit by.

In the second place, and as flowing from this, man's faculties and capacities being limited and unable to cope with and satisfy

* Canto II. Stanza XI. Note IX.

the intensity of desire, he was forced to be content with what he called "scaffolding," with but partial knowledge, with but side-views of the subjects of his study. He dwelt in no single niche of the temple of truth, but wandered madly and excitedly from place to place of it, offering up his incense; he was fickle and unsteady in his attachment to this goddess and to that, and the result was that they avenged themselves by scorn, or neglect, or at most a rare smile of approval and confidence. The necessary consequence of a clash between the limitation of man's powers, and the intensity of man's curiosity and extent of his audacity, was, in his case as in that of every other—Sciolism.

In the third place, Leyden had an excessive fondness for boasting, or rather, for stating honestly and favourably at all times and in all places what he thought his own powers and acquisitions were. Lord Cockburn, in his own exquisite way, admirably illustrates this in his "Memorials of his Time"—"This conspicuous defect used to be called affectation, 'but in reality it was pretension. A pretension however of 'a very innocent kind, which, without derogating in the least 'from the claim of any other, merely exaggerated not his own 'merits or what he had done, but his capacity and ambition 'to do more. Ever in a state of excitement, ever panting for 'things unattainable by ordinary mortals, and successful to an 'extent sufficient to rouse the hopes of a young man ignorant of 'life, there was nothing that he thought beyond his reach; and 'not knowing what insincerity was, he spoke of his powers and 'his visions as openly as if he had been expounding what might 'be expected of another person. Yet at the same time that he 'was thus exposing himself, he was not only simple, but generous 'and humble." Leyden's own declaration of himself was, "I 'often verge so nearly on absurdity, that I know it is perfectly 'easy to misconceive me as well as misrepresent me." The statement thus made by Cockburn, who was a master-analyst of character, and had the best opportunities for becoming acquainted with Leyden, is, we conceive, taken in conjunction with our two preceding remarks, as emphatic against the possibility of great Jones-like scholarship in our hero's case, as it is strong in supporting our belief that he was not only fitted to be, but was, a great and wonderful linguist. If to all this we add the consideration of the evidences of his scholarship as given us in the fruits of it which he left behind him, we shall be settled in our conviction.

During his residence in Penang, he spent much of his time in visiting the islands of the Straits, and culling information as to their inhabitants, which he afterwards arranged in the shape of a Dissertation, "On the Languages and Literature of

the Indo-Chinese Nations" read before the Asiatic Society, and published at page 158 of the Calcutta edition of the tenth volume of their Researches. In it, after approaching with wonderful closeness to the great law of Comparative Philology as an *applied* science, in the remark that the method of examining the mutual relations of the several languages current among these nations, "when applied on an extensive scale, is always the 'surest clue for developing the origin of a nation, and indicating 'the revolutions to which it may have been subjected, either 'by foreign conquest or colonization," he considers the Indo-Chinese languages under the three divisions of polysyllabic, monosyllabic, and the learned language—Pali.

Polysyllabic.	*Monosyllabic.*
1 Malayu.	7 Kukheng.
2 Jawa.	8 Bárma.
3 Bugis.	9 Mon.
4 Bima.	10 Thay.
5 Batta.	11 Khôhmén.
6 Gála or Tâgàla.	12 Lâw.
	13 Anám.

Learned language
14—Pali

He takes up each language, with a few of its cognate dialects, gives in many cases comparative lists of some of its vocables, furnishes not a little information on its literature, in the case of the most important translates a few poems and proverbs, and states what hitherto has been done by European scholars, and especially by the Dutch, who had better opportunities than all others for the elucidation of the subject. The paper is an admirable one, especially so, when we consider the time at which it was written. Since then, the Dutch scholars, true to their first love and again in possession of their abused dependency of Batavia, have done and are doing much in this department of philology.

In 1810, Leyden was Deputy Secretary of the Asiatic Society, and contributed to the eleventh volume of their Researches a paper "on the Rosheniah Sect, and its Founder, Bayezid Ansári." He had been engaged in studying Pushtoo, the language of the Afghans, and in the course of his studies he met with an account of this sect and of its founder. The sect was Mussulman in its origin, and took its rise in Affghanistan, in that period of religious and political ferment which preceded the time of Akbar. BAYEZID was what may be called an Arab Afghan, and being a man of no small ability, and having been acquainted with the tenets of the

Ismailiyah sect who had their head-quarters in the mountains of Khorassan, he was led, like Mahomet his ideal, to set up for himself in the character of a prophet. So successful was he, that he speedily attracted all the nation to his beliefs, and soon added the character of a military adventurer to that of a religious prophet, contending successfully and long against both Akbar and Shah Jehan. He was also an elegant writer, and the first who composed a work in the Pushtoo language. Leyden takes his information from Mosiiani Fani, the author of *Dabistan-i-Marahil*, an author highly praised by Sir W. Jones, and friendly on the whole to the heretic; and from Akhun Derwezeh, who is just as hostile to him. Leyden translates from his Makhzan Afghani, a prose work on the "ritual and moral practice of Islam," in which there is a narrative of the life and doctrines of Bayezid Ansari. Originally written in Pushtoo, the work had been translated into Persian, and several copies of the translation were procured in Persia by Sir John Malcolm, and presented to Leyden. After recounting the deeds of Bayezid, he translates literally the account that Akhun Derwezeh gives of the Rosheniah sect which he founded. It differed but little from the *Ismailiyah* heresy, the believers in which were simply Mussulman mystics: "they 'maintained Paradise to consist solely in the repose of the 'body from the troubles of life, and hell to be nothing but 'the molestation of the body, by trouble and affliction." It is said that some of the followers of Bayezid still exist among the wild tribes of the *Yusefzei*, and in Peshawur and Cabul, that they conceal their practices and books, and that they meet by night in an old ruin where their founder formerly dwelt, and at which the orthodox Mussulman, as he passes by, throws stones with curses on the sect. The term Rosheniah is applied to them from the word *Roshan*, or the luminous, a title assumed by Bayezid himself.

After the death of Leyden, his friend Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles resolved to publish a translation that had been made by him of the "Sajarah Malayu" or Malay Annals. We have had already occasion to notice the connexion that Leyden had with the islands of the Straits, and the interest that he ever took in their future civilisation by the British, based on the anger that he felt that a race, in every point of character and disposition and capability of being civilised, so superior to the Hindu, should be so down-trodden and abused by the Dutch. Indeed, if Leyden as a linguist was identified with any people, language, or class of languages, it was with the Malay, and we feel that the mission of his life, had it been longer, would have been to investigate, as has not yet been done, the Mongol or monosyllabic

class of languages (TURANIAN), and perhaps to have anticipated, with his knowledge of the Indo-European in its leading members, the farther analysis which scholars are attempting, so as to unite that family still more closely with the IRANIAN in vocables and grammatical laws. The "Malay Annals," as a posthumous publication, is a simple translation, introduced by some interesting remarks by Raffles—himself no mean Malay scholar—on the importance of the islands. We regret that our space will not allow us to give the reader a specimen of these 'Annals.' They are not a little interesting, beginning with the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, or Rajah Secander, they shew how he defeated Rajah Kida Hindi who embraced "the true faith 'according to the law of the prophet Ibrahim," how he married Hindi's daughter, Shaker-ul-Beriah "whose face glittered and 'shone like the sun, and whose understanding and qualities were 'equally remarkable," how a son was born to them named Arason Shah, "who in every respect was the perfect picture of his father Raja Secander Zulkarneini, who finally, after the space of forty-five years, returned to "Makedonia." And so on the dynasty is traced to Rajah Suran Padshah who invaded China with "one thousand and two lacs" of men, of whom the annalist says, as they marched two whole months, "the darkest 'night was illuminated by the light of their armour, like the lustre of the full moon; and the noise of the thunder could not be 'heard, for the loud noise of the champions and warriors mixed 'with the cries of horses and elephants." He came to Johore, near the extreme point of the Eastern Peninsula, and despairing of finding China, and anxious to become acquainted with the contents of the sea, as he had of the land, he shut himself up in a chest, was let down into it, was driven to Zeya, got out, found himself in the midst of a people named Barsam, of whom one-half were infidels and the other true believers, and married the daughter of the rajah of the place. But we must stop. The whole book is not less wonderful in its stories than the Arabian Night's Entertainments.

The last of the published works of Leyden is the part of the translation of the Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, which was revised and completed by his friend and literary executor William Erskine. These memoirs were written in the *Jaghtai* (or *Chaghatai*) Tûrkish language, or Tûrki, so called to distinguish it as the language of the original Tûrks from that of the Osmanlis or Turks of Constantinople. The language was spoken over a vast extent of country, ruled over by Jaghtai Khan, the son of the renowned Ghengiz Khan, embracing the whole of the Tartar country or Turan, from the Ulugh Tagh mountains on the north to the Hindu Kush on the south, and from

the Caspian Sea to the deserts of Cobi. We must neither on the one side confound the Tûrki with the language of the Mongols,* nor on the other with its degraded but lately refined Turkish, so familiar to many of our officers during the Crimean war. The memoirs were written by Baber in his own Tûrki, probably after his last invasion of India, and were so highly valued by succeeding emperors that they frequently transcribed them, that they might be more generally and easily understood. Akbar caused them to be translated into Persian by Mirza Abdal Rahim. Leyden found, probably in the library of Fort-William College, or perhaps in Elphinstone's Collection of MSS., a copy of the work in the original Tûrki. Assisted by a native—a Persian Tûrk of Ganj, he began to translate it, but soon met with too many difficulties to allow him to proceed with the work at his ease. Erskine, however, sent him a copy of the Persian translation from Bombay, which greatly assisted him, and he was in the midst of the work when he was summoned to early death. His unfinished translation was left in the hands of his friend Dr. James Hare, Jr., of Calcutta, to whom Erskine applied for it. It had been sent to Richard Heber in England, and so Erskine set himself, at the earnest entreaty of Malcolm and Elphinstone, to translate the work from the intermediate Persian with the assistance of the Tûrk who had aided Leyden. He had finished it when, in 1813, he received Leyden's MS. from Heber. What was to be done? Erskine procured a copy in the original Tûrki from Peshawur through Elphinstone, and of the Persian from Delhi through Metcalfe. Aided by Mulla Firûz and some natives of Uzbeck Tartary, he went over the whole again, and the result was that the English work, as we now have it, may be considered as Erskine's, though his affection for one whom he describes as "the only companion of my faithful studies and cares, whom 'I have met, or can ever hope to meet, in this land of exile," and his admiration of his talents, cause him to ascribe more credit to Leyden than was perhaps justly his due. Such are the only four scholarly works of Leyden that were published. Hence the grief that many felt at his premature death. But a few years more and he would, humanly speaking, have finished those works which, like the schemes of Alexander and Cæsar, were left in embryo. Erskine in the dedication of his translation of the *Zehir-Ed-din Muhammed Baber* to Elphinstone says, and as one of his literary executors, though perhaps a too partial friend, he could say so intelligently. "The 'number and variety of the literary undertakings of that extra-

* See Klaproth.

'ordinary man, many of which he had conducted far towards a 'conclusion, would have excited surprise had they been executed 'by a recluse scholar, who had no public duty to perform, and 'whose time was devoted to literature alone."

Throughout all these works the talent of the Linguist, and not of the Scholar in the highest sense of the term, are evident. But we question if the Linguist cannot lay claim to almost as high a place as the scholar, and whether the heaven-given power which, as we shall now more fully see, was Leyden's to a great extent, ought not to excite our admiration and call forth our wonder even more than that which, though in itself more useful, and demanding the exercise of higher powers, may be less rarely met with. In looking at the testimony that we have to Leyden's linguistic power, and especially to its extent, we shall consider the powers of mind and the tone of disposition that are generally acknowledged to be necessary for success in learning to use many languages, and see what evidence there is that Leyden possessed these and to what extent. We shall then look at the actual attainments Leyden is said to have possessed, and the character of the testimony to the extent and nature of these attainments. We may merely premise, with Dr. Russell in his admirable life of that prince of linguists—Cardinal Mezzofanti,* that "knowing" a language may be fairly said to consist in reading it fluently and with ease, in writing it correctly in prose, or still more, in verse, and above all in being admitted by intelligent and educated natives to speak it correctly and idiomatically. The evidence for Leyden on these points is far less in extent and far less perfect in character than that of Mezzofanti, but we must remember that the latter died in a good age when seventy-four years old, while Leyden was cut off when only thirty-six, a time of life much too early for fruit to appear in all its ripeness and luxuriance, and that Leyden also was not placed in such a prominent position as to enable his linguistic power to travel beyond the sphere of a few of his most intimate friends.

But still we would not, in any case, dare to contrast him with one who was the wonder of our age, who was *acquainted* with *one hundred and fourteen languages*, and *well versed* in *seventy-eight*. Next to him, and moving in a much more contracted orbit, we have such lesser stars as Mithridates of Pontus, who according to Aulus Gellius knew well *twenty-five* languages, being those of the nations who were subject to him; Jonadal, the Morocco Jew surnamed Alkanar, "the serpent," from his

* The Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti with an introductory Memoir of Eminent Linguists, Ancient and Modern. By C. W. Russell, D. D., President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. London: Longman, Brown and Co. 1858.

constancy to his faith, who, according to Duret, spoke and w *twenty-eight* languages; Pico della Mirandola (1463) who reported to know *twenty-two* at the age of eighteen; and William Jones who knew *twenty-eight* languages. We next to them several scholars, among whom in modern times Niebhur, Sir John Bowring, Elihu Burrit, and Csoma de Körös, a Hungarian scholar familiar to the *savans* of Calcutta forty years ago, who knew *eighteen* or *twenty*. The number who knew even *ten* is probably rarer than is generally supposed. We should certainly not hesitate to place Leyden in the list of those who knew *twenty*, and had he been spared to extend and deepen his linguistic acquisitions, he would certainly have equalled even Sir William Jones as a Linguist at least.

If attention be paid to the powers of mind that are necessary for the successful acquisition of many languages, and if the lives of linguists who have attained eminence be carefully studied, it will be found that they may be reduced under Memory, and what Sir W. Hamilton calls the Elaborative, Discursive, or Logical faculty, to which belongs the power of analysis. The former of these supplies to the mind at all times through suggestion or reminiscence (according as it acts with or without will) the data on which the latter works. Ideas, methods, and words are stored in memory, according to the vividness with which they have been first apprehended, and this vividness depends much on the emotions with which the acquisition of them may have co-existed, or perhaps on the degree of imagination that may have been exercised in the course of it. Words and methods once acquired are submitted to the analysing and generalising power of the logical faculty, and then methodically arranged in memory. The first requisite accordingly is one of character and disposition rather than mental power, and may be called perseverance, enthusiasm, power of will, power of abstraction and attention, and vividness of representation.

That Leyden possessed these in a high degree, no reader of the preceding pages will doubt. That he possessed a memory also of the highest order, there is abundant testimony in the following anecdote and statement by Sir John Malcolm, "His 'memory was most tenacious, and he sometimes loaded it with 'lumber. When he was at Mysore an argument occurred on 'a point of English history, it was agreed to refer it to Leyden, 'and to the astonishment of all parties, he repeated verbatim 'the whole of an act of Parliament in the reign of James the 'first, relative to Ireland, which decided the point in dispute." He had referred to this document several years before as a specimen of the English style of that age, and now reproduced

it verbatim. He was however defective in the power of analysis, which he did not possess in so high a degree as the other necessary qualifications. Cockburn's testimony is emphatic as to his character in respect of linguistic success, especially when read in the light of the previous part of his statement which we quoted—"There is no work in life depending on ability where 'Leyden could not have shone. Unwearying industry was 'sustained and inspired by burning enthusiasm. Whatever 'he did, his whole soul was in it. His physical energy was as 'vigorous as his mental." And this after alluding to the remark of Sir James Mackintosh, who used to call him his "wild friend," and laugh at his professing to know "only seventy languages." If every petty dialect and *patois* of the languages he really knew, and those he only partially knew, be summed up, we question if he could not have made out a good case for himself. We need not quote from Scott, Richard Heber, or George Ellis on this point.

What were his actual linguistic attainments? We have made up the following list from all the authorities we could consult on the subject, marking with an asterisk those languages which he could not be said to know *well*, and entering those dialects which cannot be counted as languages in Italics. The arrangement adopts the scientific division into three classes:—

Iranian or Indo-European.	Shemitic.	Turanian.
1 *Sanscrit.	19 *Hebrew.	22 Malay.
2 *Pali.	20 *Arabic.	23 *Malayalim*
3 Bengali.	21 *Syriac.	24 *Javanese.*
4 Hindustani.		25 *Bugis.*
5 Persian.		26 *Bali.*
6 Pushtoo.		27 *Anam.*
7 *Armenian.		28 *Tûrki.*
8 Greek.		29 (Dravidian.)
9 Latin.		30 Tamil.
10 *Italian.		31 *Ladda Lippee or Veraggia.*
11 French.		32 *Telugu.*
12 *Spanish.		33 *Mahratta.*
13 *Portuguese.		34 *Canara.*
14 *Italian.		
15 *German.		
16 *Icelandic.		
17 English.		
18 *Scotch.*		

We have here a list of *thirty-four* tongues and dialects corresponding to the total one hundred and fourteen of Mezzo-

santi. Of these we may fairly say that Leyden knew twenty-one, or those not marked with asterisks. In addition to the evidence that we have from his own works, in which occur translations from most of these and allusions to others, we have the following competent orientalists as witnesses—Dr. Alexander Murray, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh, William Erskine of Bombay, Sir John Malcolm, the Earl of Minto, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, and Henry Colebrooke. We may add Dr. Russell also, who speaks of Leyden as a "very extraordinary linguist," and a hypercritical writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, who certainly has no tendency to overpraise him, and says, "his genius for the acquisition of languages was, no doubt, very extraordinary."* As to Dr. Murray, both he and Leyden on different occasions, and without the knowledge of each other, observed that there was no one in Edinburgh whom they should be so afraid to contend with in languages as each other. Erskine thus speaks of Leyden, "The facility with which he mastered an uncommon 'number of languages, ancient and modern, European and 'oriental, the extent and ingenuity of his antiquarian enquiries 'into the antiquities and literature of his own country, and even 'the beauty of his poetical genius, are surpassed by the sagacious 'and philosophical spirit which he evinced in the latter period of 'his life, in his different memoirs regarding the languages of the 'East, and particularly those of Hindustan, Bengal, the Dekhan, 'and Northern India."

Sir John Malcolm's testimony, if not of such weight as Erskine's, is even more interesting, as it gives us a glimpse of the linguist at his work. "The greatest power of his mind was 'perhaps shown in his acquisition of modern and ancient lan-'guages. He exhibited an unexampled facility, not merely in 'acquiring them, but in tracing their affinity and connexion with 'each other. It is not easy to convey an idea of the method 'which Dr. Leyden used in his studies, or to describe the 'unconquerable ardour with which these were pursued. During 'his early residence in India, I had a particular opportunity of 'observing both. When he read a lesson in Persian, a person 'near him, whom he had taught, wrote down each word on a 'long slip of paper, which was afterwards divided into as many 'pieces as there were words, and pasted in alphabetical order, 'under different heads of verbs, nouns, &c., into a blank book that 'formed a vocabulary of each day's lesson. All this he had, in a 'few hours, instructed a very ignorant native to do; and this man 'he used, in his broad accent, to call 'one of his mechanical

* Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. V. p. 5.

'aids.'" Leyden himself, in a letter, describes some of the difficulties that he met with in the way of these 'mechanical aids.' He well compares the orientalists of his day in India to the scholars at the Revival of letters in Europe. He was exposed to the same tricks on the part of the natives as Wilford, but was too "canny" to be taken in as he was. "I have had a 'Brahmin engaged to teach me Sanscrit, who scarcely knew a 'syllable of the language. I have had another attempt to palm 'Hindustani on me for Mahratta. I have had a Brahmin 'likewise attempt to impose a few *slogas*, which are in the 'mouths of every one, on me, for the translation of an ancient 'inscription in the ancient Canara character. Indeed the moral 'character of the Hindus—the blameless, mild, patient, innocent 'children of nature, as they are ridiculously termed by gossipping 'ignorances, who never set their eyes on them—is as utterly 'worthless and devoid of probity, as their religion is wicked, 'shameless, impudent, and obscene." Lord Minto, on the occasion of his visitation of the College of Fort William, when he returned from his Java expedition, pronounced what may well be termed an *Eloge* on John Leyden, in words which he terms a just and authorised tribute to his merits. The eulogium is noble, when we remember that it was pronounced by a triumphant proconsul and an elegant and accomplished scholar, on the son of a plebeian, who farmed a small holding on his own rich paternal estates. Well might he speak of that honest peasant's son as

"Ornamentum regionis meae."

Lord Minto speaks of "the zeal he had long nourished for 'exploring the philosophy of the more eastern regions of Asia; 'of the first steps he had already made in the prosecution of that 'purpose, by the construction and diffusion of vocabularies, but 'above all, by methodising and reducing into system the classification of the various languages spoken on the continent 'intermediate between India and China, the various kingdoms 'anddistricts of which, as they recede from each of these extreme 'points, appear with some relation to their local approximation, or 'to historical affinities, gradually to have blended and assimilated 'their respective languages into compound dialects, partaking of 'both the distinct and primitive tongues. In like manner, Dr. 'Leyden proposed to establish some principles already, perhaps, 'conceived in his mind, for governing his investigation of the 'numerous tongues and dialects of the eastern Archipelago."

The opinion that Sir S. Raffles had of Leyden will be found in the fact of his editing his translation of the Malay Annals, and in the introduction prefixed to the work. The great

Henry Colebrooke, who was so accomplished in the Sanscrit class of languages, on more than one occasion expressed his high opinion of the Papers and Grammars compiled by Leyden.

While, then, Leyden's chief claim to that renown for which he so panted, and to that admiration which his contemporaries so showered upon him, is that he was a great linguist, we see in him not a little of the philologer. The above testimonies, and his paper on the Indo-Chinese languages, abundantly shew that, considering the position of the science of comparative philology in his days, and the plans that he formed for his future researches, he might have done much to advance it. He would at least have been supreme as an authority on the Malay family of the Turanian languages. Marsden, who was Chief Secretary of Government in Sumatra, and returned to England in 1779, had broken ground on the subject in his essay on the Polynesian or East Insular languages, and Leyden was worthily carrying out the work thus begun, when his genius and his virtues, as Minto says, were buried in the very theatre of their intended energies. At the end of the last century, comparative philology had not passed out of the region of data, and materials in the shape of comparative lists of words, into the higher rank of laws and reasons and scientific classification. The researches of Leyden's predecessors had been largely lexical and glossarial, and the German school, which was headed by Frederick Schlegel and took its stand on the Sanscrit, had not yet given that prominent position to 'grammatical affinity,' which it now justly holds. Leyden almost anticipated some of those principles which are now regarded as the fixed laws of the science.

Like many men of scholarly and erudite tastes, Leyden published but little. We have three striking instances of this.—Magliabecchi who left nothing behind him, Mezzofanti of whom we have only a reprint of one or two addresses before a literary society, and Sir William Hamilton, almost all whose remains are fugitive, being originally contributed to periodicals, or editorial, as in the case of the works of Reid and Stewart. The few original dissertations, appended to his edition of the former, end in an unfinished sentence. In many cases the habit of mind necessary for the acquisition and retention of extensive stores of knowledge, when disjoined from great power of will, or a certain state of the emotional part of our nature, is quite opposed to that disposition and those powers of creation and expression, which render authorship either pleasant or successful.

In passing from Leyden, his career and character, we would only add that, while his powers in the one department of languages were as solidly wonderful as they appeared to be bril-

liant, there is much in his whole temperament and bearing in India, as well as in his premature fate, to excite our sympathy and call forth our imitation. While we would never hold, with some, that great genius and unusual powers are a sufficient apology for manners that are eccentric, we cannot see in Leyden much that we would willingly have done without. Eccentric he was but never ungentlemanly or rude, never immoral or unkind; his was the eccentricity of enthusiastic zeal, deep sympathy with certain persons and pursuits, unthinking simplicity of character, and open frankness of soul. We would point the young, as they land on the shores of India, to those features of character which gained for Leyden the reputation that he enjoys—to his grand energy, to his indomitable will, to his obstinacy in the path of right, to his unswerving independence and invincible consistency, to his perseverance which conquered sickness and discomfort and apathy and disgust, and would urge them to pursue the same path and cultivate the same virtues. Nay, we would ask them to set before themselves a higher ideal than even he, and to judge rather of what he might have been, had such a disposition and such powers as his been devoted to still higher ends, and inspired by a still higher spirit. But in his sphere he did God's work; he took his place in the front rank of civilisation, and manfully fought, immortal till his work was done. Let us believe that the day is not far distant, when those glorious islands, which, with his buried body, he seems still to claim as the heritage of a higher civilisation than they now enjoy, shall be the entrepôt of the commerce of three continents, and when, united under the sway of a people who fear God and respect the rights of humanity, they shall become a 'garden of the Lord.'

ART. II.—1. *Papers submitted to Parliament on the Mutinies in the East Indies.*

2. *Acts of the Legislative Council of India.*

NUMBERLESS have been the accounts of the general features of the Rebellion (for Mutiny it is no longer,) which has devastated the North-West Provinces of India for the last twelve months. The despatches tell us of the military disasters and successes. Private letters have told us of the hair-breadth escapes, the perils by land and by water through which some escaped, and the noble manner in which some died. Our object is to draw a more confined picture—to place before our readers the eventful details of one particular district, over which the storm burst heavily, but which was never abandoned by those to whose charge it had been confided; but still in the history of that small tract the amazing features of the revolutionary crisis came out with a marked effect. Much there is to thank Providence for; much to regret; much, that we rejoice to think that they were our countrymen who did it; much that we wish, for the sake of human nature, had not been done.

The district, to which we allude, is one of the largest and finest in the North-West Provinces. It is situated at that point where two of the greatest rivers of India unite their vast floods, and thus form the grandest stream in the old world. It contains more than one thousand villages and towns, divided by the rivers into three great natural divisions—that to the left and the right of the united floods, and that included between the two before their junction. It contains a population of nearly a million souls, and pays an annual revenue to Government from the land alone of two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Conspicuous among its towns and villages is an ancient and venerable city, bearing, as is the custom of India, a separate Hindu and Mohammedan name; for from the earliest period of traditionary legend, this place has been associated with the history of the greatest of the Hindu demi-gods, whom they still delight to honour; and in the time of the Mogul emperors, at the point of junction rose a noble fortress, which, since the time of British occupation, European skill has made one of the strongest in India; yet notwithstanding that it contained vast muniments of war, at the time of the outbreak there was in that fortress not one single European soldier.

To add to its importance, the development of inland steam navigation had made this city the emporium of river-borne

commerce, and at this place goods were transferred from the steamer to the bullock train. Nothing could reach the cities of the north, but through this outlet, for at this point river navigation ceased—at this point the great trunk road was conducted over one vast river by a bridge-of-boats, and a tramway more than a mile in length, and at this point had actually commenced the railway, and engineers were preparing to span the current of the second stream with a bridge of permanent construction. This city had once been the seat of Government, and is destined to be so again;—it was the emporium of our inland commerce, the basis of our military operations, which, failing this, must have fallen back on Fort William. It was a place of pilgrimage to millions of Hindus, it was looked upon with fond regret by that neighbouring Mohammedan power, from whose ancestors it had been wrung by one of our peaceful Governors General, by a diplomatic juggle. Yet, in spite of this, within a circle of one hundred miles from it as a centre, there was only one European regiment, destined itself to be beleaguered in a still greater more powerful Mohammedan capital. And yet those who still say that the Government of India failed in its duty!

The native force consisted of one regiment which we had recruited from the provinces Behar, which had helped us to win all our ba hitherto maintained a character for soldier-li field, and for tractability and general useful tonment. No suspicion of their fidelity human breast; they were encamped three mil leaving one company as garrison; under their civil treasury, containing one hundred and e pounds sterling in cash, opium, and stamps. officered by members of that Indian army, justly described by no mean authority as "a plished service," and which never has been supply of men suitable to the duties of the st were commanded by one of those Anglo-Indian an officer who had spent the best years of his life in ful duties of paying pensions, till he was forced by hi to resume his forgotten duties as a soldier. This regiment obtained a disgraceful superiority even among the mutinous regiments of Bengal, for it put on a semblance of fidelity with a view of drawing its employers into a heavier disaster; they mutinied at the worst time, and with the worst effect; their mutiny caused the abandonment of many stations, it hurried on the greatest of our catastrophes. They slew their

officers, they plundered the treasure, but they did not gain possession of the fortress; and so great was the plunder, that they were obliged to call in the mob to assist them: they broke up, dispersed, and ceased to be a regiment. Their number is never heard among the legions fighting against us. They threw away their arms to carry away bags of rupees; in their turn they were plundered and murdered by the villagers, or caught with their spoil, and hung by the magistrates of adjoining districts.

If this regiment, under its commanding officer, did its best to shake our hold on India, there was another regiment of another race of men, commanded by an officer of another stamp, to whom we are indebted for the safety of the fortress, and the averting of an evil greater than any that we have suffered. This regiment was composed of that long-legged, hairy, brave, and rough human material, which ten years ago had fought against us desperately to secure the independence of the Punjab, but, once defeated, they had enlisted under our banners, and aided us in our further march of conquest. The fidelity of these men was trembling in the balance; their conduct was guided by the bearing of their Captain and a calculation of their own interests; upon plunder and drunkenness were determined; whichever side they took, they carried of which the other regiment was composed, who hated the European; and so they continued for twenty-four hours beyond the other regiment, and determined the fate of the fortress. For- India, there were at that station men in civil the civil departments of the army, who were resource, and determined, whose lives and prepared till the crisis was over. They did what they could, and did it well, and at their gate one day "a body of men" in command of European troops, and in spite of cholera, in spite of climate, in spite difficulty, all went well, the Sikhs were ejected, and became the basis of our future operations.

narrate how the crisis was heralded, how on the of May the idea of their danger flashed on the Europeans of the station, who were doing their best to get through the long summer day, and in the evening were driving languidly down the beautiful avenues for which the station is celebrated, listening perhaps to the band of the faithful native regiment. No signs had warned the soldier of the coming mutiny of his men; not one man had stood forth to whisper a hint of the coming storm, yet it must have been a notorious fact in the ranks. The civilians were grinding

at their accustomed mill-stone; the judge, had he not happened to be absent on two months' leave, would have been dispensing indifferent law on facts still more indifferently discovered. The magistrate and collector was with one hand gathering in his revenue instalments then falling due, with the other was flogging petty thieves, or wrangling with some other authority. The administrative machine of the paternal Government was in full play. Had any one suggested to these gentlemen, civil or military, that their service would be soon required in the full blaze of the midday sun, they would have remonstrated; if a voice had warned them that a volcano was bursting beneath them, they would have scoffed. In the city was quiet, for the people were as ignorant as the rulers.

On the 12th of May, the dread whisper of what had happened at Meerut came flashing along the lightning line, and was talked over incredulously at the dinner table. On the 14th, full particulars reached the European, and magnified and lying accounts reached the native, portion of the community. Amazement and horror fell on the former, but a wild excitement raged in the city. Every man was conversing with his neighbour. Every thing was believed by a notoriously credulous people, nor were there wanting the malicious dispersers of premeditated slander. A belief gained ground that the Government had determined to make the whole community Christians, and that the personal servants of the civil authorities had already assumed Christian names to show non-resistance; a proclamation was issued to say that this was false.

On the 15th this excitement abated, but the corn market in India, like the stocks in England, is affected by every vibration of popular feeling, and the price of grain rose terribly, adding a real feature of alarm. By the 18th, the news of the progress of the mutiny at Delhi, of the political phase which the mutiny had assumed by making one of the venerable name of the king of Delhi, had aroused the demon of anarchy and rebellion in the people, had convinced the soldiers of the regiment that the time had arrived to act, and a meeting that day was held by the European residents to organize plans of defence, and to arrange on a signal for assembly. It is in such critical hours that the real character of men is displayed. Selfishness, weakness, cowardice, if they exist, then shew themselves. Not every man bearded like the pard then displays the true qualities of a soldier; not every officer of character previously established for talent and efficiency comes unscathed through this ordeal. Men fall back then on the original metal of which they were made; the

adventitious circumstances of rank and age then fail them. Let us be tender in dealing with those who have failed, for who can say how he would pass through the fiery furnace himself?

Worse and worse news daily arrived; it was proposed to move the treasure into the fort; fortunately that measure was opposed by those who saw matters clearer, that the only chance for the fort was to keep the treasure away from it, and to array the feeling of plunder against that of rebellion; not to unite them. A small party of European invalids, rejoicing in the name of the "Old Cripples," were brought over from a neighbouring station, more as a semblance of a European force:—

> "Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis
> Tempora nostra vacant——"

The storm was evidently approaching nearer, and on the 22nd May it was determined to send the women and children into the fort. Let it here be recorded to the honour of Englishwomen, that in this struggle there are no accounts of their hearts failing. Many have risen above the circumstances, and want but the pen of the historian to be considered heroines, but patient endurance, religious resignation, unselfish abandonment, have distinguished them all.

With that strange but noble infatuation, the officer commanding the sepoy regiment, and his subordinates, still trusted in their men; he believed what he wished, and determined to transfer his head quarters to the fort; this caused a regular panic, and a flight of men, women, and children, removing articles of property, including even baskets of dirty linen. At the earnest request of the civil authorities this plan was abandoned, and a volunteer corps of Europeans formed to patrol the city and station. It was the conclusion of the Mohammedan festival of Ramzan, and it was a known fact that the Sikhs, and the sepoy regiment, were plotting to seize the treasury. To the last some dying sparks of loyalty were exhibited by both corps, and spies exciting to mutiny were given up, and men promoted for so doing. The telegraph was still uninterrupted, but the news from the North West was bad. The news from Calcutta was nothing.

There was however a lull, and the most sanguine hoped that the storm might still be weathered. One or two European regiments would have saved the valley of the Ganges. The small parties that were available were pushed on as fast as possible, and the minds of Europeans were accustoming themselves to the new order of things, and the strong

were nerved to the struggle. On the 27th, the civil *Cutcherries* were re-opened, and the pension pay-master recommenced paying his pensioners, for it so happened that the station was crowded with upwards of one thousand loyal pensioners, men who had eaten the Company's salt during their whole lives, who in their own persons had experience of the fidelity and honour of the Government, and yet not one of these came forward to assist morally or physically the representatives of their benefactors. They at least must have known that their interests were bound up with the existence of the present Government, as no new dynasty would recognize their past services; but their eyes were blinded; it had pleased God to send forth false prophets, and to confound the wisdom of the wise. As the taint of infection corrupts the body, so had a moral epidemic corrupted the minds of men. There was no hope until the plague had worn itself out.

News came on the 31st of May of an émeute successfully put down by a strong and master hand in a neighbouring Mohammedan capital, and about this time the peace of the city was jeopardized by the wanton act of a railway official in deliberately shooting a cow. The offence seems to our notions ridiculously small, but it might have cost us a province, for it gave a handle to the Mohammedans to rouse the Hindus on their side. The existence of a Mohammedan conspiracy to exterminate the English was now a matter of notoriety. The lower rabble were excited by desire of plunder. The friends of the prisoners in the vast central gaol were anxious to liberate them; the quiet and well-intentioned were cowed; but the policy of the authorities was a sound one—to stave off the mutiny and the outbreak as long as possible, so as to allow of European reinforcements to find their way up, and to sacrifice the treasure rather than the fort.

Thus commenced the month of June—the most intensely hot period of the year, but the excitement kept men up to the mark, and exposure to the heat had wonderfully little effect on them. At length on the 4th of June came a hasty line by Telegraph from the next station in the North-West, now infamously notorious in the annals of India, to stop all further despatch of Europeans. This was the last faint echo of the last words of a noble band of Britons to their countrymen, for the Telegraph made no further sign: that same evening hot messengers brought in the news, that a great city and station to their east was in flames, and that the mutinous sepoys were marching on them. Their isolation from the world was now complete; their hour was come; they counted their volunteer force and found that it amounted to sixty-four, and their

"old cripples" amounted to sixty; they cut the bridge-of-boats, and every European went into the fort on the 5th of June.

The night passed quietly away, and in the morning the doomed officers returned to the lines of their faithful regiment, then about 600 strong; fortunately the civil authorities were less confident, and at nine o'clock in the evening the sound of a volley of musketry announced to them that a mutiny had broken out, and one or two survivors on fleet horses, or by circuitous routes, told them that all was over; nor did their word require confirmation, for some of the rabble of the town burst out, the whole of the native police and revenue establishments joined the mutineers, the vast gaol was thrown open, containing two thousand desperate criminals, some of whom had been captured after the outlay of hundreds of rupees, and the labour of a succession of magistrates. The inhabitants of several adjoining villages, men renowned for lawlessness and plunder, sprang forth, and the work of incendiarism, riot, and plunder, commenced. God in his mercy had limited their power and opportunity for murder, for with the exception of one or two Eurasians, who in spite of warning had not repaired to the fort, and the unhappy officers who stuck gallantly to their ship till it went down, no Christian perished. But they went through the whole, and more than the bitterness of death; from the walls of the fortress they all night long beheld the lurid light of their burning houses; ever and anon a new pinnacle of fire dashed on high, as a fresh thatch, dry as tinder in the month of June, caught fire: they had indeed escaped for the moment, but they felt like men under a sentence, for in the gateway was a company of the very regiment which had mutinied, and the whole regiment of Sikhs upon whose conduct they could not depend, as their brethren in two neighbouring stations had joined the mutineers. It was in this crisis that three brave men prepared a train to the great powder magazine, and silently and solemnly determined that, at the last moment, no European should fall alive into the hands of the rebels, and that the blackened ruins of the imperial fortress should record the annihilation of English power.

From the 7th to the 11th of June the crisis still continued. The company of the mutinous regiment was disarmed and expelled; the fort was closely invaded; but be it recorded that some few true-hearted Natives still kept up some commnication, in spite of the danger of being shot from the walls by the fiery volunteers. On the afternoon of the 11th two or three small boats brought across the great

and
leag
way
and
the
hun
The
on i
store
put a
wer
und
sub
The
and
aut
Eng
crat
ected the gree
took to his hee
established the ex
out it e standing on the edge o
olcano just after an eruption.

It ne of these sallies that two Christian men were
resc the hands of the rebels. Their history is one
tat written in letters of gold; it is one of those
eath es which will be handed down in the tradition
o Christian Church. At the time of the mas-
sacre of their officers by the mutinous regiment, there were six lads, just arrived from England, who were doing duty with the corps, until opportunity offered itself to them to join their regiments. On the night of the 6th June, when the officers were murdered on the Parade, these lads, who ought to have been in the fort, were left in the Mess House, and there barbarously murdered; their screams were heard at some distance by those who escaped from the Parade Ground. Poor boys, they perished from the folly of their commanding officers! One of them, mortally wounded, crept down to a neighbouring ravine, and there prepared to make his solitary moan and meet his Creator. He was found there by some peasants, who conveyed him to the Mohammedan fanatics in the town. In the place where he was confined was a Native Christian Minister and his wife, converted Hindus; the former a good excellent Christian, whom we have long loved and honoured. But human flesh is weak—the Mohammedans were urging him with threats, and tempting him with promises, to deny his Saviour; indignities offered to his wife were added to threats of mutilation to himself. He might have fallen, but God was watch-

boy will not be
heaven, even be
ero, who died in the l
ear of their sons in India
cl
nacle of popular favour, of having sav
taken great cities, and having produced, as
wand, great armies,—others may think tea
of those who fell nobly for their country
this boy may say with old Ormonde, and th
able to do so, that they would not exchan
for a thousand living ones.

Our power in fortress and city was re-
Europeans returned to the smoking ruins o
thatched houses had hopelessly perished, an
ture together the mob had set fire to the
roofed houses. The lofty church-tower an
caped. When order began to be re-establi
lages most active in plunder, and notorio
been levelled to the ground, when it bur
that the English still maintained their
anxious to get rid of European plunder, an
the roads were covered with furniture, cloth
had been plundered from the European
thrown there under the cover of darkness b
anticipate the search for arms and plundere
was much difficulty in restoring propert
the lawful owners, and many things got in
Among others we may mention, that for
sequently the Communion table was used
the magistrate's office, and in the vestry

a chest of drawers, clearly belonging to a lady. We must not suppose that plunder was the destructive feature of the rebels. None were more distinguished in this art than the loyal Sikhs and the Europeans. One of the most surprizing features of this rebellion is the complete moral debasement which it has brought with it, with regard to offences against person and property. Now-a-days men count their scalps, and boast of their successful free-booting, but it remained to one most gallant corps from the western frontier to earn the distinctive honour of returning to their homes from a city taken by storm, "with every man a damsel or two." Thus it happened that early in the day the Government stores, and the warehouse of goods brought up by the steamers to be forwarded by the bullock trains to the North-West Provinces, were plundered by loyalists. Property to the value of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling in this way changed hands; but the amount of property plundered and destroyed at the station, during the interval of the 6th and 20th of June, by the united exertions of the rebels and loyalists, exceeded three hundred thousand pounds sterling. Among the plunder secured by the loyalists, were the supplies of law stamps, which happened to be in great quantities waiting for opportunities of transmission to the north-western districts. In this plunder and that of Government stationery the crews of the river steamers joined, for we have it officially reported by the magistrates of districts in Lower Bengal, that stamp paper was being sold at one hundredth of its value on board these steamers, the sale being superintended by an European; and, to illustrate how far the moral contagion has infected our system, we have it as the recorded opinion of the head of the Police in Calcutta, that the crew of the steamer could no more be prosecuted for plundering the stamps, than could the regimental and commissariat officers at the station whose history we are giving, for taking possession of the property of others. We have it also stated by a worthy missionary that his house escaped the rebels, and was sacked, in spite of his protests, by the loyalists. One ludicrous instance is also on record, of a gallant Colonel on the retired list being charged with the appropriation of the pictures of a neighbour; his explanations and the restoration of the goods acquitted him under the circumstances of the time.

The city being under order, the civil authorities had time to survey the state of the district. We have mentioned above that there were three distinct portions, divided by large rivers. In that portion which was situate betwixt the two streams, no vestige of police remained. Every village had com-

menced the career of plunder, and shewn such aptness, that it appeared incredible that fifty years of peace and order had made no impression on their character. All those who had lived in the days of confusion which preceded our rule, had passed away or were in extreme old age; yet every village fell back on the customs of their forefathers, and, led on by notorious criminals who had escaped from gaol, commenced reprisals on their neighbours, paid out old scores, removed old boundary marks, and ejected auction purchasers. Europeans were universally hunted down as wild beasts. No spark of attachment to our Government or our institutions was shown; no instance of personal attachment to any individual officer. A small party of railway employès took refuge in a masonry reservoir, and, when the villagers found that they could not capture them by force, they proceeded to roast them by setting fire to the building. The telegraph posts were torn up, the iron sockets converted into rude cannon, the wire into slugs, but the permanent way defied their efforts to raise it or to injure it. And this is a part of our dominions on which our rule has fallen very lightly, who have had opportunities of seeing our power, for our European regiments and our guns have traversed this province year after year, and yet so determined is their hostility, that, up to the time of writing this, our rule is not re-established in some of its villages, though the whole of our European reinforcements have passed within ten miles, and though the daily trains rush through almost in sight of them. This gives rise to serious reflection, and shows how alien our rule is to the feelings of the people, how entirely our vaunted justice, and the undoubted mildness of our administration, have failed to conciliate the affections, or rouse the fears of our subjects.

Very different was the aspect of affairs in the districts south of the united streams. One or two large proprietors there exerted great and deserved influence, and they were wise enough to see that a servile war, an uprising of the lower against the higher classes, as the war confessedly was, would not answer their purpose. When the establishments of Government joined the mutineers or dispersed, these great men offered to undertake the protection of the district, if subsidized by Government. We can see through their double policy, but the magistrate accepted their offer, and it has answered in every way; for, though the mutinous regiments of Dinapore passed like a cloud of locusts through the villages, they ravaged but never shook our authority, and in due course of time the magistrate has re-introduced his own police, and those who served us well have been thanked, and remunerated, as loyal subjects. This opens out another and

a serious question, whether our established policy of cutting off the heads of all the tallest poppies, and leaving nothing betwixt the imperial Government and the ignorant cultivator of the soil, is a wise one. For we have been taught in this rebellion, that ignorance and credulity are two of our greatest enemies, and that we require a class between ourselves and the children of the soil, who are sufficiently wise to think before they believe every report.

The situation of the districts north of the great river was totally different. They were adjacent to the frontier of what was once an independent kingdom, and the annexation of which had fixed the train, which has all but destroyed us. The feelings of the landed proprietors and inhabitants generally were in sympathy with those of their relatives and friends across the boundary, which was purely an arbitrary one; and, when the people of that kingdom determined to rise against their new masters in a national contest, and add a rebellion to a mutiny, the inhabitants of these districts, although they had been fifty years under our rule, made common cause with them. At one time they attempted to interrupt our communications with our rear, and, though that has failed, they are still in open revolt; they are hopelessly committed against us, and teach us how distasteful our rule must be to them, when, after fifty years of peace, they prefer a yoke which was infamous for tyranny and misgovernment, but which still had a hold on the affections of the people.

While the authorities were struggling for dear life in the disturbed provinces, the Council in Calcutta was forging legal weapons for the chastisement of the rebels, and was arming, with vast and irresponsible powers, those whom they had hitherto jealously restrained by forms, and hampered by appeals. We shall hereafter notice individually these Acts of the Legislature, as they are strongly characteristic of the times. The Magistrate went into the fort a fugitive, with the ordinary powers of inflicting three years' imprisonment on certain offences, but he came out a full blown despot; and not he alone, for, since there was so much vengeance to be taken, it was not sufficient to arm the commissioner, the judge, the magistrate, the deputy magistrate, the assistant magistrate with power of life and death; but two private individuals and the civil surgeons (heaven save the mark) were invested with this awful authority; and, when it is remembered that these gentlemen had seen their houses plundered and burnt, their wives and children hurried off to the Fort in fear of their lives, when each of them had experienced domestic treason, household treachery, when all of them had been har-

by a month of watching, of anxiety, of anguish; we cannot be surprised if they were not all in a judicial frame of mind, if every black man did seem an enemy of themselves, their country, and their religion.

We make every allowance for their excited state of feeling, and blame the Government for placing in their hands at such a moment the strength of a giant. No doubt severe examples were required, but it was still more important that the right persons should be punished, that with so wide a field we should hit the great offenders. Jealously did the three volunteers [illegible] their new powers, and in the short time which elapsed before their recall, one of the private individuals had sentenced sixty, the second, sixty-four, and the civil surgeon, fifty-four, to the gallows. No record remains of the crime or the evidence, but we gather that one man was hung for having a bag of new copper coin in his possession, presumed to have been plundered from the treasury, or most probably abandoned by the mutinous sepoys who were surfeited with silver. More than a month after our power had been restored in the city, we find fifteen sentenced one day, and twenty-eight the next, for rebellion and robbing the treasury; but it does not appear that they were sepoys. Thirteen were hung another day for a similar offence. Six were hung for plying a ferry for the convenience of the rebels. The investigations of the officers of Government, men trained to the consideration of evidence, and conscious of the necessity of supporting the character as well as vindicating the authority of Government, were more deliberate. Forms were very properly set aside, careful lists and memoranda were kept of every offence and every offender, on the day that the occurrence was reported; and, when we consider the number and intensity of the crimes committed, we cannot be surprised that, in the course of the six months following the émeute, one hundred suffered death on the gallows by order of the judges, and about fifty by order of the magistrate; and it is characteristic of the times, that on one occasion, the Lieutenant Governor called upon the magistrate to justify himself *for not having sentenced one person* to death, and having only condemned him to perpetual imprisonment; in fact, when death is the punishment of every felony, as it is by the special Acts, a man's life depends not on the intensity of his criminality, but on the feelings of the party trying him. A gigantic gallows was erected in this, as in every station of the North-West Provinces, and we find that the civil auditor retrenched the salary of a permanent hangman and sweeper to remove [illegible] which necessitated a special reference to Government,

lanation of the magistrate, that it would be a saving ure over the cost of ten rupees for each man hung. ular blending of red tape and red blood!

t lamentable as well as ludicrous record of the correspondence, which then passed between the f the station and others. We find a violent some one, accusing the magistrate of having been the death of his mother and other female relations stay behind, when the Europeans entered the ave a pathetic and subdued letter from another, some information with regard to a lost brother. Christian clerk turning Mohammedan, and accused h the rebels, on which the Government authori- to settle his faith with the Creator, but calls him his mundane acts; on which the delinquent re- had only renounced Christianity *as a temporary* casionally we come, as it were, face to face with ve seen their families massacred, and who will son, and accept no consolation. We have one betraying another about jewels plundered uring city. We hear of an "unclaimed girl" r medical treatment. We find an American n called upon to take out a passport under the er's Act," indignantly maintain that he is an thank God for it. We find the European Bri- spite of the massacre of women and children, on his constitutional rights, and daring the magistrate en under martial law to send his wife and family by the rders of Government down country; and, if the magistrate use his powers under the Act for impressing artizans for the barracks of English soldiers, who are the stay of an empire, we find a cabinet-maker wishing the civil power to inform him, how he (the cabinet-maker) is to support himself, mother, wife, and two children, if his men are daily seized by the barrack master.

Then again, whenever the magistrate could persuade the commanding officer to place a small force at his disposal, an attack was made by the civil authority on some village, which had been particularly obnoxious in the slaughter of some European fugitive, or the plunder of a mail cart. In these forays it often happened that tribes, hostile to the village, assisted the officers of Government. On one occasion they surrounded a village and seized the rebels, but refused to allow them to be taken into the station to be executed, and the magistrate was obliged to compromise the affair by sending out a party of Sikhs to hang them on the spot. On another

occasion, a Queen's officer was conducting a party of
up the trunk road, when he was informed, that
bouring village a rebel chief was entrenched wi
sepoys. The intelligent officer planned a night att
the position, and captured the native superintende
and revenue, who held his post, thinking on his
was attacked by mutineers. It is astonishing h
adopt customs of their country, of which they co
no personal experience hitherto, for not only we
heads sent in as trophies to rebel chiefs, but occ
heads of rebel chiefs were sent in to the officers
ment. The necessity of burning some villages
but the expedient was carried too far, for, when
surrounded at night with a view to secure th
fired, it is a sad truth that the women and childr
in the confusion. Moreover the destruction of a
dens the peasantry, and throws the land out of c
this circumstance was most properly comment
Governor General in his much-censured proclan

By subsequent special Acts the punishmen
adjudged to all violent crimes, the only al
stripes, as many as one hundred lashes being
tered. One woman was hung for treason.
shown to mutineer sepoys by the civil authoriti
as they were caught, they were strung up; but
strange difference existed between the practice o
and civil authorities, and parties apparently in the sa
gory were paid up, and discharged at the fort, instead of be
hung up at the *Cutcherry*. So deep-spread was the disease
men's minds, so wide the contagion of revolt and thirst of
plunder, that the *chuprassees* plundered their own *tuhseel*, the
record-keepers set fire to their own records, the table-servants
of Europeans broke their own master's china, and stole his
silver plate. All records of the past, English or vernacular,
were hopelessly destroyed. Many timid persons, writers, and
native doctors were, no doubt, hurried into rebellion by the
example, and from fear, of bolder spirits, and in one instance the
whole of the native establishment of a sub-collectorate were
hung for appropriating the cash; yet be it recorded to the
honour of the natives of Bengal proper, who have monopolized
the English offices in the North-West Provinces, that, timid and
pusillanimous as they notoriously are, no one instance of
their having failed in their loyalty is on record.

All this time the whole district was suffered to be under
martial law and the natural impression was that the functions
of the civil power had ceased, instead of being magnified and

multiplied as was the case; one native police officer petitioned to be furnished with a copy of martial law. All power seemed to be centred in the magistrate, and he had, at the same moment, to strive to keep the lethargic judge up to the proper pitch of hanging, and his own fiery subordinates down to the pitch of acquittal. On one occasion, just as a secret party was starting for a night attack on a notorious village, a couple of rockets from the city told them that they were betrayed, and the alarm given. The magistrate met this by imposing an enormous fine on the city, which led to the surrender of the offenders. On another occasion, European soldiers are charged with bayonetting wretched grooms, whom they mistook for mutineers, or for firing on some towns-people, who remonstrated with them for shooting their pigeons. The story is current, though we cannot vouch for it, that a European missed his water-drawer, and found his body next day on the gallows, as the peculiar cut of his whisker and moustache had led him to be mistaken for a mutineer. It is dangerous even now to have a martial bearing, or a whisker cut straight from the ear.

In such times individual character comes out, and the weak spirits give way to the stronger. In some stations we find the magistrate taking the lead; in another the judge assumes the command, for which nature marks him out as the fittest. In a third station the Commissioner, by force of character, assumes entire military as well as civil control. So was it also among the native employés of Government. The magistrate soon found out which of his subordinates could be depended upon, and in one remarkable instance the native civil judge—a Bengal Baboo by capacity and valour—brought himself so conspicuously forward, as to be known as the "Fighting Moonsiff." He not only held his own defiantly, but he planned attacks, he burnt villages, he wrote English despatches thanking his subordinates, and displayed a capacity for rule and a fertility of resource very remarkable for one of his nation. As a general rule, the higher officials were faithful, but there were lamentable exceptions. Old native judges were bitten by religious fanaticism, for they could not allege ignorance of our laws as their excuse. On one occasion the deputy collector, the son of an Englishman and well acquainted with English, was hurried into rebellion; in fact, the line of separation betwixt right and wrong becomes at such moments very narrow. In one district the police and revenue district establishments insisted upon having two months' pay served out, and they were hung for it. In another district a high Government officer served a rebel chief six months in the same capacity, and

could not see that he had done wrong. In another village the zemindars appropriated the cash in the Government local treasury, and divided it among themselves according to their shares in the estate, and recorded the same in the books of the village accountant.

In addition to flogging and the extreme penalty of law, the magistrate was armed with the power of confiscation of property real and personal, and as this applied to those who have absconded, had died, or escaped other punishment, the extent of property which changed hands was considerable. Gardens, houses, shops, were attached; chattels, grain, and perishable articles were sold. Hindu temples and Mohammedan mosques were blown up by gunpowder, as some return for the desecration and destruction of every church in the North-West Provinces. Bells were articles which changed hands freely, for during the disturbance a Brahman appropriated the bell of the Presbyterian church, and gongs and bells were reserved as plunder on the destruction of Hindu shrines. Another feature of the rebellion has been the general employment of native Christians in the Government offices; "catechists" have been transformed into "orderly horsemen," and "native preachers," into "evidence writers." It cannot but be admitted that during "a reign of Terror," which a suspension of the regular courts naturally implies, the worst passions of men come out. Stories are told of false treasonable letters being tied up in the clothes of an adversary to secure his summary conviction, and it is notorious that no one dared to file a suit in the civil court before the judge, while the defendant had the power and will at once to charge his creditor with treason and rebellion before the magistrate.

All this time the executive officer of the district was not idle in his duties of Collector. Money poured in by every steamer from Calcutta, and poured out like water, leaving the tale of unadjusted items to be told in tens of thousands of pounds. There was constant payment of sums for saving European life or distinguished bravery, for it was then no light service for a native to stand by an Englishman, as he was liable to attack by the rebels for so doing. The terrorism of the rebels is scarcely appreciated by us to its full extent. There were compensations for losses or for wounds, or advances to be paid to starving Christians or faithful natives, driven with only the clothes on their backs from out-stations. There were rewards to be paid for the arrest of notorious rebels and criminals escaped from gaol; spies and messengers to be paid handsomely for their services generally, by dipping their hands into a bag of silver,

and securing as much as they could grasp; advances to be made to officers engaged in raising regiments of low-caste men; and reward for the restoration of Government horses, cattle, and stores. State prisoners had to be maintained. Supplies of cash had to be furnished to every advancing column, or placed at the disposal of the commissariat and the ordnance department. No wonder that in these hasty remissions the tale of rupees ran short, that boxes of treasure were found violated, and, in one instance, a box of five hundred pounds was found missing. In the general moral debasement, we cannot be surprised that the European sentry was not always trustworthy. In the treasure chamber also were stowed away the plunder belonging to the army, the spoil of captured cities, valued at hundreds of thousands of pounds, and fastened down in beer barrels until the end of the war. Among these spoils were the crown jewels of sovereigns, the gold plate of princes, earrings, and nose-rings, and jewels of women, ornamented daggers, and diamond necklaces—all the pomp and wealth of oriental monarchs, wrung from a plundered and oppressed people.

At the same time the Collector has to look after the revenue of those parts of the district in which his orders are respected. He has to suspend collections from such villages as have been plundered, burnt, or deserted. He has to determine where he should remit, and where enforce the demand; as it is a grave moral question, how far a Government is justified in demanding the payment of taxes, when it has notoriously failed in its duty of protection, owing to no fault of the people. No sooner is the danger past than red-tape raises its head again, and a gentleman sitting in comfort and ease at Calcutta reminds the excited Collector of unattended to forms and discontinued returns. With hundreds of boxes of stationery and stamps in his charge, directed to districts in the hands of the rebels, the Collector, without a pen or sheet of paper belonging to him, dares not use the consignment of his neighbour without special authority. As he returns to his half-ruined home from his morning duty of hanging rebels, flogging rioters, and blowing up temples, he finds letters from the snug accountant, reminding him that he is personally responsible for every rupee missing in a treasury guarded by European soldiers in a fort three miles off. On his table he finds notes from an officer with the force of Jung Bahadoor, requesting a daily supply of a hundred he-goats for the hungry Goorkhas; from the post-master, requesting him to hunt for a missing mail cart; from the commanding officer, requesting him to close the grog shops; from a cavalry commandant to know whose

grass is to be cut, and where a farrier is to be found; from the pension pay-master, requesting him to attend a committee on the confiscation of pensions. Telegraphic messages up and down are tumbling in all day long, sometimes announcing a victory, sometimes heralding a dâk traveller, for, in addition to his other duties, he has to keep a "Red Lion" tavern for strangers, act the part of "Fouchè" towards every native traveller, and the part of "Sir James Graham" towards every native letter.

Thus pass six months away, and if some grey hairs have shewn themselves in his beard, (for since his razors were plundered, he has remained perforce unshorn,) if his heart sometimes palpitates from over excitement, and his liver sometimes troubles him, no wonder. If his temper is somewhat soured, if he hates the natives with a deep hate, if he talks too lightly of cutting the thread of human life, and scoring the backs of poor devils, no wonder. He has had much to bear, and the rebellion has fallen heavily on his estate, his family, his health. He is mentioned in no despatches, the thanks of Government reach him not; and when he sees that the tide has turned, and that the country is saved, he hurries to England, if perchance quiet may restore tone to his body, and change of scene bring back equanimity to his mind. During the past months he has seen a solemn procession of Heroes pass by him, and he has met and held converse with all. Some have returned crowned with laurel; for others has been destined the cypress, and they have remained where they went. Henry Lawrence, Neill, Havelock, Outram, Peel, Campbell, and hundreds who have lived and died in this struggle, has he seen. For this city being the gateway of Northern India, through it has hurried on the avenging force of Europeans, first in hundreds and latterly in thousands; not by the usual stately marches, the daily Parasang by Parasang, with tents and camels, pomp and externals, but dragged by bullocks, pulled along by ponies, carried by elephants, at the rate of fifty miles per diem, at the man and the musket came alone, and provision had to be found him at each halting place; so the local authorities had to prepare two hundred beds at each hut, lay in supplies of coffee, milk, tea, beef, mutton, biscuit, means of cooking, and means of eating; the same road groaned and creaked night and day with trains of ammunition and stores, drawn by oxen, camels, elephants, who themselves ate and drank, and required at each halting place mountains of provender. The followers of the army ate and drank also, and the carts were at length counted by thousands, and the bullocks by tens of thousands. The ma-

gistrate and the commissariat officer, sometimes in concert, sometimes in competition, bought up horned cattle by hundreds for slaughter; it was officially reported that all the rams of the year were exhausted, and the ewe with its lamb was served up as a substitute—tough eating no doubt, but strong were the teeth and keen was the appetite of the British soldier, longing to be at them, enchanted with the new way of marching, and in their hatred to the natives, scarcely keeping their hands off the camp servants who ministered to their wants, detecting a rebel in each miserable groom, and a "Nana Sahib" in each water-drawer. In the march of the earlier column, men were strung up to the trees on the road-side, and familiarly called acorns by the soldiers. Black life was never so cheap as now. The vast supplies of food for man and beast, the hundred thousand maunds of forage, the thousands of tent pegs, the hundreds of blankets, the scores of elephants and other beasts of burden, were the result of systematic labour. The resources of our half-occupied districts were developed, and admirable indeed were the arrangements made and the instructions issued by the Government, calculated to secure the comfort of the soldier, and the protection of the people. And, while the avenging army was marching upwards, convoys of ladies and children, who had escaped the massacre of the innocents; the inmates of garrisons, which had held out beyond hope, and gained imperishable glory; women who had fled with their children on foot, under the full heat of an Indian sun, leaving the bodies of their slaughtered husbands rotting in some ravine, or eaten by dogs under the eyes of insulting crowds—these had to be sorrowfully and respectfully conveyed down. These were they who had gone through much tribulation, whom the hand of God had selected to expiate by their sorrow the sins of our nation. On them, though not more guilty than their neighbours, the tower of Siloam had fallen, and crushed their domestic happiness; for the power of England will spring up again, stronger from the blow that was meant to dash it down; but the young, the strong of heart, the wise of council, the brave, the well-beloved, are treasures which no time can restore to us! Who is there among us, who would not gladly buy back, at the cost of half his fortune, the life of one of those whom, though unconnected by ties of blood, he had loved and respected, who had grown up with him from his youth, to whose loss he can still hardly reconcile himself? Who is there who does not sometimes ask himself, why has my life been spared, when many so much worthier, when Havelock, Lawrence, and Nicholson, when Colvin, Christian, and Greathed have been called away?

And when the campaign is over, the soldier has to be housed. Barracks have to be erected in unusual numbers and with rapidity. Every carpenter, and every mason, all the timber, all the thatching grass of the district, have to be impressed and impounded. Contracts have to be made for beds for those brave fellows, who have not known what the thing meant for nearly a twelvemonth, from the time that they were blown out of the harbour of Portsmouth, by the first blast of the Indian whirlwind. Vegetables have to be sown for these brave fellows' dinners; the grog shops have to be closed that they may not make themselves drunk; foraging caps, accoutrements, knapsacks, left behind on the upward march, have to be stored and taken care of. Long discussions and wordy wars have to be carried on about the price of grain and supplies. The commissariat Baboo attacks the native police as obstructing his purchases; they retort on him as a wholesale plunderer; and very often he is so, though they are not in a position to bring the charge. No English transaction can be carried through without a good fight; this has been sadly exemplified in the late rebellion, for while England was talking of our beleaguered garrisons as bands of brothers, we find in every instance, that violent feuds obstructed the public interests, that poor weak men, even in the hour when it seemed least valuable, grasped at power.—

"Iliacos intra muros pugnatur, et extra."

We now turn to what may be called "Mutiny Legislation," and take a glance at what the Parliament of India did, or thought that they were doing, to assist the executive in the death-struggle with the mutineers and the rebels. The East India Company has, from the earliest days, shown the greatest tenderness for human life, and the greatest jealousy of its executive officers, and by legal forms and appellate courts, has fenced round the lives, the liberties, and the property of its meanest subject. Be it handed down to the honour of that great corporation, whose days are now numbered, that unlike most Asiatic conquerors, its code has never been written in blood, and that it has always recognized the equality of all its subjects in the eye of God and the law. No blood has ever fallen to the ground unavenged; the courts are open to the meanest and the poorest, and the Government has fairly won the title of the mildest despotism that the world ever saw. It had been carried too far, especially in the army, where the power of the commanding officer had been paralysed. On the first tidings of the mutiny reaching the Council Chamber, summary and full power was given to courts martial to deal with offenders by Act VIII. on the 16th May. By the 30th of May, the respectable gentlemen w

compose the Council, only one of whom had been so far up-country as Benares, (for the representative of the North-West Provinces was shut up as a prisoner in the Agra fort,) discovered that the mutiny was akin to a rebellion, and Act XI. of 1857 revolutionized the country, for it swept away all the barriers raised up by the wisdom of our predecessors against hasty judgment, it did away with all appeals, all records, it placed the power of life and death in the hands of any one, to whom in the hour of confusion it might fall. It was like giving strong liquor to babes. Many who used these vast powers have no one to answer to, but God and their consciences! Early in the day the Government tried to check their commissioners; in the lower provinces, where the fire of rebellion was less violent, they succeeded; they asked not for forms and checks, for vernacular proceedings or depositions, but for full English notes of the trial to be kept for future reference, and for a monthly return of the number executed. But of many, in the North-West Provinces, who were launched into eternity under a semi-judicial process, not one note remains to say why a brief statement in the monthly return is their only epitaph. We ask no questions with regard to those who fell in the battle or the siege, for their presence on the spot accounts for their death, and for those who came within the compass of the halter; we doubt not that they fell justly, for a rebellious epidemic had seized the community, but we wish that after the excitement of the first week had passed, there had been more discrimination, a more leisurely and solemn judgment; and none have more denounced indiscriminate and hasty and unrecorded executions, than those who in peril were vigorous and unsparing, but merciful in the hour of victory.

It was not enough to punish the mutineers and the rebels, but those who seduce and stir up the native army or others had to be met by special punishments; and on the 6th June, Act. XIV. gave such powers; and on the 13th of the same month, Act XVI. made death the legal punishment of every heinous offence, down to receiving stolen property in districts where martial law was proclaimed. Act XVIII. on the 20th June created a new crime for the civil courts, for it brought the whole of the mutineers and deserters under the civil power, and armed them with the power of life and death contained in the Articles of War. Act XXV. on the 8th of August, added confiscation of property to the penalty of death in all the above cases. This completed a code unequalled since that of Draco, for every line is written in blood, and all protection to life, liberty, and property was removed. It is with wonder and awe that we peruse

unlimited powers conveyed in these enactments. Better, far better, would it have been to have suspended all the existing acts and regulations, and to have placed unlimited power in the hand of the military or civil governor, than thus to let it go forth to the world, that death and confiscation of property were at one period, though a limited one, the legal punishment of every felony.

It is an illustration how completely unrepresented the people of India are, either in Council or in the Press, that these five Acts have elicited no remonstrance; no petitions have been sent home to England, praying for some better guarantee for life and property, though posterity will wonder what kind of men they were who enacted such frightful laws; were they fierce men of the school of the French Marshals, or the dragooning Governors of Austrian Italy, who thus by the stroke of a pen transformed King Log into King Serpent, who gave every white man the power to inflict, and every dark man the risk of suffering death without appeal? But against one Act, which affected the interests of the Fourth Estate, and placed the Press under the control of the executive, was raised a howl, which reached, but was not re-echoed by, the sovereign Press of England: There are among the representatives of the Indian press gentlemen who have made it their profession, who unite great ability to long experience and a lofty independence. Against such there is no law; they are important elements in the Indian constitution; they point out abuses unsparingly; they place distant stations into contact with each other; they suggest amendments, and are instruments of unbounded good. Against such there *should* be no law, and the mistake committed by the Government was, that they did not communicate to these gentlemen, that the yoke which the council had forged was meant for the necks of a very different class, which is not wanting in India.

On the 18th of July was passed an Act to regulate the organization of volunteer corps, and we trust that this will be the germ of a permanent and more extended legislation, by which, in the hour of danger, every Christian will at once be available to the Government. Living among strangers, and knowing now that every hand is ready to be raised against us, every Christian should carry arms, be able to use arms, and belong to a legalized armed Association. But, as a complement to this Act, is required the disarming of the natives of the country; and on the 11th September was passed an enactment, which, if we are only true to ourselves, may be the saving of India. It has always been subject of amazement to thinking minds, that the Government of India permitted the unrestrained use of arms to its subjects—not

only arms of defence, but of offence, and of military organization. Private individuals were allowed to possess forts, cannon, and companies of trained soldiers armed with musket and bayonet. No restriction was placed on the making of powder, or the importation of English fire-arms. In every town the Armourer Smith held a recognized position, and the meanest servant carried his weapon. We sowed the whirlwind and we reaped the storm, and a mutiny of our soldiers has expanded into a vast rebellion. Wiser far were the authorities of the Punjab; from the earliest day of our occupation the population was effectually disarmed, and heavy penalties attended the possession of an unlicensed weapon. Every fort was dismantled; the manufacture of powder, the importation of sulphur and saltpetre, were controlled. In the hour of peril the people found that their fang had been drawn; they could not, even if they would, play with edge tools. This has now to be done for Hindustan, and until done thoroughly, the possession of the kingdom will not be complete. No one who knew the country wonders whence came the cannon and the munition of war, which seem endless. Every district had its shadow of royalty, the debris of ancient dynasties, bearing the name of the great town, with imprescriptible rights, sanctioned by usage and popular favour, always ready to spring up against us, to whom we allowed the privilege of being above the jurisdiction of our courts, who were thorns in the sides of our magistracy, who headed the disturbances on the annual festivals, and whom the pernicious system of our merchant rulers allowed to usurp the titles, the privilege, and the rank of the Sovereign of England. We looked on them disdainfully and pitifully, and smiled at their mock courts; but to the people they were the reality, and our Sovereign was a myth.

By the 28th of November the Government were satisfied that the number of mutineers exceeded their power of extermination, and an Act was passed for branding those who escaped the extreme penalty of the law, reviving a practice, which, only ten years previously, had been erased from the statute book. On the 5th of December an Act was passed to prevent any foreigner landing or travelling in India without a passport, the object being to prevent European adventurers of the free lance profession introducing themselves among the rebels, and giving organization to their efforts. This act ha[d] been rigidly enforced upon the American Presbyterian Missio[n]aries! One by one the characteristics which distinguish t[he] dominions of England were effaced; and on the 23rd of Ja[n]ary a small particle of the great Habeas Corpus Act, w[hich] by accident had clung to the island of Bombay, and enab[led]

state prisoner to appeal to the royal court of judicature, was ruthlessly wiped out. There remains but to legalize the slave colonies, formed of convicted sepoys, in the Andaman islands, and the Government of British India will take its place with Russia on the Caucasus, and Austria in Italy and Hungary.

As the storm of rebellion rolled back, and we recovered possession of our provinces, new necessities for legislation occurred. Twenty thousand prisoners had escaped from gaol and were scattered over the country. Some of the most malignant criminals, whom nothing but the weakness of our courts, and the idiosyncracies of our judges, had kept from the gallows; professional poisoners, hereditary murderers, druggers, and notorious highwaymen. An Act was passed by which death or transportation for life were legalized for certain recaptured convicts, and a very necessary provision this was. At the same time the destruction of our gaols rendered it necessary to substitute corporal punishment for every variety of felonious crime, thus making another necessary though retrograde step in legislation, as it is only twenty-five years ago that stripes were legally forbidden as a punishment, though by subsequent enactment partially re-introduced for juvenile offenders and petty thefts.

Then came four Enactments, characteristic of the Rebellion. Forced labour has been the prevailing sin of all despotic countries; it is alluded to in the New Testament; it is found to prevail everywhere, where the lower classes are in debasement; the poor man has but his broad shoulders and manual dexterity, but the rich and the powerful seize him for the erection of their palaces, the making of their roads, the carrying of their goods. It is thus that the Pasha of Egypt made his canal, and makes his railway; it was this cause that roused the French labourers against the old feudal regime. The Indian Government have struggled against it, but the evil is rampant; it has been forbidden by legal enactments, but every officer of Government knows that, on every march that he takes, the evil exists in some form or other, either as impressment or purveyance. But the necessity of erecting barracks for the European troops compelled the Indian Government to legalize this enormity, and to sanction the impressment of labour, adding every possible condition of remuneration, and every check on abuse.

The second Enactment was to protect the interests of Government. Land Tax, Excise, and Stamps are the three sources of the Government revenue; and as vast amounts of stamp paper were plundered, an Act was passed to restrict the sale of such paper, and, by the introduction of a second stamp on the paper in store, practically to destroy the value of the

ed paper. We cannot censure this measure, though bt the European captains of river steamers, who en- themselves at the expense of Government, will be deep not loud in abuse.

third Enactment is intended to secure the severe and discriminating punishment of the inhabitants of those villages notorious for plunder, and the destruction of European life and public buildings. Fine and confiscation are the penalties imposed and most justly incurred. If there is one duty more incumbent on Government than another, it is to punish severely the agrarian outrages of certain localities; for to our amazement, communities, who had for fifty years known nothing but peace and abundance, burst forth full armed into rapine and murder, sparing neither property nor person, neither age nor sex. Certain tribes are more conspicuously notorious, and some have already suffered; in one case all the males in a village, sixty in number, were hung on the trees in front of their own houses; a punishment severe, but merited.

The fourth and last Enactment is to facilitate the recovery of land, of which possession may have been wrongfully taken during the disturbances. Hereby hangs a long tale of Indian, Army, and English, misgovernment. In the early days of British rule, land was freely and often unjustly brought to the auction hammer, for balances of land revenue, and decrees of the Civil Court. Before the attention of the Government was roused, the greater part of the land of the country had changed hands, and the ancient communities of resident proprietors had been ousted of their rights by the stranger capitalist, and had subsided into the subordinate position of hereditary cultivators, paying a fixed rent. Smarting under a confused sense of injury, and of actual dishonour, ever and anon the brotherhood would rise up, and in a violent affray attempt to oust the intruder; but the strong hand of the civil power would then vindicate its protegè and consign the offenders to gaol. But the disturbances opened the flood-gates of passion long repressed, and the opportunity was too tempting. The stranger was ejected, or even slain, and the old community reinstated themselves. For long the Government was powerless to vindicate the rights guaranteed by their own acts, and though deeply regretting the cause of the alienation, there was nothing but to restore possession, and this is the object of this special enactment.

Lastly came an Act inflicting special penalties on parti found in possession of arms and other property belonging the East India Company, or Her Majesty. This is especi aimed at the recovery of the thousands of muskets,

hundreds of horses, the stores and the ammunition had been appropriated by the mutineers in the first l the outbreak. These Enactments form the code of legislation; it is but just to add that their term was but in some it has already had to be extended.

We have finished our narrative, but the reality excee all description. You must see with your eyes, and hear with your ears, before you can realize the extent of the social disorganization. It is an instructive lesson, and it is good for those who learn it earnestly and thoughtfully. Call our enemies patriots fighting for their country, enthusiasts fighting for their religion, oppressed sovereigns fighting for their independence, still they were emphatically the enemies of civilization. The dark night of the Middle Ages will close upon this country, if in the end their cause triumphs. After us comes the deluge. Drive round this unhappy station and behold t European living in an almost savage state, with a three-hooke gallows always ready rigged, and a platform always ready to drop. Pass along the road, formerly the highway of commerce, which leads to the northern capitals, and see everywhere ruin —unroofed houses, schools, hospitals, police stations, revenue offices, courts of justice, gaols wantonly destroyed. Every monument raised to civilization and order has been destroyed; our enemies had leagued themselves with confusion and disorder, and selected murderers as their chosen associates.

But abominable as have been the atrocities committed by them, those are wrong who see in them ought but the features of our poor human nature, when unbridled. Search the Old Testament, and we find that the slaughter of women and children is mentioned as a casual event, and the ripping up of women with child is alluded to as a speciality of one Sovereign, but not coupled with terms of loathing. The more civilized Roman of the Augustan age alludes to this part of the conduct of the great hero Achilles with merited condemnation; and lest any one say that these were ancient stories, and that such atrocities were unknown in modern times, we refer them to the pages of Hume the historian of England,* and they will find, that the Protestant planters in Ireland were treated by their fellow Christians of the Romish communion with precisely the same cruelty, the same barbarous details of inhumanity, as we shudder at hearing of in the northern pro-

* The Irish Insurrection and Massacre in the reign of Charles I. 1641 A. D. Vide Hume. History of England, Vol. 6, p. 436.

"To secure the dominion of Ireland to the English, great colonies of British d been carried over, and been intermixed with the Irish, and had introduced new face of things into the country. During a peace of forty years, the in rate quarrels between the nations seemed to be obliterated, and that savag try had assumed the face of a European settlement.

vinces of India. This took place in the year 1641, A. D. In reading the narrative of the treatment which the English settler received at the hands of the Irish native, graphically told by the atheist Scot, we seem to be reading an ex-

* * * * * * *

The Irish remarked that the English planters, who had expelled them from their possessions, suppressed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful compared to the natives—that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, trusting to the protection of a small army which was scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the whole kingdom.

* * * * * * *

The Castle of Dublin contained arms for 10,000 men with 35 pieces of cannon, and a proportionable amount of ammunition; yet was this important place guarded, and that without care, by no greater force than 50 men.

* * * * * * *

The Irish, everywhere mingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous, that ever in any nation was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save them from the first assault. Destruction was everywhere let loose, and met the hunted victims at every town. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connections were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and free security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices.

But death was the lightest punishment inflicted by these rebels. All the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pain of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, encouraged by the utmost license, reach not to such a pitch of ferocity, unless the pity, inherent in human breasts, be destroyed by that contagion of example, which transports men beyond all the usual motives of conduct and behaviour.

The stately buildings and commodious habitations of the planters were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground. And where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for defence, perished in the flames together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to these insulting butchers.

If anywhere a number assembled together, and, assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by revenge on their assassins; they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen.

Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of Religion resounded on every side, not to stop the hands of these Savages, but to enforce their blows, to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sym[pathy]. The English, as heretics, abhorred by God and detestable to all holy [men] marked out for slaughter, and, of all actions, to rid the world of [these] enemies to Catholic faith, was represented as the most meritori[ous]

tract from an Indian Journal of 1857. "Religion was the word 'which resounded there, as here, to enforce the blow, and 'steel the heart against every movement of sympathy. The 'English were pointed out as heretics abhorred by God, and, 'detestable to all holy men; were marked for slaughter; and, of 'all actions, to rid the world of these detestable enemies to 'the catholic faith and piety, was represented as the most 'meritorious." Should not this teach us to be charitable?

And let it not go forth that the tyranny of our rule deserved this bitter chastisement, that there were none who cared for the natives. This is not the case. There were missionaries spiritual and missionaries lay—men who devoted their lives and their incomes to the one great duty of caring for the people, who fed the hungry, who looked after the sick, who protected the oppressed, and visited those in prison. And let it not be said, that we were a Godless people, and that nothing was done to promote the cause of Christianity, or that we were ashamed of our creed. In every station rose the Christian Church; in nearly every district was the Christian native mission, accompanied by its schools, its village preaching, and the dispersing of God's word; in some cases we went too far, but we believed that we were doing God's service.

And, to those who consider that the use of the sacred Word as a class-book in Government schools is the only real badge of Christianity, we answer, that the best and wisest are opposed to this degradation of the Scriptures; and indeed, if we examine our own systems, if we look back to our own youthful days, we shall find that religion is not inculcated in schools. It is not taught at Eton or Westminster, the rudiments of our faith are not a test at Haileybury or Addiscombe; but it is taught on the knees of the father, it is drank in from the fond lips of the mother; it is the legacy given before death by aged and venerated relatives; it is the genius of home embodied in the form of Christianity; it is not rewarded by prizes and scholarships. Often the boy least gifted with intellectual gifts is the most endowed with the Spirit, and the first in the race of the world is less than the least in the kingdom of heaven.

We once contributed to the pages of this *Review** a paper on the duties of the Collector of Revenue in the North-West Provinces, and described his pleasing labours. To a true philanthropist there is no more suitable destiny than that of being the earthly providence of so many thousands. But how sadly altered now is our position! Every Englishman is not only a freeman, [illegible] a missionary of liberty, and though the servant of a des- [illegible]overnment, there was the consolation that the Govern- [illegible] paternal, that political offences were unknown, and

* Vol. XXIII. page 136.

that the position of the subjects was happy. Let this be mentioned no longer. The waters of the Ganges will not wash away the blood, years will not efface the memory, of 1857. Hundreds have perished violently. We have been surrounded, attacked, insulted, slain, and in return we have used a giant's strength, and crushed them; but no longer can we hope to have friendly meetings and friendly greetings. No longer can we dwell among the people, like parents among their children. They have all—we have all—tasted blood. We hate them, and they hate us to the death.

It is a dreadful feature in this war of races, to contemplate the destruction of all pity, all sympathy, all the precepts of Christianity. Those who arrive fresh from England are amazed to hear gentle ladies, who are usually the angels of mercy, talking of slaughter, of hanging, of revenge, devoting whole tribes, whole classes, to the gallows. The common ground of humanity is cut away from under us. We talk of em as wild beasts, and yet we have to live among them for e best years of our lives, to eat from their hands; and it will well if continuation of pressure does not convert them into sassins. It is well for India that the leaven of English eling is gradually working into the mass, and that a milder olicy is taking the place of that indiscriminate revenge, hich would have lowered us in the scale of civilized nations.

In our firm and undisputed Constitution at home, we know othing practically of the necessity of charity and forgiveness, which every rebellion entails. A Frenchman, who has known the horror of a revolution in his own country, would see the necessity of shortening the sword of justice. The people of India had seen us rise wonderfully and suddenly, like a star from afar, and they had worshipped us. They had admitted our prestige, and kingdoms had sunk before us; but now a lying rumour had gone forth—such a rumour as scattered the Assyrian army from before Jerusalem—that our power was gone, that our time was up. We find this in every intercepted letter not meant for European eye, that both friends and enemies had conceived a firm belief that such was the case, and they acted according to the best of their judgment for themselves. Some sided with us, because certain hostile tribes in their neighbourhood had taken the other part. Some respectable landholders stood up at first for order, not for us, but their timidity at last compelled them to give way and join the stream; many revolted unwillingly, having much to lose; many were compromised by their relations, or forcibly carried away by their dependants.

Many shrunk from massacre or private crime; they considered the Empire vacant, as effectually it was, when our native

army revolted, and our European army was nowhere; and they tendered their allegiance according to their family predilections; or, if their local position permitted it, stood aloof to watch events; or, if they were wise, temporized with both parties. Their situation was peculiar, but history supplies parallels. Such must have been the situation of the Britons, when the Romans abandoned the island. Besides, their situation was critical, the representatives of effete dynasties were busy and active, the propagandists of violent religious wars were loud and powerful; and, as one potent landholder, who has the proud honor of having protected English life, and now reaps the fruit, remarked to his guests in the hour of doubt and uncertainty.—"You may send ships and men and reconquer 'the kingdom, but they may arrive too late to save the lives 'of me and my family; it is that which I must think of."

But for every native who met us in the field, or who has fallen into our power, the sword, the cannon's mouth, and the rope have been adjudged without inquiry and without discrimination. Many went defiantly, like Spartans, to death, and looked about at the last moment with an air of triumph. The great Searcher of hearts alone knows what strength sustained them. None have craved life, or seemed to care to purchase it; reckless with the lives of others they have not cared for their own. Thousands are now making head against us, because there is no alternative, no loop-hole for escape, because the gates of mercy have been irrevocably closed.

Let our rulers pause and reflect that they have a great and not uncivilized people under them, congregating in rich cities, scattered in innumerable villages—a people cunning in art, courteous in manner, brave in battle, fearless in death, and inflexible in religious convictions. It may be that they have risen in righteous indignation against us, for our feelings are not their feelings; our Gods are not their Gods; the question of right and wrong is not decided in the same way by them and by us. We cannot exterminate this people who count by millions, and re-colonize with Anglo-Saxons; we cannot make India a solitude, and then call it peace. Let us then confess that we have committed great errors, that it is the hand of God that has saved us, and still saves us—that He meant to chastise, and not to destroy us; and, confessing our own shortcomings, in spite of our powers, our learning, the wisdom of our counsellors, and the vastness of our physical force, let us be indulgent and forgiving to the weak, the ignorant, the deluded, the so-called rebel.

ART. III.—1. *Rules of the Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund.*

2. *Reports on the Bengal Civil and Military Funds.*

IN a former Article* we took occasion to bring under review the whole of the prospectuses of the Indian Life Assurance Offices, with the view of comparing the rates of premium for assurance of lives charged therein, and the premiums as computed by us from various tables of mortality.

We now propose, in the first place, to direct attention to the results of an enquiry into the mortality of members of the Uncovenanted Service Fund, more especially the East Indian members, in the belief that the information submitted will not only be interesting, but may possibly prove valuable for the purposes of the Fund. More noble or magnificent institutions of the kind, than the provident funds established in connexion with the Services of the East India Company, do not exist in the world. The prosperity, nay the very existence, of these institutions, depends on the accuracy with which the tables represent the mortality among the members. Any contribution therefore to Indian vital statistics, however humble, must be considered, not only interesting in a scientific point of view, but of considerable practical value, as affording data whence to test the position of the great monetary interests we have referred to. The present enquiry is incidental to an entirely separate investigation, the results of which will hereafter appear. Our readers, who take an interest in such pursuits, will recollect that the most important existing tables of mortality, applicable to European residents in India, are those of Mr. Neison and Mr. Woolhouse. Mr. Woolhouse's observations, subsequently adopted by Mr. Griffith Davies, are founded on Dodwell and Miles' army lists, and embrace 6,017 officers of the Bengal army, who entered the service from 1760 to 1834, inclusive, a period of seventy-six years. Mr. Neison's data were obtained from the patronage books of the India House, and have reference to 5,199 military cadets appointed to the Bengal army from 1800 to 1847, inclusive, a period of forty-eight years; while Mr. Francis' tables, applicable to mixed assured lives of all classes, were deduced from data supplied by the experience of two of the oldest local life

* Vol. XIX., Page 210.

offices in India, during the period from 1815 to 1847 inclusive. The reports of Messrs. Neison and Davies, on the Bengal Civil Fund, contain tables of the casualties which may be expected to occur amongst members of the covenanted civil service. Mr. Davies' table, formed from Dodwell and Miles' lists, for the sixty years ending 1838, is the same up to the age of forty as that employed by him in 1842, for the purposes of the Uncovenanted Fund, while from forty and upwards it is identical with the "Northampton Table." Mr. Neison's observations are founded on data obtained from "A Register of the 'Hon. East India Company's Civil Servants on the Bengal 'Establishment, from 1790 to 1842, compiled under the direc-'tion of Mr. H. T. Prinsep, late member of council of 'India." From the records of the India House, Mr. Neison arrived at results nearly similar to those deduced from Mr. Prinsep's list, and both agreed so nearly with Mr. Davies' table up to the age of forty, that, for the purpose of comparison, he adopted the latter table up to that age. From age forty-five to the extremity of life, the same table as that used for the Military Fund has been adopted; and between the ages of thirty-nine and forty-five, the terms were interpolated. But on no former occasion has a table of mortality been constructed expressly applicable to East Indians. The records of the Uncovenanted Fund, which were kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. Kellner, are indeed more than ordinarily attractive, as facilitating enquiry into the mortality amongst that large and distinct section of the Christian community of India, which has never before been brought under observation; and it will be interesting to compare the results arising out of the present investigation with those applicable to civil, military, and mixed assured lives in India; and again the whole of the results with the mortality amongst the male population of England and Wales, as exhibited by the best authorities on the subject.

Mr. Kellner's list furnishes the following particulars with reference to 945 persons who became subscribers to the Fund, during the twenty years ending 30th April, 1857, viz. the date of entry, together with the age at entry, and the age at death, resignation, or dismissal, the age at entry—verified by baptismal or other certificate—and the age at death or discontinuance, being in all cases computed to the nearest birth-day. Europeans and East Indians are distinguished in the list, and the following table exhibits the proportion of each class subscribing to the Fund.

ABSTRACT A.

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBSCRIBERS ACCORDING TO RACE.

Race.	No.	Per Centage of whole number.
East Indians	693	73·333
Europeans	244	25·820
Unknown	8	·847
Total	945	100·000

It should be understood that these are 945 *lives*, not *entries*, a necessary distinction, for there are instances of members of the Fund, who have been struck off and subsequently re-admitted more than once. In such cases only the first entry and discontinuance are noted, in order that the list may have reference to lives only.

For the benefit of those who take an interest in such pursuits, of whom there are many in this country, we shall, at the risk of being considered tedious, briefly explain the practical method of forming a mortality table. The object is to obtain, in the first instance, the rate of mortality per cent. per annum, at each age. In the present case, 945 persons enter the Fund in twenty years, of whom during that period 163 die, 94 withdraw, 106 are struck off, and the remaining 582 are alive, and members of the Fund at the expiry of the term. Had all these 945 persons entered in the same year and at the same age, it would be a very simple matter, but as they enter at age nineteen to sixty-six inclusive, and at various times during the twenty years, the process, which is as follows, is somewhat more laborious:—

(1.) A sufficient quantity of computing paper is divided into sections applicable to each age of life which comes under observation.

(2.) The paper is ruled with columns to receive the parti-

culars, of which the results are exhibited in columns *b*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *m*, in Abstract B.

(3.) One computer then reads from the list of subscribers the entries at each age, while another computer registers the fact under its proper head, in the paper prepared for the purpose.

(4.) The entries at each age being completed, the deaths, discontinuances, and number living at the end of the period, are similarly recorded, under their respective heads.

(5.) As a check the whole process is repeated, one computer reading from the list, and another noting that the entry is correctly posted.

(6.) The total under each column is then found, and the results transferred to their respective columns in Abstract B.*

The following table then exhibits the principal elementary facts from which to determine the rate of mortality among the subscribers to the Uncovenanted Fund. In the explanation of the table, we have adopted very nearly the phraseology employed by Mr. Neison on similar occasions:—

a. Represents the age.

b. The number of subscribers entering at each age.

c. The number of subscribers remaining under observation from each preceding age. Thus two entered at age nineteen, and not coming under any of the contingencies contemplated in the succeeding columns, are re-entered as under observation at age twenty, when other two subscribers entered, there being then four under observation in all, out of whom one withdrew, and the remaining three are entered in this column opposite age twenty-one.

d. The total number of subscribers under observation at each age. Thus there were three subscribers remaining under observation from the preceding age at age twenty-one, which, added to the nine entering at that age, makes twelve in all, of whom two are alive at 30th April, 1857, and therefore no longer under notice, leaving ten to be carried forward to column *c* opposite age twenty-two.

e. The number dying at each age.

f. Those who withdraw from the Fund.

g. Those who are struck off.

h. The total of *f* and *g*.

m. The number of subscribers alive at 30th April, 1857, and who have not withdrawn or been struck off.

n. The total of columns *e*, *l* and *m*, or the number who pass from observation at any age.

* Under careful supervision, the educated Bengali, in computations such as the present, may, for accuracy and rapidity, be considered unrivalled. But it is of great importance, in order to confine the chance of error within the narrowest limits, that all the calculations be done in duplicate by independent computers, who should compare and verify the results at every stage.

o. One-half of the numbers in column *b*.
p. One-half of the numbers in column *l*.
q. Total of *o* and *p*.
r. The number exposed to one entire year's risk of mortality; and is obtained for each age, by deducting the number in column *q* from the number in column *d* opposite the age. As subscribers enter at various periods throughout the year, the persons represented by the numbers in column *b* are, one with another, not subject to more than six months' risk, or which is the same thing, one-half of them to a year's risk. And as subscribers discontinue at various periods, throughout the year, they are, one with another, subject to only six months' risk in that year, or one-half of them to a whole year's risk. Hence one-half of the number entered, and one-half of the number discontinued, have to be deducted from the gross number under observation, as exhibited in column *d*, the residue in column *r* being the number exposed to a complete year's risk.

ABSTRACT B.

From 1st May 1837 to 30th April 1857.

Ages.	Number entered at each age.	Number remaining under observation from preceding age.	Total number under observation at each age.	Died.	Discontinued.			Alive at 30th April, 1857.	Total gone off.	Half of discontinued and Half of entered.			Number exposed to risk.
					Withdrawn.	Struck off.	Total.			Entered.	Discontinued.	Total.	
a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*q*	*r*
19	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1
20	2	2	4	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	.5	1.5	2.5
21	9	3	12	..	..	..	..	2	2	4.5	..	4.5	7.5
22	22	10	32	..	1	1	2	3	5	11	1	12	20
23	15	27	42	..	1	2	3	2	5	7.5	1·5	9	33
24	29	37	66	..	..	4	4	2	6	14.5	2	16.5	49.5
25	36	60	96	..	2	2	4	5	9	18	2	20	76
26	47	87	134	..	..	3	3	14	17	23.5	1.5	25	109
27	36	117	153	2	6	3	9	19	30	18	4.5	22.5	130.5
28	47	123	170	1	6	2	8	11	20	23.5	4	27.5	142.5
29	48	150	198	6	2	4	6	12	24	24	3	27	171
30	48	174	222	3	2	6	8	19	30	24	4	28	194
31	48	192	240	1	1	5	6	12	19	24	3	27	213
32	55	221	276	2	3	4	7	25	34	27.5	3·5	31	245
33	48	242	290	2	4	3	7	20	29	24	3.5	27.5	262.5
34	49	261	310	5	8	5	13	27	45	24.5	6.5	31	279
35	34	265	299	7	7	5	12	15	34	17	6	23	276
36	37	265	302	4	1	4	5	29	38	18.5	2.5	21	281
37	31	264	295	4	1	10	11	25	40	15.5	5.5	21	274
38	39	255	294	4	5	5	10	32	46	19.5	5	24.5	269.5
39	26	248	274	7	4	2	6	26	39	13	3	16	258
40	30	235	265	6	3	3	6	26	38	15	3	18	247
41	18	227	245	6	3	6	9	21	36	9	4.5	13.5	231.5
42	20	209	229	12	4	4	8	24	44	10	4	14	215
43	19	185	204	3	2	5	7	16	26	9.5	3.5	13	191
44	21	178	199	6	3	1	4	22	32	10.5	2	12.5	186.5
45	19	167	186	8	2	2	4	18	30	9.5	2	11.5	174.5
46	15	156	171	5	1	2	3	23	31	7.5	1.5	9	162
47	15	140	155	4	2	3	5	14	23	7.5	2.5	10	145
48	7	132	139	3	3	1	4	9	16	3.5	2	5.5	133.5
49	10	123	133	6	1	2	3	13	22	5	1.5	6.5	126.5
50	11	111	122	1	..	1	1	21	23	5.5	.5	6	116
51	8	99	107	8	..	1	1	6	15	4	.5	4.5	102.5
52	8	92	100	6	6	1	7	9	22	4	3.5	7.5	92.5
53	4	78	82	3	2	..	2	3	8	2	1	3	79
54	7	74	81	5	..	..	..	8	13	3.5	..	3.5	77.5
55	7	68	75	2	..	4	4	9	15	3.5	2	5.5	69.5
56	2	60	62	1	2	..	2	7	10	1	1	2	60
57	5	52	57	3	..	..	..	7	10	2.5	..	2.5	54.5
58	4	47	51	1	2	..	2	9	12	2	1	3	48
59	1	39	40	1	..	..	..	3	4	.5	..	.5	39.5
60	1	36	37	1	..	..	..	5	6	.5	..	.5	36.5
61	1	31	32	5	..	..	..	2	7	.5	..	.5	31.5
62	..	25	25	1	1	..	1	1	3	..	.5	.5	24.5
63	..	22	22	3	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	22
64	2	19	21	3	..	..	..	1	4	1	..	1	20
65	1	17	18	3	..	..	..	2	5	.5	..	.5	17.5
66	1	13	14	..	..	..	..	2	2	.5	..	.5	13.5
67	..	12	12	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	12
68	..	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
69	..	10	10	..	2	..	2	..	2	..	1	1	9
70	..	8	8	3	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	8
71	..	4	4	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	4
72	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
73	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
74	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
75	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
76	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
77	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
78	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
79	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
	945	5691	6636	163	94	106	200	582	945	472.5	100	572.5	6063.5

The following is an abstract of the particulars in the preceding table:

ABSTRACT C.

Age.	Number exposed to the risk of mortality.	Died.	Mortality per cent.
21—25	186.0	...	.....
26—30	747.0	12	1.6064
31—35	1275.5	17	1.3328
36—40	1329.5	25	1.8804
41—45	998.5	35	3.5053
46—50	683.0	19	2.7818
51—55	421.0	24	5.7007
56—60	238.5	7	2.9350
61—65	115.5	15	12.9872
66—70	52.5	5	9.5238
71—75	9.0	3	33.3334
76—79	4.0	1	25.0000
Total...	6060.0	163	2.6898

It thus appears that, during 6060 years of risk to which the members have been exposed, 163 died, the mortality being 2.6898 per cent.

The following table exhibits the particulars necessary to determine the mortality amongst East Indian subscribers to the Fund, the explanation of the different columns being the same as that applicable to Abstract B.

ABSTRACT D.

From 1*st May* 1837 *to* 30*th April* 1857.

Ages.	Number entered at each age.	Number remaining under observation from preceding age.	Total number under observation at each age.	Died.	Discontinued.			Alive at 30th April, 1857.	Total gone off.	Half of discontinued and half of entered.			Number exposed to risk.
					Withdrawn.	Struck off.	Total.			Entered.	Discontinued.	Total.	
a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*i*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*q*	*r*
19	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1
20	2	2	4	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	.5	1.5	2.5
21	9	3	12	..	..	..	..	2	2	4.5	..	4.5	7.5
22	19	10	29	..	1	1	2	2	4	9.5	1	10.5	18.5
23	14	25	39	..	1	2	3	1	4	7	1.5	8.5	30.5
24	28	35	63	..	..	4	4	2	6	14	2	16	47
25	29	57	86	..	1	2	3	4	7	14.5	1.5	16	70
26	40	79	119	..	..	2	2	13	15	20	1	21	98
27	25	104	129	1	5	3	8	16	25	12.5	4	16.5	112.5
28	36	104	140	..	4	2	6	11	17	18	3	21	119
29	37	123	160	5	2	4	6	10	21	18.5	3	21.5	138.5
30	38	139	177	1	..	4	4	17	22	19	2	21	156
31	37	155	192	1	..	3	3	11	15	18.5	1.5	20	172
32	49	177	226	2	2	4	6	21	29	24.5	3	27.5	198.5
33	35	197	232	..	3	3	6	16	22	17.5	3	20.5	211.5
34	33	210	243	4	5	5	10	19	33	16.5	5	21.5	221.5
35	21	210	231	6	7	3	10	13	29	10.5	5	15.5	215.5
36	25	202	227	3	1	2	3	19	25	12.5	1.5	14	213
37	22	202	224	3	..	6	6	17	26	11	3	14	210
38	27	198	225	3	4	4	8	20	31	13.5	4	17.5	207.5
39	19	194	213	5	1	1	2	22	29	9.5	1	10.5	202.5
40	18	184	202	5	2	3	5	19	29	9	2.5	11.5	190.5
41	15	173	188	5	3	5	8	16	29	7.5	4	11.5	176.5
42	14	159	173	10	3	1	4	19	33	7	2	9	164.
43	12	140	152	1	2	3	5	10	16	6	2.5	8.5	143.5
44	9	136	145	5	2			16	24	4.5	1.5	6	139
45	13	121	134	7			3	12	22	6.5	1.5	8	126
46	5	112	117	4	1		3	20	27	2.5	1.5	4	113
47	11	90	101	2	1	2	3	9	14	5.5	1.5	7	94
48	4	87	91	2	2	1	3	9	14	2	1.5	3.5	87.5
49	7	77	84	2	1	2	3	7	12	3.5	1.5	5	79
50	7	72	79	1	..	1	1	15	15	3.5	.5	4	75
51	6	64	70	3	..	..	..	3	6	3	..	3	67
52	4	64	68	6	4	..	4	5	15	2.	2	4	64
53	3	53	56	2	1	..	1	2	5	1.5	.5	2	54
54	4	51	55	3	..	..	..	6	9	2	..	2	53
55	2	46	48	2	..	3	3	7	12	1	1.5	2.5	45.5
56	1	36	37	1	1	..	1	6	8	.5	.5	1	36
57	5	29	34	2	..	..	..	2	4	2.5	..	2.5	31.5
58	4	30	34	1	2	..	2	5	8	2	1	3	31
59	..	26	26	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	26
60	..	23	23	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	23
61	1	20	21	4	..	..	..	1	5	.5	..	.5	20.5
62	..	16	16	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	16
63	..	15	15	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	15
64	1	13	14	2	..	..	..	1	3	.5	..	.5	13.5
65	..	11	11	1	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	11
66	..	9	9	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	9
67	..	8	8	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	8
68	..	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
69	..	6	6	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	.5	.5	5.5
70	..	5	5	2	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	5
71	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
72	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
73	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
74	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
75	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
76	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
77	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
78	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
79	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	693	4,311	5,004	113	65	81	146	434	693	346.5	73	419.5	4584.5

The following table is an abstract of the results in the preceding one :

ABSTRACT E.

Age.	Number exposed to the risk of mortality.	Died.	Mortality per cent.
21—25	173.5	...	.....
26—30	624.0	7	1.1218
31—35	1019.0	13	1.2758
36—40	1023.5	19	1.8564
41—45	749.0	28	3.7383
46—50	448.5	11	2.4526
51—55	283.5	16	5.6437
56—60	147.5	4	2.7119
61—65	76.0	9	11.8421
66—70	33.5	4	11.9403
71—72	3.0	2	66.6667
Total...	4581.0	113	2.4667

It would appear, therefore, that, during 4,581 years of risk to which the East Indian subscribers were exposed, 113 died, the mortality being 2.4667 per cent.

These results are very remarkable. Hitherto an apparently universal impression has prevailed, that the rate of mortality amongst East Indians is considerably in excess of that which obtains amongst Europeans resident in India, and some life offices decline insuring them at the rates applicable to Euro-

peans; but the facts set forth in the preceding tables tend most decidedly to prove, that the respectable and provident portion of the Eurasian community are, at certain ages, subject to a less rate of mortality than that which prevails amongst any other class of Christians in this country. At ages 21—25 there are only 173 lives under observation; and at ages 51 to 72 not more than 544, these numbers being too small to warrant any confidence in the results; but confining ourselves to the remaining 3,864 lives which comprise 84 per cent of the whole experience, the following is the result:—

Abstract F.

Ages.	East Indians, 1837—1857.			Civil Service, 1790—1842.			Ages.
	Number exposed to risk.	Died.	Mortality, per cent.	Number exposed to risk.	Died	Mortality, per cent.	
26–30	624.0	7	1.1218	4010	84	2.094	26—30
31—35	1019.0	13	1.2758	6177	48	1.511	31—35
36–40	1023.5	19	1.8564	2172	60	2.762	36—40
41—45	749.0	28	3.7383	1496	44	2.941	41—45
46—50	448.5	11	2.4526	818	29	3.545	46—50
26—50	3864.0	78	2.01863	11,673	265	2.2702	26—50

Thus at 26—40 inclusive, it would appear that 13.5 East Indians and 17.6 Civilians out of every 1,000 die annually, and at 26—50, inclusive, 20 East Indians and nearly 23 Civilians; and the results are still in favor of East Indians, even if the comparison be made to apply to the deaths in the Civil Service, during the more recent period 1820—1842.

The Covenanted Civil Service has always hitherto been considered the most select class of lives in India. In the receipt of large incomes, living in the best houses, with ample means to effect change of climate whenever sickness renders it necessary, commanding every thing in short which reduces the risk of residence in this country to the minimum, it is not to be wondered at that the mortality amongst certain sections of the population of the British Islands,—the adult male po-

pulation of Liverpool and Glasgow, for instance,—is considerably in excess of that prevailing in the Bengal Civil Service; nor, for obvious reasons, should we be unprepared to learn, that the casualties amongst Bengal civilians are considerably less than amongst their humbler brethren of the Uncovenanted Service. The contrary, however, appears to be the case; and as the mortality of the humble provident classes in England is less than that of the aristocracy, so is the mortality amongst the provident East Indian members of the Uncovenanted Fund, less than that observed to prevail amongst the governing class in this country. The value of male life in England, as it exists amongst members of the great community comprising friendly societies, is nearly eight per cent better than that of the male population generally, and superior indeed to that of any class, the aristocracy not excepted. Who shall say that it ought to be otherwise? Does it not appear as if He from whom went forth the sentence, "In the sweat of thy 'face shalt thou eat bread," has mitigated the severity of the curse to the deserving of that class on which it more particularly falls, by vouchsafing them uniformity of health and prolonged life, to a degree which the wealthy, indolent, and luxurious can never hope to obtain?

There is one consideration affecting the last table which must not be overlooked. It is compulsory on members of the Bengal Civil Service,—all of whom however are approved by medical examiners in England before appointment,—to subscribe to the fund; in the case of the Uncovenanted Fund, it is not compulsory; the directors strictly exercise the right of selection under the rules of the Fund. Thus every applicant must undergo careful medical examination, and be pronounced of sound constitution before admission. But will this explain the low rate of mortality prevailing among East Indians, as revealed by the above table? We do not think so. Applicants for assurance at healthy rates to life offices, both here and in England, are subjected to the strictest examination, the result being that twenty-three per cent in England, and—so far as the experience of one office with which we are acquainted goes—about seven and a half per cent in this country, are rejected; but the mortality amongst assured lives does not appear to be less on that account. If any reliance is to be placed on Mr. Francis' paper, it is, in India, considerably more than is represented even by the army casualties. The fact is that no man will pay his money either to a fund or a life office, unless he has a tolerably clear idea that the arrangement is a better one for himself than putting it out at interest. Those who have a very high opinion of their vitality

will be apt to invest their savings elsewhere, while the chances are, that the number of bad and indifferent lives offering will counteract all the advantages derivable from selection.

But although the results above given are, at certain ages, decisive as affecting the East Indian members of the Uncovenanted Fund, they cannot be received as applicable to the East Indian community generally. There can be no doubt that the payment monthly for provident purposes of a certain sum, by persons in middle or inferior life, is indicative of more than average intelligence; of the existence of those temperate, careful, frugal habits which result in health and longevity. Thus, as the members of friendly societies in England enjoy, one with another, longer life than falls to the lot of the working classes generally, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that East Indian subscribers to the Fund are a very superior class, to the mixed Eurasian population we see around us.

The following table exhibits the mortality among the whole body of subscribers, and East Indian subscribers, to the Fund, placed in juxta-position:

ABSTRACT G.

Age.	Mortality per cent; Mixed Class.	Mortality per cent; East Indians.	Age.
26–30	1.6064	1.1218	26—30
31—35	1,3328	1.2758	31—35
36—40	1.8804	1.8564	26—40
41—45	3.5053	3.7383	41—45
46—50	2.7818	2.4526	46—50
51—55	5 7007	5 6437	51—55
56—60	2.9350	2.7119	56—60

From the preceding tables it appears that, while the mortality at ages from twenty-one to sixty inclusive, amongst the members of the Fund generally, is 2.6898 per cent per annum, the mortality amongst East Indian members is only 2.4667 per cent per annum.

The following table is formed from the data in Abstract B. preceding, and represents the mortality for the mean of each quinquennial term of life, among the subscribers to the Uncovenanted Fund. For an explanation of how it and the two succeeding tables are constructed, see Mr. Neison's works.

TABLE I.

Interpolation of mortality per cent. Mixed Class.

(1.) Original quantities.
Δ_1 and Δ_2 = 1st and 2nd Differences.
$a = \cdot 2\Delta_1$
$b = \cdot 04\Delta_2$

Age.	l	Δ_1	Δ_2
28	1.6064	— .2736	+ .8212
		$a = .05472$	$b = .032848$
33	1.3328	+ .5476	1.0773
		.10952	.043092
38	1.8804	1.6249	— 2.3484
		.32498	.093936
43	3.5053	— .7235	+ 3.6424
		.14470	.145696
48	2.7818	+ 2.9189	— 5.6846
		.58378	.227384
53	5.7007	2.7657	+ 12.8179
		.55314	.512716
58	2.9350	+ 10.0522	— 13.5156
		2.01044	.540624
63	12.9872	— 3.4634	+ 27.2729
		.69268	1.090916
68	9.5238	+ 23.8095	— 32.1428
		4.76190	1.285712
73	33.3333	— 8.3333	
		1.66666	
78	25.0000		

The next table indicates the interpolation of the mortality per cent.

The following table is formed from the data in Abstract B. preceding, and represents the mortality for the mean of each quinquennial term of life, among the subscribers to the Uncovenanted Fund. For an explanation of how it and the two succeeding tables are constructed, see Mr. Neison's works.

TABLE I.

Interpolation of mortality per cent. Mixed Class.

(1.) Original quantities.
Δ_1 and Δ_2 = 1st and 2nd Differences.
$a = \cdot 2\Delta_1$
$b = \cdot 04\Delta_2$

Age.	l		Δ_1		Δ_2
28	1.6064	—	.2736	+	.8212
			$a = .05472$		$b = .032848$
33	1.3328	+	.5476		1.0773
			.10952		.043092
38	1.8804		1.6249	—	2.3484
			.32498		.093936
43	3.5053	—	.7235	+	3.6424
			.14470		.145696
48	2.7818	+	2.9189	—	5.6846
			.58378		.227384
53	5.7007		2.7657	+	12.8179
			.55314		.512716
58	2.9350	+	10.0522	—	13.5156
			2.01044		.540624
63	12.9872	—	3.4634	+	27.2729
			.69268		1.090916
68	9.5238	+	23.8095	—	32.1428
			4.76190		1.285712
73	33.3333	—	8.3333		
			1.66666		
78	25.0000				

The next table indicates the interpolation of the mortality per cent.

TABLE II.

Interpolation of mortality per cent. Mixed Class.

Interval = $\frac{1}{5}$
(1.) = Original quantities.
1st δ_1 = $a-2b$.
δ_2 = b.

Age.	(1.)	δ_1	Age.	(1.)	δ_1
28	1.606400	— .120416	53	5.700700	— 1.578572
29	1.485984	.087568	54	4.122128	1.065856
30	1.398416	.054720	55	3.056272	.553140
31	1.343696	.021872	56	2.503132	.040424
32	1.321824	+ .010976	57	2.462708	+ .472292
33	1.332800	+ .023336	58	2.935000	+ 3.091688
34	1.356136	.066428	59	6.026688	2.551064
35	1.422564	.109520	60	8.577752	2.010440
36	1.532084	.152612	61	10.588192	1.469816
37	1.684696	+ .195704	62	12.058008	+ .929192
38	1.880400	+ .512852	63	12.987200	— 2.874512
39	2.393252	.418916	64	10.112688	1.783596
40	2.812168	.324980	65	8.329092	.692680
41	3.137148	.231044	66	7.636412	+ .398236
42	3.368192	+ .137108	67	8.034648	1.489152
43	3.505300	— .436092	68	9.523800	+ 7.333324
44	3.069208	.290396	69	16.857124	6.047612
45	2.778812	.144700	70	22.904736	4.761900
46	2.634112	+ .000996	71	27.666636	3.476188
47	2.635108	.146692	72	31.142824	2.190476
48	2.781800	+ 1.038548	73	33.333300	
49	3.820348	.811164			
50	4.631512	.583780			
51	5.215292	.356396			
52	5.571688	+ .129012			

From the results in Table II., the following table of decrements is derived :—

TABLE III.

Table of Decrements. Mixed Class.

Age.	Mortality per Cent. $= d$ $1 - \frac{d}{100}$	$\lambda\ l$ $\lambda\ (1 - \frac{d}{100}) = c$ $5 + \Sigma\ (c) = \lambda\ l.$	Number Living $= l.$	Number Dying.	Age.
25	1.606	5.00000	100000	1606	25
	.98394	9.99297			
26	1.606	4.99297	98394	1580	26
	.98394	.99297			
27	1.606	.98594	96814	1554	27
	.98394	.99297			
28	1.606	.97891	95260	1530	28
	.98394	.99297			
29	1.486	.97188	93730	1392	29
	.98514	.99350			
30	1.398	.96538	92338	1290	30
	.98602	.99389			
31	1.344	.95927	91048	1225	31
	.98656	.99412			
32	1.322	.95339	89823	1187	32
	.98678	.99422			
33	.1333	.94761	88636	1182	33
	.98667	.99417			
34	1.356	.94178	87454	1186	34
	.98644	.99407			
35	1.423	.93585	86268	1227	35
	.98577	.99378			
36	1.532	.92963	85041	1302	36
	.98468	.99330			
37	1.685	.92293	83739	1410	37
	.98315	.99262			
38	1.880	.91555	82329	1548	38
	.98120	.99176			
39	2.393	.90731	80781	1833	39
	.97607	.98948			
40	2.812	.89679	78848	2218	40
	.97188	.98761			
41	3.137	.88440	76630	2403	41
	.96863	.98616			
42	3.368	.87056	74227	2500	42
	.96632	.98512			
43	3.505	.85568	71727	2515	43
	.96495	.98450			
44	3.069	.84018	69212	2125	44
	.96931	.98646			
45	2.779	.82664	67087	1854	45
	.97221	.98776			
46	2.634	.81440	65223	1718	46
	.97366	.98841			
47	2.635	.80281	63505	1673	47
	.97365	.98840			
48	2.782	.79121	61832	1720	48
	.97218	.98775			

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

Table of Decrements. Mixed Class.

Age.	Mortality per Cent $= d$ $1-\frac{d}{100}$	$\lambda\, l$ $\lambda\,(1-\frac{d}{100}) = c$ $5\ \Sigma\,(c) = \lambda\ \ l.$	Number Living $= l.$	Number Dying.	Age.
75	9.615	.21811	16524	1589	75
	.90385	.95610			
76	10.239	.17421	14935	1529	76
	.89761	.95369			
77	10.815	.12730	13406	1450	77
	.89185	.95029			
78	11.296	.07759	11956	1351	78
	.88704	.94794			
79	12.172	.02553	10605	1290	79
	.87828	.94363			
80	13.433	3.96916	9315	1252	80
	.86567	9.93735			
81	14.778	.90651	8063	1191	81
	.85222	.93055			
82	16.474	.83706	6872	1132	82
	.83526	.92182			
83	19.031	.75888	5760	1093	83
	.80969	.90832			
84	20.513	.66720	4647	953	84
	.79487	.90030			
85	22.043	.56750	3694	814	85
	.77957	.89186			
86	23.448	.45936	2880	675	86
	.76552	.88396			
87	25.225	.34332	2205	556	87
	.74775	.87376			
88	25.301	.21708	1649	418	88
	.74699	.87331			
89	25.806	.09039	1231	317	89
	.74194	9.87037			
90	26.087	2.96076	914	239	90
	.73913	.86872			
91	29.412	.82948	675	198	91
	.70588	.84873			
92	33.334	.67821	477	159	92
	.66666	.82390			
93	43.750	.50211	318	139	93
	.56250	.75012			
94	55.556	.25223	179	100	94
	.44444	.64781			
95	75.000	1.90004	79	59	95
	.25000	9.39794			
96	100.000	1.29798	20	.....	96
97	.....	.....	.....	.....	97
98	.....	.....	.....	.....	98
99	.....	.....	.....	.....	99
100	.....	.....	.....	.....	100

The three following tables are, in principle, the same as the three preceding, the results being applicable to East Indian subscribers to the Uncovenanted Fund:—

TABLE IV.

Interpolation of mortality per cent: East Indians.

(1.) Original quantities.

Δ_1 and Δ_2 = 1st and 2nd Differences.

$a = \cdot 2\,\Delta$

$b = .04\,\Delta_2$

Age.	l.	Δ_1	Δ_2
28	1.1218	+ .1540	+ .4266
		$a = .03080$	$b = .017064$
33	1.2758	.5806	1.3013
		.11612	.052052
38	1.8564	1.8819	— 3.1676
		.37638	.126704
43	3.7383	— 1.2857	+ .44768
		.25714	.179072
48	2.2645	+ 3.1911	— 6.1229
		.63822	.244916
53	5.6437	— 2.9318	+ 12.0620
		.58636	.482480
58	2.7119	+ 9.1302	— 9.0320
		1.82604	.361280
63	11.8421	.0982	
		.01964	
68	11.9403		

TABLE V.

Interpolation of mortality per cent: East Indians.

Interval $= \frac{1}{5}$
(l.) = Original quantities.
1st $\delta_1 = a - 2b$.
$\delta_2 = b$.

Age.	(l.)	δ_1	Age.	(l.)	δ_1
28	1.121800		48	2.452600	
		— .003328			+ 1.128052
29	1.118472		49	3.580652	
		+ .013736			.883136
30	1 132208		50	4.463788	
		.030800			.638220
31	1.163008		51	5.102008	
		.047864			.393304
32	1.210872		52	5.495312	
		+ .064928			+ .148388
33	1 275800		53	5.643700	
		+ .012016			— 1.551320
34	1.287816		54	4.092380	
		.064068			1.068840
35	1.351884		55	3.023540	
		.116120			.586360
36	1.468004		56	2.437180	
		.168172			.103880
37	1.636176		57	2.333300	
		+ .220224			+ .378600
38	1.856400		58	2.711900	
		+ .629788			+ 2.548600
39	2.486188		59	5.260500	
		.503084			2.187320
40	2.989272		60	7.447820	
		.376380			1.826040
41	3.365652		61	9.273860	
		.249676			1.464760
42	3 615328		62	10.738620	
		+ .122972			1.103480
43	3.738300		63	11.842100	
		— .615284			
44	3.123016				
		.436212			
45	2.686804				
		.257140			
46	2 429664				
		— .078068			
47	2.351596				
		+ .101004			

TABLE VI.

Table of Decrements: East Indians.

Age.	Mortality per Cent. $= d$ $1 - \frac{d}{100}$	$\lambda\, l$ $\lambda\,(1 - \frac{d}{100}) = c$ $5 + \Sigma\,(c) = \lambda\, l.$	Number Living $= l.$	Number Dying.	Age.
25	1.122	5.00000	100000	1122	25
	.98878	9.99510			
26	1.122	4.99510	98878	1109	26
	.98878	.99510			
27	1.122	.99020	97769	1097	27
	.98878	.99510			
28	1.122	.98530	96672	1085	28
	.98878	.99510			
29	1.118	.98040	95587	1068	29
	.98882	.99512			
30	1.132	.97552	94519	1069	30
	.98868	.99506			
31	1.163	.97058	93450	1087	31
	.98837	.99492			
32	1.211	.96560	92363	1118	32
	.98789	.99471			
33	1.276	.96021	91245	1165	33
	.98724	.99442			
34	1.288	.95463	90080	1160	34
	.98712	.99437			
35	1.352	.94900	88920	1202	35
	.98648	.99409			
36	1.468	.94309	87718	1287	36
	.98532	.99358			
37	1.636	.93667	86431	1413	37
	.98364	.99284			
38	1.856	.92951	85018	1579	38
	.98144	.99186			
39	2.486	.92137	83439	2074	39
	.97514	.98907			
40	2.989	.91044	81365	2432	40
	.97011	.98682			
41	3.366	.89726	78933	2657	41
	.96634	.98513			
42	3.615	.88239	76276	2757	42
	.96385	.98401			
43	3.738	.86640	73519	2749	43
	.96262	.98345			
44	3.123	.84985	70770	2210	44
	.96877	.98622			
45	2.687	.83607	68560	1842	45
	.97313	.98817			
46	2.430	.82424	66718	1621	46
	.97570	.98932			
47	2.352	.81356	65097	1535	47
	.97648	.98966			
48	2.453	.80322	63565	1557	48
	.97547	.98921			
49	3.581	.79243	62005	2220	49
	.96419	.98416			
50	4.464	.77059	59785	2669	50
	.95536	.98017			
51	2.954	.75676	57116	1687	51
	.97046	.98698			
52	3.044	.74374	55429	1687	52
	.96956	.98657			

TABLE VI.—*(Continued.)*

Table of Decrements: East Indians.

Age.	Mortality per Cent. $= d$ $1 - \frac{d}{100}$	$\lambda\, l$ $\lambda\,(1 - \frac{d}{100}) = c$ $5 + \Sigma\,(c) = \lambda\, l.$	Number Living $= l$	Number Dying.	Age.
53	3.140	.73031	53742	1688	53
	.96860	.98614			
54	3.241	.71645	52054	1688	54
	.96759	.98569			
55	3.350	.70244	50366	1687	55
	.96650	.98520			
56	3.466	.68734	48679	1687	56
	.96534	.98468			
57	3.590	.67202	46992	1688	57
	.96410	.98412			
58	3.724	.65614	45304	1687	58
	.96276	.98352			
59	3.868	.63966	43617	1687	59
	.96132	.98287			
60	4.024	.62253	41930	1687	60
	.95976	.98216			
61	4.192	.60469	40243	1687	61
	.95808	.98140			
62	4.322	.58609	38556	1667	62
	.95678	9.98081			
63	4.518	4.56690	36889	1667	63
	.95482	9.97922			
64	4.673	.54682	35222	1645	64
	.95327	.97922			
65	4.902	.52604	33577	1646	65
	.95098	.97817			
66	5.155	.50421	31931	1647	66
	.94845	.97701			
67	5.435	.48122	30284	1646	67
	.94565	.97573			
68	5.747	.45695	28638	1645	68
	.94253	.97430			
69	6.098	.43125	26993	1646	69
	.93902	.97267			
70	6.494	.40392	25347	1646	70
	.93506	.97084			
71	6.944	.37476	23701	1646	71
	.93056	.96874			
72	7.463	.34350	22055	1646	72
	.92537	.96632			
73	8.065	.30982	20409	1646	73
	.91935	.96348			
74	8.772	.27330	18763	1646	74
	.91228	.96013			
75	9.615	.23343	17117	1646	75
	.90385	.95610			
76	10.239	.18953	15471	1584	76
	.89761	.95300			
77	10.815	.14262	13887	1502	77
	.89185	.95029			
78	11.296	.09291	12385	1399	78
	.88704	.94794			
79	12.172	.04085	10986	1337	79
	.87828	.94363			
80	13.433	3.98448	9649	1296	80
	.86567	9.93735			

TABLE VI.—*(Continued.)*

Table of Decrements: East Indians.

Age.	Mortality per Cent. $= d$ $1 - \frac{d}{100}$	$\lambda\, l$ $\lambda\,(1 - \frac{d}{100}) = c$ $5 + \Sigma\,(c) = \lambda\, l.$	Number Living $= l.$	Number Dying.	Age.
81	14.778	.92183	8353	1235	81
	.85222	.93055			
82	16.474	.85238	7118	1172	82
	.83526	.92182			
83	19.031	.77420	5946	1132	83
	.80969	.90832			
84	20.513	.68252	4814	987	84
	.79487	.90030			
85	22.043	.58282	3827	844	85
	.77957	.89186			
86	23.448	.47468	2983	699	86
	.76552	.88396			
87	25.225	.35864	2284	576	87
	.74775	.87376			
88	25.301	.23240	1708	432	88
	.74699	.87331			
89	25.806	.10571	1276	330	89
	.74194	.87037			
90	26.087	2.97608	946	246	90
	.73913	9.86872			
91	29.412	.84480	700	206	91
	.70588	.84873			
92	33.334	.69353	494	165	92
	.66666	.82390			
93	43.750	.51743	329	144	93
	.56250	.75012			
94	55.556	.26755	185	103	94
	.44444	.64781			
95	75.000	1.91536	82	61	95
	.25000	9.39794			
96	100.000	.31330	21	.....	96
	.....	.....			
97	.....	.....	.....	.....	97
	.....	.....			
98	.....	.....	.....	.....	98
	.....	.....			
99	.....	.....	.....	.....	99
	.....	.....			
100	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
	.....	.....			

On a reference to the column of decrements in the above table and in Table III. preceding, it will be perceived, that owing to the small number of lives under observation, there are considerable irregularities. We have been desirous, in the construction of these tables, to give effect, as far as possible, to the actual mortality which has occurred, leaving others, if necessary, to re-difference the quantities. Between the ages

forty-five and fifty-one, the following values may be interpolated in columns four and five of these tables:—

Age.	Mixed Class. Table III.		East Indians. Table VI.		Age.
	Living.	Dying.	Living.	Dying.	
46	65223	2038	66718	1870	46
47	63185	2024	64848	1901	47
48	61161	2014	62947	1924	48
49	59147	2009	61023	1945	49
50	57138	2001	59078	1962	50

From age fifty-one inclusive, in each table, to the extremity of life, the figures are the same as those in the Northampton Table. There are, so far as we are aware, no data available to enable us, with any certainty, to determine the mortality amongst Uncovenanted Servants and East Indians after fifty, and an impression certainly exists that the latter, settled as they generally are permanently in India, do not attain individually to such advanced years as Europeans, nearly all of whom look forward to spending the evening of their days in a more temperate climate. In the absence of the necessary information, we consider it safe to adopt the Northampton Table, as representing the mortality after fifty, amongst the class of Christians in this country now under observation.

The following table, prepared from the adjusted tables of decrements, exhibits the mortality per cent per annum amongst various classes in India, as compared with the mortality in England and Wales. With the exception of columns k and l, the figures in which have reference to both males and females, all the columns refer to the mortality prevailing amongst males only :

TABLE VII.

Mortality per Cent. per Annum, amongst Various Classes.

Age.	Civil.				Military Officers of the Bengal Army.			Retired Officers of the Indian Army.	Assured Lives.		England & Wales.	Age.
	Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund.		Bengal Civil Fund.		Woolhouse.	Davies.	Neison.	Christie	India Oriental & Laudable Experience	England.	Neison.	
	The whole of the subscribers.	East Indian subscribers.	Neison.	Davies.					Francis.	Committee of Actuaries.		
a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*
21	...	...	1.312	1.312	2.664	2.661	1.940	1.06	2.070	.738	.815	21
26	1.606	1.122	1.561	1.561	2.759	2.750	2.338	1.11	2.950	.789	.960	26
31	1.344	1.163	1.717	1.717	2.952	2.933	2.498	1.19	3.446	.858	1.036	31
36	1.532	1.468	1.905	1.905	3.198	3.172	2.607	1.32	3.815	948	1.113	36
41	3.137	3.366	2.262	2.164	3.512	3.496	2.648	1.52	4.162	1.061	1.245	41
46	2.634	2.430	2.708	2.461	3.893	3.880	2.708	1.86	4.445	1.284	1.454	46
51	2.954	2.954	2.542	2.954	4.362	4.369	2.542	2.34	4.950	1.690	1.760	51
56	...	...	2.629	3.466	5.087	4.979	2.629	3.00	5.663	2.313	2.260	56
61	...	...	3.507	4.192	6.173	5.615	3.507	3.84	6.623	3.261	3.040	61
66	...	...	5.039	5.155	7.827	6.406	5.039	4.99	8.147	4.761	4.285	66
71	...	...	7.397	6.944	10.268	7.264	7.397	7.05	12.074	7.016	6.197	71
76	...	...	11.135	10.239	11.711	10.239	11.135	10.26	15.591	10.318	9.218	76
81	...	...	16.385	14.778	15.899	14.778	16.385	...	21.127	15.144	13.976	81
86	...	...	23.253	23.448	...	23.448	23.253	...	37.500	22.248	20.090	86
91	...	...	31.089	29.412	...	29.412	31.089	...	...	36.099	27.895	91
96	...	...	60.519	100.000	...	100.000	60.519	...	...	64.865	35 616	96

From age 51 in column *a*, the figures in columns *b* and *c* are omitted, as being the same as those in column *e*, representing the mortality as obtained from what is termed the "Northampton Table." From age 46 in column *a*, the figures in column *d* are the same as those in column *h*, indicating the mortality amongst officers of the Bengal army. The results in columns *f* and *g* are obtained from tables of decrements derived from the data afforded by Dodwell's list. There is a slight difference between the figures, but this is explained by Mr. Davies having adopted a different process, from that employed by Mr. Woolhouse in forming his table, with which table however, and the data in Dodwell's list, Mr. Neison has declared himself unable to trace any connexion. From age 60, the results in column *h* may be considered hypothetical, the data employed by Mr. Neison not extending beyond that age. Mr. Francis' table, and also that prepared by the Committee of Actuaries, has reference to *policies* of assurance, and not *lives;* the results in columns *k* and *l* must therefore be received with considerable reserve.

The following table will bring under the eye, at one glance, the general results of all the important investigations into European and East Indian mortality in India, which have appeared up to the present time, as compared with the mortality amongst males in England:—

TABLE VIII.

Condensed Synopsis of the Mortality per cent. per annum, amongst various Classes.

	Ages.					
	21—35	36—50	51—65	21—50	36—65	21—65
I. Civil.						
Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund.						
b. The whole of the Members	1.452	2.774	...	2.165	...	...
c. East Indian Members	1.188	2.759	...	2.039	...	...
Bengal Civil Fund.						
d. Neison	1.609	2.359	3.083	1.930	2.650	2.187
e. Davies	1.609	2.276	3.705	1.895	2.839	2.288
II. Military.						
Officers of the Bengal Army.						
f. Woolhouse	2.838	3.630	5.411	3.141	4.237	3.515
g. Davies	2.809	3.622	5 126	3.130	4.137	3.461
h. Neison	2.348	2.657	3.083	2.473	2.827	2.602
III. Retired Officers of the Indian Army.						
i. Christie	...	...	...	...	...	...
IV. Assured Lives.						
k. India Oriental and Laudable Experience—Francis	2.999	4.351	.5918	3.483	4.862	.3843
l. England. Committee of Actuaries	.819	1.176	2.700	.985	1.839	1.437
V. England and Wales.						
m. Neison	.975	1.339	2.586	1.142	1.879	1.516

From which table we must leave our readers to form their own conclusions, it being sufficient for our present purpose to shew, that considerable misapprehension has existed as to the mortality of selected East Indians, who are evidently—so far as can be gathered from the limited data now available—at the earlier ages, subject to a less rate of mortality, than any other class of Christians in this country.

Before concluding these observations, a few reflections are suggested by the terrible national calamity from which we are now emerging, and its immediate and ultimate influence on Christian life in India.

Two questions present themselves for solution, the supreme gravity of which to the Provident Funds of India, it would be difficult to exaggerate. In the first place it is desirable to know what will be the increase, consequent on the mutiny of the Bengal army, to European casualties, during the period intervening between the outbreak, and the entire re-establishment of order. This, at present, we can only guess at, and have no space to go deeply into the subject; but the results, as applicable to officers of the Bengal army, up to the end of last year, are now well ascertained. A weekly contemporary sometime ago published a list of 415 East India Company's officers on the Bengal establishment, who died from 10th May, 1857, the day on which the rebellion broke out, to the end of the year. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of the list, but it seems as full and correct as any that have appeared. At 10th April 1857, just prior to the mutiny, there were, according to the best quarterly army lists, 3,578 officers in the Company's service, serving on the Bengal establishment. Thus the mortality in the seven months and 22 days, commencing on the 10th May, and ending on 31st December, 1857, was at the rate of upwards of $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or about 18 per cent per annum.

The average age of officers of the Bengal army, including second Lieutenants, Cornets, and Ensigns, was in 1847, according to the best authorities, forty-one years. There is no reason, so far as we are aware, for believing that that is not the average age now. Cadets are, one with another, seventeen and a half years old on entering the service, and from the gradation list it is concluded, that the mean age of second Lieutenants, Cornets and Ensigns is about twenty-three years. Also, that the average age of all the officers of the Bengal army is, as near as may be, forty years.

The mortality at age forty, during the first forty-eight years of the present century, has been rather more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. It follows that the casualties, which, we have a right to assume, are directly consequent on the insur-

and in excess of what would have occurred under
circumstances, amount to no less than 15½ per cent.
whole strength of the force; that is to say, in 1857,
ths were septupled, 174 out of every 1,000 officers
experience of half a century having led us to conclude
twenty-six out of every 1,000, would die. What the
may have been during the same period to the average
mongst other Europeans and East Indians, it is impossi-
y, but we observe certain of the Calcutta Life Offices
ng it, as at 30th June last, at an excess of 250 per cent
ives assured, for the year then ended.

his point settled, and order entirely re-established, the
and solemn question remains—*Will there be more risk*
tian life in India than there was before the outbreak?
can answer that enquiry, and all must be mere con-
Amidst the din of conflicting opinions, we can only
hope, that with the diffusion of somewhat more exalted ideas of the true mission of Englishmen in India; a disarmed native population and permanent European force of 80,000 men; colonization to such an extent as is practicable; a thorough development of the railway and telegraphic systems; and a Christian Government directly responsible to the people of England, European life will be more secure in this country than it has ever been before.

☞ Our non-Indian readers will be liable to misunderstand the term "East Indian." In India and throughout this article, it is exclusively applied to Christians of mixed European and Native parentage, or the descendants of such. The term is thus applied to all who are not of *pure* European blood. These constitute a large and important element of Indian Society, and, notwithstanding the ignorant assumptions of some, they are a most valuable and worthy class. The term *Eurasian* is often used in the same sense, and by themselves and all who respect them, the term 'half-caste,' is avoided. The higher class of East Indians has always gained the respect of the Europeans who have been connected with them, by their integrity, intelligence, usefulness and high respectability. Too little has been done in the way of Christianising and elevating the lowest classes of East Indians, who have been always degraded. Like the European *proletarii* of our large cities in England, they need a special agency.

ART. IV.—1. *Rough Narrative of the Siege of Luckn*
LIEUTENANT J. J. MCLEOD INNES, Ben
gineers. Calcutta, 1857.

2. *A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow,*
Commencement to the Relief by Sir Colin
By L. E. R. REES. London, 1858.

3. *The Defence of Lucknow, a Diary from 30th*
25th September, 1857. By a Staff Officer.
1858.

4. *A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Luckn*
CAPTAIN R. P. ANDERSON, 25th N. I.
1858.

5. *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow, written*
perusal of Friends at Home. London, 1858.

6. *Day by Day at Lucknow: a Journal of the Siege of*
Lucknow. By MRS. CASE. London, 1858.

THE siege of Lucknow is one of the most remarkable incidents in the military history of the world. It shews the energy and fore-thought of the great man who was at the head of affairs in Oudh when the disturbances broke out, as well as the daring bravery and patient fortitude of those under him, and at the same time, it shews the perseverance and personal courage, mixed with want of purpose and cowardice, of the besiegers. Nine hundred Europeans (many of them not before trained to arms) aided by seven hundred natives, in the midst of a hostile city, successfully resisted an army of almost countless multitudes, who were well equipped and provided with guns and all the munitions of war, and who had the whole country at their command. Well may the survivors of the siege be proud to think that they, for three months, and with all means of communication and of obtaining supplies wholly cut off, defended a post like the Residency, which, until within a few weeks before the siege commenced, was nothing but an unconnected series of common dwelling-houses, with their out-houses and gardens, —and that they did so, encumbered as they were by some eight hundred women and children, to provide for whose safety was throughout their first care. Never were the advantages of thorough combination and unity more clearly illustrated. Had there been, in the armies which besieged the Residency, but a small part of the discipline and spirit which pervaded its defenders, the siege could not have lasted as it did;

for, through mere force of numbers, the besieged must have been overwhelmed and destroyed, long before any relief could have reached them. What saved the garrison was that the enemy had no good leaders, that they were deficient in true discipline and spirit, and unable to bring themselves to persevere in the attack, when they saw their comrades fall beside them.

The story of the defence of Lucknow consists of three principal parts; the first relates to the preparations made, and measures of safety adopted, by Sir Henry Lawrence prior to the 30th of June, on which day the siege commenced; the second comprises the siege itself, from that day down to the relief by Generals Havelock and Outram, on the 25th of September; the third is the defence under Outram, from the 26th of September until the relief by the Commander-in-Chief, nearly two months later. Of these, the first two are the most interesting,—the last being merely a repetition and continuation of the second, on an extended scale and slightly varied.

It does not appear whether, before the beginning of the month of May, Sir H. Lawrence was more alarmed as to our position in India than were his superiors in office. The mysterious circulation of the *chappaties* must have attracted his attention. But then nothing perceptible had followed, except the mutinies of the 19th and 34th regiments of native infantry. The disbanding of the 19th regiment seemed to have settled matters for the time, and the extent of the disaffection of the native army continued to be ignored by the heads of the Government. Why it was so, it is difficult to conceive, for the disaffection and danger were perceived by many of the best officers in the army and others, who attempted to call attention to the subject, but in vain.

On the 2nd of May, however, Sir H. Lawrence received a very distinct warning that all was not right in his own province of Oudh. On that day, the 7th regiment Oudh local infantry stationed at Moosa Bagh, within four miles of Lucknow, refused to bite the cartridge and mutinied. As large a force as was available was immediately marched against the mutineers. They were overawed, and did not wait to be attacked; a few fled under the cover of darkness, and the remainder were perfectly submissive, and did as they were ordered. Of those who ran away, some were made prisoners, and many came in afterwards of their own accord. None were punished as mutineers; the policy which had been adopted by the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor General, in the case of the 19th and 34th Regi-

ments, was followed, and no executions took place. The prisoners were set at liberty, and the regiment was not even disbanded, although many of the men were dismissed from it. Sir Henry, now alive to the critical state of things, did all to check disaffection that could be done by mild measures. He had meetings with the native officers, instituted enquiries into the state of regiments, and did his utmost to re-assure the wavering, and to recall the disaffected to their duty. A few days after the mutiny, he held a *durbar* or levee in the Residency. Attended by his European staff, and by many of the principal natives of the city, he gave *kheluts* or dresses of honor and other rewards to two men, who had proved their fidelity by giving information of the mutinous spirit of the 7th regiment. One of them, a havildar, was promoted to the rank of subahdar, and another, a private, was made a jemadar. Sir Henry at the same time made a most spirited and stirring address to the assemblage, shewing the actual state of things, and that there was no foundation for the disaffection which, he found, prevailed among the regiments. He enlarged upon the confidence England hitherto had placed in the native troops, but at the same time pointed out her perfect ability to do without them, and to supply their place by Europeans,—a measure which, if adopted, would, he said, produce any thing but agreeable results, so far as the class of persons to which the sepoys belonged were concerned.

No white man ever had a greater knowledge of natives, or more influence with them, than Sir Henry Lawrence. His speech on this occasion was admirably adapted for the purpose for which it was intended, and at the time it seemed to have its effect. But the evil was then far too deeply seated to be cured by words, or even by the conferring of gifts and honors; and what he said was, in fact, wholly thrown away. Within a month from the day on which he held his *durbar*, Sir Henry Lawrence signed the death-warrant (consequent on his conviction for open mutiny) of the subahdar, who had received a *khelut*, and been promoted by him from the rank of havildar as a reward for fidelity. So little did he, or any of the Europeans in Lucknow, understand their true position, or the depth of the treachery of those by whom they were surrounded!

On the 15th of May, intelligence of the outbreaks and massacres at Meerut and Delhi was received, and steps were at once taken to prevent the like fatal results following any rising which might occur at Lucknow. It was thought desirable to put in a state of defence a post, which might afford a safe retreat for all, in the event of a sudden attack, and in which all

[redacted]blic stores and magazines might be securely housed. A [redacted]uilding called the Mutchi Bhawn (situated some little [redacted] to the westward of the Residency, on the same side of [redacted]r) was capable of being made defensible against any sud-[redacted]ck, and its many large buildings were well suited for the [redacted] of store-rooms. It was accordingly at once occupied [redacted]roops, and by degrees repaired and strengthened :—

[redacted] preliminary move taken by Sir H. Lawrence, as already [redacted]d, was to make a military post of the Mutchi Bhawn. From [redacted]on, it completely commanded the stone bridge, one of the two [redacted]s from the cantonments to the city, while it and the Residency [redacted] made it a dangerous operation to force the iron bridge, the [redacted]trance into the city. From its height and solidity it was well [redacted]oppose the attack of infantry and mobs, and tradition gave to [redacted]ison the possession and control of the city ; while the variety [redacted]nt of its buildings, and of the adjacent ones incorporated with [redacted]it, made it capable of containing 300 or 400 Europeans, and an equal number of native troops, as well as arsenal and magazine stores to a very large amount. Hence, from the 17th May, Sir H. Lawrence placed a garrison there under the command of Major Francis of the 13th native infantry, and began to arm it with artillery, strengthen it with defences against musketry, repair its rooms, and open out fresh communications, remove into it all the powder and ordnance stores, and lay in commissariat supplies. At first these operations were on a small scale, but as the buildings were gradually repaired and cleansed, (and especially after the mutiny of the 30th May) the garrison was much increased, and the Mutchi Bhawn became the depôt for all stores that could be accumulated."*

At that period it was not so much a regular siege that was dreaded, as a sudden rising which would not last long. The Mutchi Bhawn was well suited to withstand any attack by a mob, though it could scarcely have been rendered defensible against artillery. But it was quite invaluable on account of the size of its buildings, as it could receive immense quantities of stores, for which there was then no room in the Residency. All commissariat supplies were in the first instance sent to the Mutchi Bhawn, as they were collected ; and all the powder and ordnance stores were brought over there from the Dowlut Khana, an old building some little distance off, which had previously been used as the magazine. Eventually, as matters assumed a more serious aspect, it was resolved that the Residency, and the houses and compounds around it, should be fortified, and that both it and the Mutchi Bhawn should be held as long as possible. If concentration, however, became necessary, it was to be on the Residency, which was capable of being made much the stronger position of the two.

* Lieut. Innes, page 2.

In order to keep the country open, small detachm troops were sent out in various directions. For a ti were useful, and facilitated provisions being brought in the end, most of them mutinied and went off, murde officers by whom they were accompanied.

The disaffection of the sepoys and rumours of an outbreak, both amongst them and amongst the inhab the city, continued to gain strength daily. The R house was about this time fortified and barricaded, a cautionary step, and it was occupied by a party Majesty's 32nd regiment with two guns. To that plac women and children, who were in cantonments, were sen 26th of May, and fortunate it is that they were so, mutiny of the troops took place four days afterwards, w cantonments were plundered and burnt. The authoress Lady's Diary" says truly :—

"If Sir H. Lawrence had not sent all the women and children out of cantonments, we should inevitably, every one of us, have shared the fate of our country-women at Delhi and Meerut, and it would have been scarcely possible for any of the married officers to escape, hampered as they would have been with the care of their families. As it was, a poor sergeant's wife and her two children, who happened to be in cantonments, were cut up on the road."

It was on the night of the 30th May that the long expected rising of the troops occurred. A sepoy, who had shortly before been rewarded by us for acts of fidelity, gave notice early in the evening of what was about to happen, and his warning was not neglected. Everything went on as usual that evening, and the sepoys remained perfectly quiet for some hours after sun-set.

The firing of the 9 o'clock gun was the signal for the commencement of the mutiny, and it was followed immediately by dropping shots, the first of which proceeded from the lines of the 71st regiment N. I. Soon all was confusion and uproar in cantonments. Parties composed of men of the different regiments rushed to the bungalows of the officers, firing as they went along. One party made straight for the Mess House of the 71st regiment, hoping to find the officers there, but they had providentially got away, just before the scoundrels arrived. Officers were searched for everywhere, and many had very narrow escapes, for the greatest bloodthirstiness was exhibited. Two were murdered in cold blood, —one the officer on duty at the main guard of the station, the other a young cornet who had joined his regiment, the 7th cavalry, only a few days before. And Brigadier Handscombe

was shot dead as he sat on horse-back beside a detachment of H. M.-32nd foot, which was drawn up in position.

There were about 300 men of H. M. 32nd with artillery in cantonments, and these, with such of the native troops as remained faithful, were disposed so as to check the mutineers as much as possible, and to keep them from doing harm. The great object, however, was to prevent their going towards the city, and the arrangements made were perfectly successful in effecting this. But, in the darkness, it was difficult to act with much effect against the straggling bands that wandered about the cantonments, and it was found impossible to save the bungalows and bazars from being plundered and burnt. The force was under arms all night, and next morning when day broke, the whole, except a party left to protect the cantonments, moved out in the direction which the mutineers were said to have taken. They soon came upon about 1,200 of them, who were drawn up in line when first seen; but a few round shot speedily dispersed them, and they fled across country so quickly that the guns could not again get within range. They were pursued by the cavalry, who captured and brought back about sixty prisoners, continuing the pursuit for ten miles. The rest of the force returned at once to cantonments, being compelled to do so by the intense heat.

On the evening of the 31st of May there was a slight insurrection in the city. The standard of the Prophet was raised and other means used to incite the populace: but the police did their duty well, the *émeute* was quelled, and the standard taken. Martial law was now proclaimed, and the necessity of adopting severe measures being apparent, Courts-Martial sat daily, and many executions took place. From this time up to the 30th of June, there was no actual disturbance in Lucknow, except that, about the middle of the month, a regiment of military police mutinied and went off taking their arms with them. It was this month of quiet that saved the Europeans in Lucknow, for it enabled them to complete their defences and their stores. If they had not availed themselves to the utmost of their opportunity, they would have been lost.

As soon as the mutiny of the troops in cantonments took place, Sir H. Lawrence commenced the entrenchment and fortification of the Residency-house and the buildings around it. His anxiety to get the defences completed increased daily, as news arrived of the mutinies at the various out-stations, and of several batteries of guns being in the possession of the mutineers. It became hourly more and more apparent, that if

the Europeans should have to betake themselves within their entrenchments at all, they might have to remain there some time, and might have to stand a regular siege. As the Mutchi Bhawn was not suited for a defence against artillery, the proper fortification of the Residency became a matter of vital importance. Accordingly the works at the latter place were pressed on, and were prosecuted with untiring energy day and night. The nature of the fortifications is shewn in the following sketch of them by Lieut. Innes :—

" In front, that is to the north of the Residency, the line of defence consisted of a ditch and parapet, at the edge of which the ground begins to descend, and a long space of high ground was taken advantage of, to construct a battery, christened the Redan. The ditch and parapet encircled the treasury, and ended at the Baillie Guard gate, near Dr. Fayrer's house. From this up to the Thuggee Jail the defence consisted of the compound walls, with ditch and palisade inside and barricades across the lanes, that separated the compounds. The left corner of the Thuggee Jail was on the prolongation of the Cawnpore road. Here, therefore, a battery was constructed, merely to sweep that road, its position not enabling it to be put to any other use, and the supposition being, that one great source of danger was the advance and attack of troops from Cawnpore. The walls of the Thuggee Jail and the natives' houses, with stockading in front, were the line of defence there, a parapet and ditch, and the walls of out-houses encircled Mr. Gubbins' compound. The walls of the Residency out-houses were again the defence there, thence a parapet following the edge of the high ground formed the boundary up to Lieut. Innes' house ; from which point a deep ditch to the Redan completed the line of defence."

The works at the Mutchi Bhawn still went on, though they were somewhat slackened, in order that as much available labor as possible might be bestowed on the more important operations at the Residency. As godowns and Magazines were prepared at the latter place, the provisions, gun-powder, and stores of every kind which had been accumulated in the Mutchi Bhawn, were moved into them; and the guns and mortars were also brought over, as soon as the sites for the batteries were prepared and ready to receive them. Some houses in the neighbourhood of the Residency were blown up, and more would have been so had time permitted, and had not the battle of Chinhut brought on the siege at an unexpected moment. That more were not blown up and destroyed, was afterwards the cause of much loss of life and annoyance to the besieged. All these works were conducted with very great and unceasing labor,—more especially to the engineer officers, by whom they were alike planned and carried out. The officers of the commissariat too, who had the charge of getting in the supplies,

were never idle. But the life and soul of the whole was Sir Henry Lawrence. Although very ill all the while, he superintended everything himself. He was constantly everywhere, even at night; the Mutchi Bhawn and other posts were visited by him daily, and he saw with his own eyes what was going on, and how his orders were being carried out. Mr. Rees speaks of him thus:—

"Sir Henry Lawrence was indefatigable, and seemed almost never to sleep. Often would he sally out in disguise, and visit the most frequented parts of the native town, to make personal observations, and see how his orders were carried out. He several times had a thin bedding spread out near the guns at the Bailey-Guard gate, and retired there among the artillerists, not to sleep, but to plan and to meditate undisturbed. He appeared to be ubiquitous, and to be seen everywhere. All loved and respected the old gentleman, and indeed every one had cause, for none was too lowly for his notice, and no details were too uninteresting for him. Every one working under him, no matter how subordinate his position, knew that, if he performed his duties cheerfully and well, Sir Henry, who was a keen observer of persons, would not allow him to go unrewarded. The uncovenanted, particularly, had a kind friend in him, and with the common soldier he was equally if not even more popular. * * * *

"Sir Henry seemed to all who saw him to be worn out with fatigue; and his immense responsibility, at so critical a period, appeared to bear particularly heavy on him."

For a few days, about the middle of the month of June, Sir Henry Lawrence was wholly prostrated by illness. The disease under which he labored could no longer be disregarded, even at such a crisis, and he became so unwell that, at the urgent entreaty of his medical attendants, he resolved to give up work for a time. He nominated a council, composed of the chief officers civil and military at the station, to act for him. But he could not long bear to leave what he considered to be his duty to be performed by others, and in two or three days he returned to his post, when he was yet very ill, and in such a state that, under any other circumstances, he would have been pronounced wholly unfit for service of any kind.

At this time there was a plentiful supply of native labor (although even then daily desertions took place), as it was not until the disaster at Chinhut, that the laborers and convicts, who were employed on the works, ran away. The fortifications therefore grew rapidly, and the position became hourly stronger and more tenable. Still the anxiety of all was great; matters without assumed day by day a more gloomy aspect, and refugees were constantly arriving from the district, each party bringing tidings of fresh atrocities and dangers. There

was a visible change too in the demeanour of the towns-people, and it became scarcely safe to go into the city.

As a political measure, and in order to disconcert the enemy's plans as much as possible, Sir Henry made prisoners of six persons who were likely to prove dangerous if left at large; of these, two were sons of the king of Delhi, and one was a brother of the king of Oudh. He also resolved to seize the crown jewels and all the other insignia of royalty, and to bring them into the entrenchments. This was accordingly done, by a party which went out under Major Banks, two days before the siege commenced. They proceeded to the king's palace, where they took possession of all the jewels they could find. In the palace they also discovered a large supply of arms and ammunition, out of which, on the subsequent day, a twenty-one pounder brass gun, some grape, shot, and powder, and a few cart-loads of arms, were brought into the Residency. On the 29th of June intelligence was received that the advanced guard of the rebel force was at Chinhut, about seven miles off,—and the question came to be what steps should be taken with reference to them.

In order that the position of the authorities at Lucknow at this period may be fully understood, it must be borne in mind that they were aware of every out-station in Oudh having been lost, and of massacres having occurred at all of those stations, except one:—that they had heard of the Futtyghur refugees having been intercepted and put to death at Cawnpore;—and that they knew that General Wheeler had made terms with his assailants, and that he and his men had, in breach of these terms, been cruelly murdered. Letters had been received from Allahabad from General Neill, telling of his having regained that station, of his having more than seven hundred European troops with him, and of his intention to send on a party of five hundred Europeans, three hundred Sikhs, and two guns, to Cawnpore, as soon as carriage could be procured.

Under these circumstances, the question was what should be done as to the force at Chinhut; should it be attacked at once? or should it be left to itself, and allowed to take the initiative? As a preliminary measure, all the troops in cantonments—a few had remained there ever since the mutiny—were brought into the town. The chief reason why any had remained there was, that they were useful in keeping up communication with the country, and enabling provisions to come in. It never was intended that the cantonments should be held against a rebel force; all the available troops were required for the defence of the Mutchi Bhawn and the Residency, and between these two posts, the men, who now arrived from can-

tonments, were equally divided. Sir Henry Lawrence was at first averse to the idea of marching out against the enemy, but some of the officers about him (perhaps because they were ignorant of the extent of the danger of their position,—perhaps because they remembered what had been done on previous occasions by handfuls of their countrymen, and were jealous of the British prestige) would not recognise the necessity of solution. And influenced by their arguments, to which he probably yielded the more readily from the consciousness of the weak state of his health, and the feeling that it might possibly be that which caused him to take the more prudent view of the case, Sir Henry abandoned his original opinion, and gave the order that a force should be sent out next day to meet the rebels.

On the morning of the 30th, accordingly, a small body of men moved out from the city, Lieut. Innes says:

"The troops consisted of about 300 European infantry, 100 native infantry, a few European volunteer cavalry, portions of Alexander's and Ash's local batteries, and an eight-inch howitzer, under Lieutenant Bonham of the artillery. The events and results of this action are pretty well known. The advanced guard proved to be the whole force of the enemy. Most of the native artillery deserted with or from their guns. The mahouts drew off the elephants attached to the eight-inch howitzer, and Lieutenant Bonham was wounded. The infantry, deserted by the artillery, were overpowered. A hundred Europeans, including five officers, fell. The remnants of the force returned exhausted, some to the Residency, some to Mutchi Bhawn. The rebels followed them closely, receiving a temporary check at the iron bridge. The Residency entrenchments and the Mutchi Bhawn were surrounded, and the siege of Lucknow commenced."

It is needless to enter into the details of this unlucky morning's fight and retreat. Suffice it, that owing to treachery it was most disastrous; while, if our native troops had stood by us, there is every reason to believe that it would have been successful, notwithstanding the odds in numbers opposed to us, and that there was from the first a good deal of misunderstanding and consequent mismanagement on our side. Nothing could exceed the good conduct and devotion of such of the natives as remained faithful. During the retreat they were less exhausted than the Europeans, not being so much affected by the heat, and they assisted, with singular bravery and coolness, in saving and bringing in our wounded and sun-stricken men. They seemed to wish to prove, by their unusual gallantry, their intention to remain true to their salt. A European who had at the commencement of the day been mounted, had his horse shot under him. He was not himself wounded, but

was covered with his horse's blood. Our troops were in full retreat, and the dismounted rider was making his way back to Lucknow on foot with the rest. The heat and fatigue were unbearable, and he felt utterly worn out and ready to drop down by the road-side, as he saw many of the brave 32nd doing, when, in a lucky moment, he came across a native sergeant who was riding on a pony. The native immediately of his own accord got down, assisted the exhausted man to mount into his seat, and urged him to press on as fast as he could to the Residency, without minding or waiting for him. Such generosity is the more remarkable, occurring as it did in the midst of a severe reverse, which as a general rule, of all others, is the time when selfishness and all the worse passions of our nature are displayed.

The guns at the Mutchi Bhawn and the Residency kept the enemy off the stone bridge; and a company of the 32nd which had not gone out to Chinhut, with some guns, occupied the iron bridge, and covered the retreat of the retiring force. The enemy were thus checked and prevented from crossing for a time, but they very speedily found their way over by fords and boats, and by the afternoon of that day the Residency was in a state of siege. They seized and rapidly loop-holed such of the houses in the neighbourhood as had been left standing, and kept up a hot fire of musketry from them; and they threw up a hasty battery on the other side of the river, with an eight-inch howitzer which they had taken from us, and from which they began at once to throw in shells. It was some days, however, before the artillery fire became very severe or steady, the erection of the batteries being a matter of time. With the curious inconsistency which has been so remarkable in the conduct of all natives during these mutinies, some police stationed on the road to Chinhut behaved well, and fought for us up to about noon of that day, and the jail guard fought for us even later, until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. But they all had mutinied by sun-set.

Sir Henry Lawrence had always, as we have already mentioned, contemplated and provided for the necessity of abandoning the Mutchi Bhawn; and now, seeing the determined manner in which the enemy were investing him, and considering the severe loss he had sustained, and the consequent diminution of the European garrison, he resolved forthwith to concentrate his whole force on the Residency. All communication between the two posts was cut off by the enemy, who occupied the intervening space in swarms. But a spy, on the night of the 30th June, brought in a letter to the Mutchi Bhawn from Sir Henry, suggesting that it

should be abandoned, and asking what were the opinions of the officers in command there on the subject. The answer was, that all agreed in thinking that the Mutchi Bhawn should be abandoned at once. Accordingly, on the next day, the order to abandon and blow it up at mid-night—"Retire at twelve. Blow up well"—was telegraphed from the top of the Residency. The forethought of the engineer officers had established a telegraph to be used, in the event of other means of communication becoming impossible, but we learn from "A Staff Officer" under what difficulties it was worked.

"During the day, attempts were made to get messengers to cross over to Mutchi Bhawn fort; two or three men started, but as their success was very doubtful, it was determined to work the telegraph on the top of the Residency. This had been previously arranged by the engineer in concert with one on the Mutchi Bhawn; it simply consisted of one post with a bar at the top, from which were suspended in one row black stuffed bags, each having its own pulley to work it. After having attracted the attention of the Mutchi Bhawn garrison, the greatest difficulty was found in working the telegraph from various causes; the chief of which was the tremendous fire which the enemy opened on the spot, directly they saw our people on the flat open roof of the Residency. It rained rifle balls, principally from the top of the jail, and some few of the ropes of the bags were actually cut by them; then the pulleys went wrong, and twice the whole machine had to be taken down, and after readjustment put up again. After three hours' hard work, under a broiling sun and a heavy fire, the transfer of messages was at last completed.

"The message was simply an order to blow up the place, and come to the Residency at 12 P. M. bringing the treasure and guns, and destroying as much as possible all spare ammunition. The night was anxiously looked for, as the retreat of the retiring force might be intercepted, and the enemy had the advantage of position. To help the movement, the Brigadier General gave orders that, shortly before 12 P. M., the different mortars and guns from our batteries should open fire, in order to distract the attention of the enemy. This was carried out, especially towards the iron bridge, by which the force must pass.

"The movement was most successfully performed; and so quick and noiseless was the march, that at 12-15, the head of the column was at the lower water gate. Here there was some little delay, as the force not being so quickly expected, the gates had not been opened. A very serious accident had nearly happened in consequence of this, for the leading men, finding the gates closed, shouted out, "open the gates," and the artillery men at the guns above, which, loaded with grape, covered the entrance, mistook the words for "open with grape," and were already at the guns, when an officer put them right. The whole force came in without a shot being fired.

"The explosion had not yet taken place; but soon, a shake of the earth, a volume of fire, a terrific report, and an immense mass of black smoke shooting far up into the air, announced to Lucknow, that two-hundred and forty barrels of gun-powder, and 594,000 rounds of ball and gun ammunition, had completed the destruction of the Mutchi Bhawn, which we had, with so much labor, provisioned and fortified."

Lieutenant Innes, who was the engineer officer at the Mutchi Bhawn, thus graphically describes the mode in which this most delicate and difficult movement was carried out:—

"On the second day of the siege, Sir Henry Lawrence telegraphed from the Residency to the Mûtchi Bhawn, orders for the garrison to evacuate it at midnight, blowing up the powder and ammunition that were left in it. The enemy had been in strong force between the two posts during the day, with guns and infantry, and the movement, it was therefore anticipated, would be a desperate one. But so well was the secret of the step kept, that, either voluntarily or in consequence of the shelling from the Residency, the enemy left the road clear, and the Mutchi Bhawn garrison reached and entered the Residency entrenchments, without having had a shot fired at them. Lieutenant Thomas, of the artillery, made the arrangements, and fired the train so as to explode the magazine half an hour after the troops evacuated the place, and it was not, therefore, until the entrenchments had been safely entered, that the 250 barrels of powder, and an equal quantity of small arms and ammunition, that had not been removed from the Mutchi Bhawn, blew up, completely demolishing the buildings there, and breaking some of the windows of the houses of the Residency itself."

We can imagine the delight of Sir Henry Lawrence and of the whole garrison when the explosion took place, and when it was known that the orders given had been so skilfully and successfully executed. Colonel Palmer of the 48th regiment N.I. was the officer in command at the Mutchi Bhawn, and it was under his orders that this very difficult movement was carried out.

Next morning (July 2nd) Sir Henry Lawrence personally superintended the posting of the force which had come in to the Residency from the Mutchi Bhawn. And this was about the last act he did, for on that same morning, while lying on his bed in his own room in the Residency house, he was mortally wounded by the bursting of a shell, from the effects of which he died two days after. We know the sorrow and gloom with which the news of this sad event was received everywhere in India and at home. We can but conceive what it must have been in that small garrison, where he was personally known and beloved by all, and where all saw how much he had done for them, and looked up to him for support and protection in everything connected with the defence.

But one feeling prevailed throughout the Residency, that of the deepest sorrow, mixed with the sensation of having sustained an incalculable and irreparable loss.

Sir J. Inglis' despatch, and the comments, in the various accounts of the siege, on this subject, are all of the same tenor. We shall give but one extract; it is from "A Lady's Diary," and is very simple and good:—

"Sir Henry Lawrence was mortally wounded, about half-past eight this morning, from the bursting of a shell in the Residency. He was on his bed, and Captain Wilson was reading some paper to him, when he was hit by an enormous piece of shell, and his left leg nearly taken off, and just below the thigh. He was brought over to this house immediately. James prayed with him, and administered the Holy Communion to him. He was quite sensible, though his agony was extreme. He spoke for nearly an hour, quite calmly, expressing all his last wishes with regard to his children. He sent affectionate messages to them and to each of his brothers and sisters; he particularly mentioned the Lawrence Asylum, and entreated that Government might be urged to give it support; he bade farewell to all the gentlemen who were standing round his bed, and said a few words of advice and kindness to each. His nephew, Mr. George Lawrence, he blessed most affectionately, and told him he regarded him as a son. He spoke of his wife, who died about four years ago, most affectingly, and expressed the deepest penitence and remorse for his sins, and most perfect trust and faith in his Saviour. James says he never met with such a humble-minded Christian, or attended a more truly beautiful and edifying death-bed. There was not a dry eye there, every one was so deeply affected and grieved at the loss of such a man, and we all felt as if our best friend and support was taken from us. I shall never forget the miserable feeling of despair which seemed to take possession of us, as if our last hope were gone."

He was buried in a grave along with the others of the garrison, who died on the same day as he did. He was a true soldier and friend of the soldier, and well might he be laid side by side in one grave with those whom he had so cared for, and who loved him so well. We are told, that when some soldiers were called in to help to move the dead body out of the room where he died, one of the men lifted the sheet which covered his face and kissed him.

Major Banks was named by him as his successor to the post of chief Commissioner, the military command devolving upon Colonel (now Sir John) Inglis. Few duties, however, now remained which were not purely military, and Major Banks had little or no opportunity of exercising his functions as representative of the Government. One of the numerous instances of the fatality by which the mutiny deprived the Government of its best servants, he was shot dead, whilst

reconnoitering on the 21st of July. With him finally ended the separation of the civil and political from the military power. Brigadier Inglis declined to acknowledge any further authority superior to his own, and assumed supreme command.

The siege now proceeded with full vigur. Shot and shell were poured in from batteries, which the enemy threw up around the Residency fortifications; and a perpetual fire of musketry was kept up from the loop-holed houses in the neighbourhood, from which every one who shewed himself was pretty certain to be picked off. The cannonade would be kept up very briskly for an hour or two, then slacken for a time, and perhaps suddenly burst forth again with renewed vigour. As a general rule, it was heavy in the morning, fell off or even totally ceased during the middle of the day, and was renewed towards dark. Frequently there was a violent cannonade and musketry fire during the night; and at all times, whether by day or by night, stray bullets, balls, and shells came through the entrenchments. No spot could be found of which it could be positively said that it was safe, for the bullets and shot penetrated everywhere, and occasionally took effect in the most protected corners, which, it had previously been supposed, could not possibly be reached by them. The more exposed buildings were soon reduced to ruins; indeed there was not a house that was not perforated by cannon balls. In that in which the authoress of "A Lady's Diary" lived, round shot were daily visitors, and on several occasions we find entries in her book of the number which had passed through the house that morning, and of the damage they had done. That the fire from the batteries was at times pretty hot and tolerably well directed, appears from the fact that, on one occasion when the shot fired in by the enemy was collected, 280 varying in size from a twenty-four to a three pounder, were gathered from the roof of the Brigade-mess alone.

Even the hospitals were not safe. One day, a soldier was shot dead while sitting on the side of a sick comrade's bed. On another occasion, a round shot went through the building from end to end, passing about two feet above the men's beds, but injuring no one. Another shot performed a similar journey, slightly wounding an officer and a private who were lying there. And several of the sick and wounded were killed in the banquetting hall, which had been turned into a hospital, and was in the very centre of the Residency.

It is curious to observe the gradual destruction of the various buildings, as noticed from time to time by the "Staff Officer:"

"Early in the morning the enemy fired many round shot, some of which struck the Residency, already much shattered; about noon a very distressing accident took place. There was a high wind, and it brought down a great portion of the left wing, on the ground floor of which, in a room, six men of the 32nd were asleep. They were completely buried in the ruins. Two were got out alive after very great exertions, but the remaining four were left under the ruins. Immediate arrangements were made for the removal of the few European women and children who still occupied one of the rooms on the ground floor.

"Most of our outpost houses were now so riddled with round shot, that it was a wonder how any of them stood up at all; indeed most of them were in ruins, and at Mr. Anderson's house, part of the garrison had been twice pulled out of the ruins which had suddenly fallen on them; nevertheless, these posts, in spite of many casualties, were held with the same courage and devotion as was displayed the first day of the siege.

"The remaining portion of the Residency was deemed unsafe by the engineers, from the number of round shot that had come through it; and arrangements were made to remove the Europeans.

"The judicial garrison house, under command of Captain Germon, being in a most dangerous state from the effects of round shot, all the women and wounded men, also children, were removed from that post, as well as from all the other outposts in that quarter, into the Begum Kotee in the neighbourhood.

"The verandah of the Residency on the west side came entirely down this morning. The commissariat stores in the godown underneath were removed in the evening, as some of the arches of the lower story were cracked, and a heavy cannonade would have brought the whole place down.

"The house of Innes was reported to be in a dangerous state, in consequence of the repeated round shots through it.

"The outer wall and buildings on the top of the mess house fell in this evening, with a great crash, consequent on the outer wall having been completely breached; fortunately no one was hurt, and several ladies and children still clung to the inner rooms for shelter, preferring the chance of a round shot or musket-ball to the fetid close atmosphere of an already overcrowded hovel in the interior of our position; which, after all, was perhaps hardly any safer from the fire of the enemy.

"About sunrise, two sides of Innes' house, which had been steadily cannonaded daily with eighteen pounder shot, fell in, and the two sentries on that side escaped with difficulty; the post was, however, still nobly held, and preparation made for making some kind of a defence out of the debris."

And as the houses gradually crumbled to pieces, it became very difficult to provide any place of refuge for those to whom they had previously given shelter. Many of those who had at first lived in the outer houses, were by degrees driven into

the already over-crowded, but less exposed buildings, more in the interior of the entrenchments.

The hair-breadth escapes made by individuals were constant, and many of them most extraordinary. Amongst the most remarkable which we find recounted, were those of Lieutenant (now Major) James of the Commissariat, who, while still laid up by a gun-shot wound in the knee, received at Chinhut, was three times in such danger that escape seemed impossible—

"About 8 P. M. as Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Barwell, Lieutenant James, and Mr. Lawrence were sitting on the chubootra of the Begum Kotee, a shell came in and exploded as it struck the parapet of the wall under which they sat, bringing it down. Lieutenant James, who was lying wounded on his bed, had a most wonderful escape. A large piece of masonry, weighing upwards of a hundred-weight, fell on his bed, breaking it to pieces, and bringing him down on the ground, but he was uninjured. Mr. Lawrence received a severe contusion on the back and head from falling masonry; and this was the extent of the damage.

"About 5-30 P. M. an eight-inch shell from the enemy struck the Begum Kotee, and breaking right through the outside wall, exploded in the room in which Lieutenant James of the commissariat, and Mr. Lawrence of the civil service, were lying on their beds wounded, with one or two servants in the room; providentially all escaped, though the room was set on fire.

"A carcase came into the Begum Kotee in the afternoon, into the room in which Lieutenant James (wounded), Mr. Lawrence (wounded), and ensign Keir (sick), were lying; it set some of the things in the room on fire, but was speedily extinguished without injury to any one."

There were many casualties no doubt; but the wonder is, not that there were as many as there were, but that any person was left alive in the garrison. If a calculation could be made of the number of bullets, cannon balls, and shells that entered the entrenchment, it would be seen that only a most minutely small per centage of them injured any body. However, they rendered the greatest precautions necessary, and made it difficult to go from one part of the defences to another. By degrees every one learnt the advantage of keeping under cover when cover was to be had; and in the more exposed places traverses were erected, and other means resorted to of giving protection to those whose duties required them to move about. At first many casualties occurred from the men exposing themselves unnecessarily. But the small list of killed and wounded in the assault of the 20th July, shews how skilled all must have by that time become, in keeping under cover; for though many hundreds of the enemy fell, the killed and wounded of the garrison were only about a dozen in all. On that day the besieged were, perhaps, in greater danger than on any

other, for the enemy, having sprung a mine, attempted to carry the Residency by storm. They came on in perfect swarms, and with considerable courage and determination :—

"On the morning of the 20th July, they were thus noticed to be assembling and moving in great numbers. Our troops were all turned out, and at ten o'clock the enemy exploded a mine, which was evidently intended to injure the Redan, but which reached barely half way, and was therefore innocuous. This explosion was the prelude to a most fierce assault. The general character of the attack was a furious fusilade, shot and shell also flying in every direction. The only opposition the garrison made to this, was to keep well under cover ; at a few points, however, the enemy attempted to storm, as at the Cawnpore battery, the Brigade-mess, Lieutenant Innes' house, and the Redan battery ; but the obstacles planted at those places fully answered their propose. The enemy were checked by them in their advance, and whilst so checked and halted, they were shot down in almost incredible numbers. They were thus obliged to retire, and on the point where they were most thickly congregated being discovered, they were so well shelled, especially by Lieutenants Bonham and MacFarlane, that numbers were killed, and by four o'clock in the afternoon, their fusilade had almost entirely ceased ; spies reported the enemy's loss to amount to between 800 and 1,000 men. On our side, so steadily had the men behaved, that only three were killed and seven wounded."*

And the "Staff Officer" thus concludes his account of the events of that day :—

"In the afternoon they succeeded in making a lodgment in some pucka cook-houses inside our abattis, and began to use a crowbar, which was distinctly heard. We made a hole through to them from above, through which they fired, injuring no one ; but on our throwing down some hand grenades, they fled across the road, two being shot by the officers who were watching from above. The 13th, 71st and 48th sepoys all behaved well, and the manner in which the out-posts were held, was beyond all praise. The uncovenanted distinguished themselves greatly. We had fortunately only four men killed, and some twelve wounded. Captain Forbes, Lieutenant Grant, Lieutenant Edmonstone, and Mr. Hely, were wounded. All were under arms, from eight in the morning until eight at night, and greatly fatigued and worn out."

This was the most serious assault which occurred throughout the siege. There were two others of the same kind, one on the 10th of August, the other on the 5th of September. They were each of them preceded by the springing of a mine, but they were much weaker, conducted with less determination, and lasted a much shorter time than the first attack. The ease with which the enemy were repulsed greatly raised the confidence and spirits of the garrison ; and proportionately

* Lieut. Innes, pages 7, 8.

depressed those of their adversaries. On these occasions, as on the minor detached assaults to which the out-posts were constantly exposed, the cannonade and musketry fire kept up by the enemy was tremendous; but there is reason to believe that much of the fire was blank, and was delivered merely for the purpose of adding to the noise, and frightening the besieged. The desultory attacks on the out-posts were so frequent, and so frequently threatened, that the guards there were continually under arms, and at times got little rest night or day. The enemy were in such numbers, that if they had once been able to establish themselves inside our position, it would have been impossible to dislodge them, and it was therefore necessary to be always on the alert to prevent the possibility of such a thing. The enemy constantly raised false alarms, firing, shouting, and bugling at a great rate, partly to harass and wear out the garrison, and partly, no doubt, in order to keep up their own courage.

During some periods of the siege, the rebels do not seem to have been well supplied with shot or shells. At least we read of their throwing in on one occasion "(evidently from a 'thirteen-inch mortar) a piece of wood of very great weight, 'which measured twelve inches in diameter and eighteen in 'length, and which made a prodigious noise as it passed through 'the air,"—and on another, "six pieces of wood about the 'size and shape of a large oyster barrel; they were thrown 'up in the air to an enormous height and came down with 'almost incredible force." While at an earlier part of the siege, they threw in "several logs of wood bound with iron."—As a general rule, however, they seem to have had no lack of round shot, shells, grape, or carcases. They also used some rather curious projectiles, constructed chiefly with a view to their setting fire to whatever they came near, and which the "Staff Officer" thus describes—

"The enemy threw in several shells, also a number of stink-pots, which were a very curious composition of large pieces of our exploded iron shell sewn up in canvas, and surrounded by flax and resin, with dry powder in the centre; these from the commencement of the siege had been thrown in daily from a howitzer; they made a fearful hissing noise and great stench, and finally exploded. They were not very dangerous, unless they exploded very close to a person. We also had a few rockets thrown in, but not many; and lately a number of shrapnel shells, fired apparently from a howitzer with a very great elevation.

"At dusk, the enemy threw in (apparently from a howitzer) five hollow iron cylinders, filled with a composition (similar to that with

which we are accustomed to fill our carcasses) done up in strong canvas. On reaching the ground, the apparatus burst, and the five cylinders spouted forth fire without any further explosion; this, perhaps, was the most curious and complicated projectile that had yet been received by the garrison."

From the 20th of July extensive mining operations were carried on upon both sides. Mining had been talked of previously, but our engineers wisely refused to take the initiative, fearing lest they might thereby suggest to the enemy a most dangerous mode of attack, which might possibly have been overlooked by them. They knew also that they had a most insufficient supply of labor at command, while that of the enemy was unlimited, and that in mining, success must in the long run (except against a fully organised system of listening and counter-mines) attend the efforts of those who employ the greatest number of hands, and who make most mines. They had therefore contented themselves with listening, and looking out for any signs of mining on the part of their adversaries. Now, however, that the enemy's tactics had become apparent, there was no reason for further delay, and it was resolved to begin at once. Such of the advanced posts, as were most likely to be the objects of this species of attack, were in the first instance selected, and listening galleries were excavated in front and round the corners of them, so as to prevent the possibility of the enemy approaching without being discovered. The accuracy of judgment displayed in these operations was well proved by the results, for out of the many mines dug by the enemy, only one reached the works of the entrenchments, without the garrison having become aware of its existence and having foiled it. The mining was at first conducted under the orders of Major Anderson, the Chief Engineer, but that officer towards the end of July sunk so far under the disease of which he shortly afterwards died, as to be no longer equal to the performance of active duty, and the office of Garrison Engineer devolved upon Captain Fulton, who, from that time up to the 14th of September, when he was killed by a round shot, appears to have been the directing genius and soul of the defence. In his mining he shewed a singular degree of military science: he had a sort of intuitive knowledge of what the besiegers would do, and of what the besieged ought to do, in order to counteract their movements, and he was perfectly indefatigable in his exertions. He was well supported and served by the officers under him belonging to his department, upon all of whom the labors of the mining fell very severely, as they had to be in the mines constantly, and would frequently spend days and nights to-

gether there with but little intermission. The actual miners consisted of a few Europeans, who had some knowledge of that sort of work, and some native volunteers who soon became adepts at it, and were most useful. It was a most harassing and anxious occupation; for not only was it conducted under ground, which always has a depressing effect, and which rendered the heat almost insupportable, but those employed in it had to guard against being countermined and blown up. They had to work as quietly as possible themselves, and to catch any sounds which might indicate the proximity of the enemy. An officer suspecting that he was approaching an enemy would stop his men, and, sending them away, would lie listening in his gallery for hours together, trying to make out with certainty the whereabouts of the adversaries' mine.

The garrison was, on the whole, very successful in these works. The enemy's mines were all either blown in, or taken possession of and rendered innocuous, while our engineers were enabled to destroy some of the most dangerous houses close to the entrenchments, which had afforded shelter to the enemy's sharp-shooters ever since the beginning of the siege. Lieut. Innes' account of some of these operations, in which he was apparently himself engaged, gives a good idea of their general character:—

"Two days after this attack, the enemy commenced a fresh mine opposite Mr. Sago's house. A sortie of a small party was therefore organized to take and destroy the building where the shaft was situated; but, on sallying out, they found an overwhelming force ready for them, and they therefore retreated without loss; the officer and the leading files having surprized and shot down a few of the enemy. A countermine was the only resource left. Lieutenant Hutchinson, of the engineers, prepared one, undermined the enemy's building, and exploding the charge where the enemy were known to be well crowded, demolished the house and gallery, burying twenty-five or thirty of the foe in the ruins.

"This success induced Captain Fulton to persevere on a larger scale. The building, from the musketry fire of which we had suffered most, was Johannes' house, only fifteen yards distant from the Thuggee jail. He therefore had a gallery driven under it; and measures having been taken to induce the enemy to collect in it in great numbers, it was blown up at early dawn, killing, as spies afterwards informed us, from eighty to one hundred men. Two parties sortied immediately after the explosion; one, under Captain McCabe, of the 32nd, spiked some of the enemy's guns, the other, under Captain Fulton, demolished some more of the buildings generally occupied by the enemy, and likely to give them cover for commencing mines.

"After this the enemy's ardour and courage sensibly diminished. Their musketry did little or no harm. Their guns, some within

100 yards of our defences, fired only at sunrise and sunset ; our casualties were much lessened, and the enemy could not be found any where to be mining. Full advantage of this lull was taken by Captain Fulton, now head of the Engineer Department, to raise the heights of such of the defensive works as had been lowered by the rains, and to perfect the system of defensive and listening mines he had previously begun. By degrees he completely secured against successful mining the fronts of the Baillie Guard gate, Capt Saunders' post, Lieutenant Mechlery's, Captain Germon's, Lieutenant Anderson's, Mr. Schilling's, the Brigade-mess, and the irregular cavalry lines. At such points as the enemy might venture to attempt to assault, the mines were charged, and kept ready for explosion. At only one point was there danger of the enemy succeeding in mining, and that was at the corner of Mr. Gubbins' compound. For various reasons, countermining was impossible there, and this post was therefore merely strongly re-trenched. Everywhere else the points at which the enemy might commence mines were too distant to become any reasonable source of alarm."

"In the beginning of September, therefore, they again began to take seriously to offensive measures. On the 3rd a mine was discovered at work towards the Brigade-mess. Lieutenant Hutchinson countermined, and obliged them to stop it, at a distance of fifteen yards. On the same day they mined towards Captain Saunders' post. Lieutenant Innes countermined and blew in their gallery, when their miners were still at work. Nothing daunted, they struck off a fresh branch next day, against the same post. This time we excavated into their gallery, took possession of it, and laying a train, destroyed the whole of their mine in that direction. The enemy also having been observed to be strengthening their artillery opposite the Baillie Guard gate, Captain Fulton had constructed and armed a battery near the Treasury on its left. These three operations, viz. the completion of the Treasury Battery, the destruction of the mine at Captain Saunders', and the stoppage of that at the Brigade-mess, all were performed on the night of the 4th."

The supply of provisions in the entrenchments was good, as regards quantity, until the arrival of the force under Havelock and Outram. It is true that early in August the fighting men were put on only three-fourth rations, and non-combatants were reduced still more, but a soldier's full rations in this country are so ample, that their diminution by one-fourth entails no great hardship, even on men who daily go through a good deal of work. Vegetables and luxuries of every kind were unknown, from the first, to the majority. The rations were issued daily by the Commissariat, and every body was entitled to his portion of meat, rice, flour, &c ; but the beer and rum were reserved for the exclusive use of the common soldiers, and a few others whose duties were of a specially laborious kind. Full rations of beer and rum were issued daily, until about

the middle of September, when they were reduced to half, —a few days after which, it was discovered that they had both come wholly to an end. Those persons, whose houses happened to be enclosed in the fortifications, had their own private supplies of wine, beer, tea, and the like. But the demand for such articles was so great that most stores, those at least which were dealt with liberally and uneconomically, were soon exhausted. The refugees from the out-stations, and others who had been driven into the Residency, had of course brought nothing of the kind with them, and they therefore could look only to the bare commissariat rations, and what they could pick up from those who were more fortunately situated than themselves. That some should be better off than others, naturally created a good deal of jealousy and ill feeling. But we regret that Mr. Rees should have joined in this, so far as to allow himself to give a place in his book to a malicious story, about Sir Colin Campbell's displeasure at a "sumptuous repast," prepared for him on his arrival at the Residency in November by Mr. Gubbins, the late Financial Commissioner of Oudh. The story is without foundation, and arises out of the bad feeling caused by Mr. Gubbins' stores (which happened at the commencement of the siege to be very large) having lasted longer than those of most other people. The fact is, that Mr. Gubbins made the most of the means at his command, not wasting or throwing them away, as did many at first, but using them liberally and judiciously. Throughout the siege his house was filled with refugees, and many of the wounded and sick officers received shelter there and were tended with the utmost solicitude and kindness. From his house moreover stores were constantly sent to the hospitals, and they were daily dealt out readily to those officers and ladies who required them, and who had no other possible means of procuring them. It may be that a more equal division might have been made, but a more useful one could not have been. If it be said that some remained still unconsumed when our force was finally withdrawn from Lucknow; the answer is that the same was the case with the commissariat stores, that it was wholly uncertain when the relief would take place, and that therefore to the last moment the strictest economy was practised. Gross injustice has been done to a gentleman of the kindest heart, by the reports and stories which have been circulated as to this matter.

The rations issued to the garrison would not have been reduced so early in the siege, had the commissariat officer known with any accuracy what provisions they had at their command. The stores of grain were in fact enormous; for it

was from the original supplies collected by Sir Henry Lawrence that Outram's relieving force was fed during the whole of its stay in Lucknow, and when the place was finally abandoned by Sir Colin Campbell in the end of November, there still remained some unconsumed. This ignorance as to the real state of their resources was in the result perhaps fortunate; but it accounts in some degree for the reports which were constantly current throughout India during the progress of the siege, of the garrison being short of provisions, and of their having only enough to last till a certain day,—reports founded no doubt on information sent out from the entrenchments, but which proved to be utterly false.

With but few exceptions, all who were not on the sick list, had to undergo a great deal of hard labor, in addition to the actual fighting and duty in defending the out-posts. They had to take their turn in fatigue parties; they had to repair the defences, which were perpetually crumbling away, and being destroyed from the combined effects of the enemy's cannonade and the rains; they had to bury the dead—not only such of their comrades as died, but bullocks and other animals; they had to bring up stores and ammunition to the places where they were most wanted; and in short, they had to assist in whatever work was going on. We do not mean to say that all shared equally in such duties; for there were some who seldom took part in them, but on the whole, all worked very hard. There were scarcely any native laborers in the garrison (except the native soldiers), for when the siege began, all the coolies and prisoners employed on the works made their escape, carrying off their tools with them. The fatigue parties generally worked at night, in order to escape the fire of the enemy, who however were so quick at finding out where any thing was going on, that even in the dark it was neither safe nor pleasant to have to work in exposed positions.

There was a great scarcity of servants and attendants of all kinds. Many had deserted, and others who happened to be absent in the town, when the gates were suddenly closed for the first time, on the 30th June, found themselves shut out and unable to rejoin their masters. The consequence was that many officers and ladies had no one to do any thing for them, but had to take care of themselves unassisted,—a small matter it might be thought in England, but a very substantial and serious evil in such a country as India. A party of four and twenty officers was thought lucky in having two native table servants and a boy to wait upon them, and cook their food; and we learn from "A Lady's Diary" how the writer was both house-maid and nursery-maid in the house where she lived, and

moreover that she once thought she would have to act as cook also!

"This is the last day of the Mohurrum, and there was a report that the enemy intended attacking us in force, but they must have changed their minds, for the firing has been less than usual. Our only two Kitmutghars ran away last night, and great was the dismay in the household this morning, when their desertion was discovered. No one to light the kitchen fire or boil the kettle for tea; we began to think some of us should be obliged to turn cooks, not at all a desirable office in such melting weather, but happily a friend indeed turned up in Mrs. Nead, a woman Mrs. Boileau engaged some time ago to take care of her children, who volunteered her services in the kitchen. The new *chef de cuisine* served us up such a capital breakfast and dinner, we began to think the departure of the kits rather a good thing than otherwise, especially as we shall be saved paying them a large amount of wages due for the last two months."

Of clothes, many had none, but what they had on their backs when they entered the entrenchments. This was the case with the fugitives from the out-stations, and with those who had been posted in the Mutchi Bhawn, where all such property was left behind on its abandonment. Washing was a luxury unattainable. There were scarcely any washermen; and if there had been more, they could not have washed properly, as there was no soap to be had, so that the operation could be at best but very partially performed.

In the hospital this last want was very severely felt, and many a recovery was retarded or prevented by the impossibility of getting fresh and clean bandages and clothing. The patients were but badly off there, though all was done for them that could be done. There was a good supply of doctors, who were always at their posts and were unremitting in their exertions. But the barricades which the enemy's fire rendered necessary, prevented the proper ventilation of the hospitals, and this, taken together with the bad state of the air in the entrenchments generally, and the want of proper food, medicines, and comforts, acting on constitutions already injured by the siege, told with fatal effect, so that latterly, in no case where amputation had taken place, did the patient recover. The deaths daily in hospital or from the enemy's fire were numerous, and several corpses were carried to the churchyard every evening. The 9th of September was only the third day since the siege commenced, upon which there was no funeral. Many children died, and all suffered much. They could obtain neither the food, the medicines, nor the attendance, which in this climate are essential to their health, and when they once became ill, it was almost impossible to save them. We can gather from

"A Lady's Diary" what they must have gone through,—they, and those who had the charge of them.

The whole entrenchments were infested with a plague of flies which made life miserable. They settled everywhere in swarms, disputed every morsel of food that was eaten, and gave no rest night or day. They were a source of dreadful annoyance to the sick in hospital, and as many of the boys in the garrison as could be spared, were employed there in trying to keep them off the greatest sufferers. There was moreover constantly an insufferable stench, arising from the impossibility of keeping the drains clear, and from the quantities of putrid animal matter which abounded everywhere, and which there were no means of removing. Whatever immunity there existed from this, was attributable to Captain Fulton and Dr. Ogilvie, the officer charged with the care of all sanitary matters, who had laid in inexhaustible supplies of charcoal, and who did all that could be done to remedy and mitigate the evil.

The spirit which pervaded the garrison was on the whole excellent. The European soldiers were somewhat disorganized at first, after the defeat at Chinhut, and on finding themselves suddenly shut up within the entrenchments. There was a good deal of drunkenness,—they broke into certain houses and helped themselves to the contents,—and they plundered a considerable portion of the State jewels. As time passed on, however, matters improved, and the men behaved well and steadily. Their bravery in actual fighting, and in exposing themselves to danger, could not be surpassed; but much of the other work which they had to do, was gone through sullenly and grudgingly. They had a miserable enough time of it, poor fellows, and a little grumbling is not much to be wondered at,—although they were proportionately much better off than were most of the officers. Many of the natives who remained faithful behaved most nobly; they equalled the Europeans in the zeal and bravery with which they fought, and they surpassed them in the patience and energy with which they labored in the mines and on fatigue parties. The men of the 13th N. I. particularly distinguished themselves. Many natives however deserted; by the twenty-fourth day of the siege, seven of the 48th and upwards of fifty of the 71st, had gone, and there is every reason to believe that very many more would have taken themselves off, had not the relief under Havelock arrived when it did.

So thoroughly hostile to our cause was every one not

within the entrenchments, that the besieged were wholly cut off from the outer world. They could not keep up communication with Cawnpore or any other station, and they were in total ignorance as to what was going on elsewhere. Letters were frequently sent out by spies, but to scarcely any of them was a reply received. The first news received by the garrison was contained in a letter from General Havelock's force, which arrived on the 24th of July, and announced that a large army had crossed the Ganges at Cawnpore, and would be at Lucknow to relieve it in a few days. But the hopes raised by this letter proved delusive, and were followed by many days of anxious waiting and of bitter disappointment. The next note was delivered on the 28th of August; it announced that it would be about twenty-five days longer before the army could be strong enough to advance again, and it explained how Havelock came to have fallen back upon Cawnpore, —a fact of which the garrison had before become aware. No further letters were received, until within a few days of the arrival of the relieving force. How greatly must this ignorance as to what was happening around them have added to the cares and anxieties of the garrison!

The gallant deeds of Generals Havelock and Neill have gained them a world-wide reputation, and the details of Havelock's advance to Cawnpore, and of his attempts to push on to Lucknow, are so well known, that we shall not add to the length of this article by going into them here.

It was the 19th of September, before Havelock finally recrossed the Ganges on his way to Lucknow. He had been joined by General Outram with Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and 90th Light Infantry, and some other detachments had also arrived to strengthen his numbers. Sir James Outram was an officer of higher rank than Havelock, and he had just come from Persia, where Havelock had been serving under him. Had he, therefore, assumed the chief command at Cawnpore, as his position entitled him to do,—had he superseded Havelock, as Havelock had a few weeks before superseded Neill,—he would merely have done that which was usual, and have followed the hitherto invariable practice of the service. But Outram, with unparallelled and chivalrous generosity, declined to take the prize of the command of the army which was to relieve Lucknow, out of the grasp of one who had so well established his claim to that command: considering it hard that, after what he had done, Brigadier Havelock should not have an opportunity of reaping the fruits of final success, he declared his intention of joining the force

as a volunteer only, until after the relief had been effected. The following is the division order he issued on the occasion.*

"The important duty of relieving the garrison of Lucknow had been first intrusted to Brigadier General Havelock, C. B., and Major General Outram feels that it is due to that distinguished officer, and to the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honor of the achievement.

"Major General Outram is confident that this great end, for which Brigadier General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought, will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

"The Major General therefore, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds of arms, achieved by Brigadier General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank in favor of that officer, on this occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity, as Chief Commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to Brigadier General Havelock as a volunteer.

"On the relief of Lucknow, the Major General will resume his position at the head of the force."

Sir Colin Campbell might truly say that it had seldom, perhaps never, occurred to a Commander-in-Chief, to publish or confirm such an order,—and his own general order on the subject is but worthy of him:—

"With such a reputation as Major General Sir James Outram has won for himself, he can well afford to share glory and honor with others. But that does not lessen the value of the sacrifice he has made with such disinterested generosity in favor of Brigadier General Havelock, C. B., commanding the field force in Oude.

"Concurring as the Commander-in-Chief does in everything stated in the just eulogy of the latter by Sir James Outram, his Excellency takes this opportunity of publicly testifying to the army his admiration for an act of self-sacrifice and generosity, on a point of all others which is dear to a real soldier."†

It was on the 22nd that the news of the relieving army having crossed the Ganges reached the garrison. On the 23rd the sound of guns was heard in the Residency, at first distant, as if from Bunnee bridge on the Cawnpore road, afterwards nearer, from the Alumbagh. During all the time, the rain was pouring down, and the advancing force had every possible difficulty to contend with. Their march was a series of fights, in which the volunteer Outram took a prominent part, and in which our arms were always successful. On the

* September 16, 1857.

† G. O. September 28, 1857.

evening of the 23rd they reached and stormed the Alumbagh, a garden in the suburbs of the town, where the enemy were found strongly posted. On the 24th, they remained quietly in camp, allowing their rear and baggage to come in, and forming a camp where it was intended to have the heavy baggage under the protection of a few hundred men and some guns. On the 25th, the advance was resumed, and on the evening of that day the Residency was gained. But it was gained at a heavy price, for during the latter part of the day, the army had to run the gauntlet of a deadly and unremitting fire from the houses on both sides of the streets along which it advanced, and also from guns which commanded them:—

"About 11 A. M. nearly all sound of firing had ceased, but increased agitation was visible among the people in the town, in which two large fires were seen. An hour later, the sound of musketry and the smoke of guns was distinctly perceived within the limits of the city. All the garrison was on the alert, and the excitement amongst many of the officers and soldiers was quite painful to witness. At 1-30 P. M. many of the people of the city commenced leaving, with bundles of clothes, &c., on their heads, and took the direction of cantonments across the different bridges. At 2 P. M. armed men and sepoys commenced to follow them, accompanied by large bodies of irregular cavalry. Every gun and mortar that could be brought to bear on the evidently retreating enemy, was fired as fast as possible, for at least an hour and a half. The enemy's bridge-of-boats had evidently been destroyed and broken away, for many were seen swimming across the river, most of them cavalry with their horses' bridles in their hands. Strange to relate, during all this apparent panic, the guns of the enemy in position all round us kept up a heavy cannonade, and the matchlock-men or rifle-men never ceased firing from their respective loop-holes.

"At 4 P. M. report was made that some officers dressed in shooting coats and solah caps, a regiment of Europeans in blue pantaloons and shirts, and a bullock battery, were seen near Mr. Martin's house and the Motee Mehal. At 5 P. M. volleys of musketry, rapidly growing louder, were heard in the city. But soon the firing of a minie ball over our heads gave notice of still nearer approach of our friends; of which as yet little or nothing had been seen, though the enemy were to be seen firing heavily on them from many of the roofs of the houses. Five minutes later, and our troops were seen fighting their way through one of the principal streets; and though men fell at almost every step, yet nothing could withstand the headlong gallantry of our reinforcements. Once fairly *seen*, all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended; and then the garrison's long pent up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers; from every pit, trench and battery; from behind the sandbags piled on shattered houses; from every post still held by a few

ts, rose cheer on cheer—even from the hospital. Many of d crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to ad so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment forgotten.

l the rear guard and heavy guns were inside our position ; nsued a scene which baffles description. For eighty-seven cknow garrison had lived in utter ignorance of all that place outside. Wives who had long mourned their hus- dead, were again restored to them, others fondly looking glad meetings with those near and dear to them, now for ime learnt that they were alone. On all sides eager inquiries ns and friends were made. Alas ! in too many instances the was a painful one.

force under the command of General Sir James Outram, G.C.B. came to our assistance at a heavy sacrifice to themselves. Of 2,600, who left Cawnpore, nearly one-third was either killed or wounded in forcing their way through the city ; indeed, the losses were so heavy that they could effect nothing towards our relief.*

The fire was so desperate that it was impossible to stop to bring in the wounded, and many, whose lives might otherwise have been saved, were thus left to die. The advance too, as the Residency was approached, was so much of a rush, that many even of those who were not wounded, were left behind; and it was not until late on the 26th, or early on the 27th, that the guns which covered the rear guard were got up to the entrench- ments. By that time nearly one-third of the force which left the Alumbagh, had fallen. Chief among the slain lay General Neill, mourned alike by his country, by his regiment, and by his personal friends. And Major Cooper and the gallant and excellent Colonel Bazely, both of the artillery, were also with many other officers amongst the killed.

The following account of the arrival of the strangers, taken from " A Lady's Diary," is very good :—

" Yesterday evening, on the eighty-eighth day of the siege, our long-looked-for and so often despaired-of " relief " arrived. Never shall I forget the moment to the latest day I live. It was most overpowering. We had no idea they were so near, and were breathing air in the portico as usual at that hour, speculating when they might be in, not expecting they could reach us for several days longer, when suddenly, just at dark, we heard a very sharp fire of musketry quite close by, and then a tremendous cheering ; an instant after the sound of bagpipes, then soldiers running up the road, our compound and veran- dah filled with our *deliverers*, and all of us shaking hands frantically, and exchanging fervent, " God bless you's" with the gallant men and officers of the 78th Highlanders. Sir James Outram and staff were

* Staff Officer, pp. 172—175.

the next to come in, and the state of joyful confusio
citement is beyond all description. The big, rough-bear
were seizing the little children out of our arms, kissin
tears rolling down their cheeks, and thanking God they h
time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore.
rushing about to give the poor fellows drinks of water, for they we
perfectly exhausted; and tea was made down in the Ty e Khana, o
which a large party of tired thirsty officers partook, without milk or
sugar, and we had nothing to give them to eat. Every one's tongue
seemed going at once with so much to ask and to tell, and the faces of
utter strangers beamed upon each other, like those of dearest friends
and brothers."

The bagpipes of the Highlanders really were put in requisition on that evening; and so far—but no further—is there a foundation for the popular story of "Jessie Cameron," or for the picture of Mr. Goodall, which is supposed to be based upon that story, and which shews that the painter's notion of the appearance of a set of men and officers after a three months' siege, is not a little different from the reality.

It soon became apparent that the force which had reached the Residency, could be looked upon merely as a reinforcement, and not as a "relief." Much to the surprise of those who composed it, they found themselves at once besieged as closely, and cut off from communication with the rest of the world as effectually, as the original garrison had been. The city still swarmed with rebels, and there was not a house that was not full of armed men, whose spirits and boldness had been much increased by the loss they had inflicted on us, during the advance through the town. To have attempted to return through the streets, encumbered with so many sick and wounded, and women and childern, would have been madness. It was therefore resolved to remain where they were, and to wait quietly till further aid arrived. The great difficulty was how to feed the increased number of mouths, for General Havelock had never anticipated the possibility of his force being unable to return, and he had therefore taken in with him only three days' provisions. All the rest of his commissariat had been left behind, outside Lucknow at the Alumbagh, with which communication was impossible. A good deal of grain still remained of the supplies laid in by Sir Henry Lawrence, and luckily further stores were discovered about this time whose existence had been before unknown, or had been forgotten. By the economical use of these, it became possible to feed the increased force for a considerable time, and steps were immediately taken under the superintendence of Colonel Napier, the chief of Outram's Staff, to ascertain the

exact quantities available, and to regulate the expenditure with the greatest strictness and accuracy. The reduced rations hitherto issued were still further diminished, so that none, either of the old or the new garrison, got more than half rations, a quantity which, though it will support life, is quite insufficient to satisfy the cravings of the appetite. Mr. Rees writes, how he "had often to go to sleep with an empty 'stomach," and tells us of the efforts he made to add, when it was possible, to his regular allowance. And even the authoress of "A Lady's Diary," well as she seems to have borne all privations, cannot help remarking, "we often leave off dinner 'as hungry as when we began," and observing now and then on the scantiness of their fare. There were still however little luxuries occasionally to be picked up, for unheard of sums of money, by those who were fortunate enough to be able to get them, though it was hard to say whence they came.

The first step taken by General Outram was to make a series of sorties, so as to extend his position. They were accordingly made on several consecutive days, and were, on the whole, most successful. They were accompanied by heavy loss to us, but they gave us possession of the posts and batteries from which the old garrison had formerly suffered most; the space occupied by our troops was greatly enlarged; and the garrison with its reinforcements could now obtain a reasonable amount of shelter and accommodation.

The relieving force had been accompanied by a lage number of camp followers, and these were at once set to work. The defences of the Residency were put in a thorough state of repair, and completed as they had never been before; and new earth-works, barricades, and batteries were thrown up, wherever they were most likely to be required. Brigadier Inglis continued to command there.

General Havelock commanded the new ground which had been occupied outside the old defences, and the buildings there which were held by his force. Fortifications were thrown up by him everywhere as speedily as possible; batteries and entrenchments were made, and trenches cut out to protect the soldiers going from one place to another. The Tehree Kothee, Chuttor Munzil, and Ferad Buksh, where the new troops and camp followers were located, were all connected together by defences. Even at these outer works however there was, as a general rule, but little fighting going on, although there were occasionally some rather severe struggles, and one or two sorties were made. The chief characteristic of the siege during Outram's command, as indeed it had been for some time before his arrival, was the mining operations, which were carried on

very vigorously around all the most exposed positions, the enemy and the besieged being almost equally active and energetic. On several occasions the enemy succeeded in blowing up portions of the walls of Havelock's position, and these explosions cost us some men. Generally, however, their mines were innocuous, and were cut into by our mines, or were countermined and blown up:—

"According to General Outram's report to General Mansfield, chief of Sir Colin Campbell's Staff, twenty-one shafts, aggregating 209 feet in depth, and 5,291 feet of gallery, had been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the places and out-posts. Of these they exploded three, which caused no loss of life, and two which did no injury; seven had been blown in, and out of seven others the enemy had been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners, results of which the engineer's department may well be proud."*

The state of things within the old entrenchments was now very different from what it had formerly been. All was compartively quiet and peaceful; no actual fighting ever occurred at the out-posts, which had for three months been so hotly contested, and which had been the scenes of so many struggles; people could move about without any very great risk of being shot; and even ladies began to venture out sometimes, and to see "for the first time, what terrible destruction 'had been wrought by shot and shell on all the buildings round." There were however still a good many casualties every now and then. Stray bullets, shot, and shell occasionally made their appearance when least expected. They were fired from a great distance, the enemy having been driven from all their original positions, but they nevertheless not unfrequently took effect. In one day, for instance, a boy of H M.'s 32nd was killed in the hospital by a round shot,—a man of the 78th Highlanders was shot at the Residency look-out tower,—and three natives were killed in Mr. Gubbins' compound. And on the 30th of October we find cannon balls entering ladies' dressing rooms in Dr. Fayrer's house, just as they did during the early part of the siege:

"This morning an eighteen-pounder came through our unfortunate room again, which we flattered ourselves was so safe, and which we had made so comfortable. It broke the panel of the door, and knocked the whole of the barricade down, upsetting everything. My dressing table was sent flying through the door, and if the shot had come a little earlier, my head would have gone with it. The box where Emily usually sits to nurse baby was smashed flat; fortunately she was spending the day with Mrs. Brydon, or she would probably have been in the room."†

* Mr. Rees, p. 288.

† A Lady's Diary, p. 147.

Still the position of the old garrison was much improved. There was no longer any fear, or even possibility of the post being carried by the enemy; there was much more room and better shelter for every one; the sanitary arrangements could now be attended to with some success; servants were no longer so scarce, for many had come in with Havelock; there was much less work to be done, and in fine, except for the scarcity of provisions, all was much more comfortable than it had been. There were unusually few cases of fever and other complaints common to the country and season, and the force was on the whole wonderfully healthy. But the lengthened siege, and the want of proper and sufficient food, told severely on many, and scurvy, and other diseases arising peculiarly from these causes, became common.

An intelligence department organised by Captain Orr (an officer whose accurate knowledge of Lucknow and Oudh, and of all the principal natives there, has throughout the disturbances been of the greatest use to Government) enabled General Outram to keep up a correspondence, by means of spies, with the force at the Alumbagh, which he thus learnt was besieged nearly as closely as he was himself. Still no other mode of communication was practicable, the stock of provisions was becoming exhausted, and the garrison began to look very anxiously and wearily for the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, who, it was known, was to take command in person of the army then assembling at Cawnpore for their relief. On the 6th of November, a letter was at last received, announcing that by the 10th at latest, a force of six thousand men would arrive at the Alumbagh; and on the 10th, a force, though rather a smaller one than was expected, did arrive there. They were followed in two days by the Commander-in-Chief, who at once advanced to the Dilkusha and Martiniere. On the 16th, according to preconcerted arrangements, and in conjunction with the movements of the besieged force, he took the Secunderabagh, and advanced until his force was within a thousand yards of Havelock's out-posts. On the 17th, the strongly fortified position known as the Mess House, was stormed and taken, as was the Observatory; and communication between the two forces was established. Sir Colin Campbell's advance had been throughout most obstinately resisted, and there had been much desperate fighting, especially at the Secunderabagh and the Mess House. The loss he suffered was considerable, but that of the enemy was enormous, and the operation was, on the whole, completely successful, and could not have been more skilfully executed. The route chosen was a circuitous one skirting the city, and was, we believe, selected at the suggestion of General Outram. A plan of the city and

the proposed route had been conveyed to the Commander-in-Chief from the Residency, by one of its civilian defenders, Mr. Kavanagh, who gallantly volunteered for the service. Leaving the entrenchments disguised as a native, he joined the camp at the Alumbagh, and not only delivered the letters he had charge of safely, but was afterwards able, from his local knowledge of Lucknow, to act as a guide, and to be of much use in various ways to the advancing army.

Almost simultaneously with Sir Colin Campbell's arrival, it became known that it was his intention that Lucknow should be evacuated at once. The astonishment of the garrison was great, for none of them had ever dreamt of such a thing as that their relief should be merely the signal for their withdrawal from the place, and for their giving up to the enemy the post which had been so long and gallantly defended. The feeling of disappointment and regret was very strong, and, we confess, we think there were good gounds for it. It was an impolitic step when viewed with reference to the effect it would have on the native mind, to withdraw the whole force, and to abandon to the enemy a position they had for months striven in vain to possess themselves of, just at a time when it became possible to continue to hold it with little difficulty. The same ground which was occupied by Outram might have been easily held by a small portion of the army, which was eventually left at the Alumbagh, and which would still have been strong enough for all that was required of it. If it had not been abandoned, the return to Lucknow of Sir Colin Campbell, in March last, would have been a very different operation from what it actually was, both in its details and in its results. As it is, the rebels considered that they had gained a victory; they had the satisfaction of getting into the entrenchments which we had deserted, of possessing themselves of all the property which our people were compelled to leave behind them there, and of destroying and levelling with the ground every thing which remained to remind them of their own defeat, and of the noble defence made by us. The abandoning Lucknow at this time, however in accordance with the strict rules of European warfare, was in truth a measure for which there was no necessity, and it has done much injury to the British name in India, as indeed also the exceeding caution, and want of energy and enterprize, which have characterised so many of our military operations during the past twelve months, have done.

The orders issued for the abandonment of the Residency were carried out in the most soldierly and excellent manner. A double line of pickets was kept up all the way to the Dilkusha; and through these lines the garrison with the

sick and wounded, and women and children, were withdrawn, the attention of the enemy being diverted by attacks made on them in other quarters.

The sick and wounded were sent first on the 18th, and the women and children on the next day. How the latter got out, the following extract from "A Lady's Diary" will shew:—

"Yesterday the sick and wounded were all moved out to Dilkusha, and to-day the women and children departed from the scene of our long imprisonment, and I started in a carriage of Dr. Fayrer's in company with Mrs. Anderson and Miss Schilling. We had a pair of starved horses of Mr. Gubbins' to drag us, but the wretched animals had been on siege fare so long that they had forgotten the use of their legs, and had no strength, so came to a stand-still every five minutes, invariably choosing the most dangerous parts of the road for their halt. At one place we were under so hot a fire that we got out and ran for our lives, leaving the vehicle to its fate, and two poor natives, who were helping to shove it on behind, were shot. At the Furreed Bux we had to wait a long time, as the carriage could not be got through a gateway, till some stores were cleared away. Some of the officers of the 90th invited us inside, and gave us wine and water, which was very refreshing. We walked after that every step of the way to Secunderabagh, where we all had to wait several hours, till doolies arrived to take on all the women, and we proceeded under a strong escort to Dilkusha. The road to Secunderabagh was frightfully dangerous in places. In one place we were passing a twenty-four-pounder manned by some sailors of the naval brigade; they all called out to us to bend low and run as fast as we could; we had hardly done so when a volley of grape whizzed over our heads and struck a wall beyond. At Secunderabagh we found the place overflowing with women and children of the Lucknow garrison. We met several gentlemen, friends, belonging to Sir Colin's force—Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General, and Mr. Roberts (two Peshawur friends), and Mr. Ryves. They were all very kind to us. Captain Norman gave me gingerbread nuts, Captain Ryves, biscuits, and Mr. Roberts, a delicious cup of tea, with milk and sugar, bread and butter, and beef, all such long untasted luxuries. We made a regular feast, especially as we had not tasted anything since a scanty very early breakfast, and were nearly exhausted. About nine o'clock P. M. we started again in doolies. Mr. Roberts lent me one, and J. walked by my side the whole way. The crowd and confusion were excessive, the enemy hovering round and firing occasional shots, and we were borne along in the most solemn silence; the only sounds were the tramp, tramp, tramp, of the dooly-bearers and the screaming of the jackals. It was an awful time; one felt as if one's life hung in a balance with the fate we had so long dreaded; but our merciful Father, who has protected us through so many and great dangers, brought us in safety to Dilkusha, where we arrived about two o'clock in the morning.

"There were tents pitched into which we all crowded, and found quilts spread on the ground, into which we rolled ourselves for the remainder of the night. The officers of the 9th Lancers very hospitably had a supper prepared for our refreshment, and we very much enjoyed some tea and bread and butter, before going to sleep. We had none of us tasted bread and butter since the 30th of June, till to-day, so it was indeed a treat."

The state prisoners and treasure were safely brought away, as also were most of the guns and ordnance stores; such of the latter as were left behind being destroyed or made useless. On the night of the 22nd the troops marched out, and the final evacuation of the entrenchments took place. The lights were left burning everywhere as usual, and there was nothing to give the enemy a hint of what was going forward. When the appointed hour came, the force marched out silently, passing between the double row of pickets, each of which fell in at the rear of the retiring body as it moved on. The enemy offered no opposition whatever, for they were ignorant of what was happening. They were completely deceived, and continued firing into the old positions long after they were abandoned. On the 23rd, all remained at the Dilkusha to rest, and on the 24th, the march to Cawnpore was commenced.

On the 25th Sir Henry Havelock died at the Dilkusha. He had long been ill of dysentery, which had been getting daily worse during his confinement in Lucknow, and he now sunk under the over-exertion and fatigue he had gone through. As Mr. Rees says, it appeared as if he had strained every nerve to accomplish one object, and having seen its accomplishment, succumbed to the prostration which the exertion had entailed. He did not live to know the full extent of the many honors and rewards conferred upon him by a grateful country, but he did live long enough to learn that his merits were known and appreciated at home. He has left a son well worthy to bear his name, and to inherit the Baronetcy, which was granted at a time when his father was no more.

The journey to Cawnpore was completed in forced marches, for Sir Colin Campbell had to hurry on to the assistance of General Windham, who was sorely pressed by the Gwalior rebels. It seemed as if the unfortunate Lucknow garrison were never to be in peace again, for on their arrival at Cawnpore, they found a heavier cannonade and more fighting going on, than they had almost ever known during the siege. However all ended well; and in the course of a few days the whole party, except such of the officers and men as were to remain in the field, were despatched under escort to Allahabad,

which the[y] reached about the 7th or 8th of December. How natural [is] the feeling which makes our "Lady" authoress write in [he]r diary on her arrival there:

"The l[u]rious feelings of rest and peace and safety here are perfectly indescribable; one can scarcely realise it or know what to make of it, after the excitement, anxiety, and turmoil of the last six months."

On reaching Allahabad, the women and children and sick and wounded were in a place of perfect safety and comparative comfort, and their relief may be considered as complete from that time. Lucknow itself was, as we have seen, left for a while to the mercy of the rebels. But General Outram remained at the Alumbagh, with an army of about 5,000 men, to watch and to check them. They did what they could to annoy him, and made frequent attacks on his position, but they were always repulsed, with great loss on their side and little or none on ours. We were, at last, restored to the possession of Lucknow, in the month of March [l]st, by one of the largest armies of Europeans that has ever ta[ken] the field in India, and after a series of most elaborate op[era]tions directed by Sir Colin Campbell in person, and in wh[ich] most important and prominent part was taken by Gene[ral] [Ou]tram, who was in command of a division. But our bu[siness] with the actual siege and the relief of the besieged, [we] must not, for the present, enter upon the subsequent

Much as has been writte[n] on the subject, we question whether the siege of L[ucknow] yet met with that attention and appreciation which [it] and we believe that in after years it will stand out [more] distinctly than it now does, from the general mass [of] ch have occurred since the outbreak of the mutinies [in] , so many great and noble actions are fresh on ou[r] we cannot duly distinguish the one from the oth[er] feel convinced, that when much that now seems br[ight] has been blotted by time out of the book of histor[y] e which contains the defence of Lucknow will rema[in] as ever.

ART. V.—1. *Original Sanskrit texts on the origin and progress of the Religion and Institutions of India, collected, translated into English, and illustrated by notes.* By J. MUIR, ESQ., D. C. L. *Part* 1. *The Mythical and Legendary accounts of Caste.* London, 1858.

2. *A History of Greece.* By GEORGE GROTE, ESQ., *Vols. I., II. Legendary Greece.* London, 1846.

THERE is something more than wit, there is a real and living analogy, in the illustration, with which Plutarch opens his life of Theseus; and as it bears intimately upon the subject of the present paper, we shall venture to transcribe it. "As in geographies, Oh Sossius Senecio, historians are wont to 'crowd into a corner of their maps all those parts which elude 'their knowledge, appending some such descriptions as these, "all beyond are steppes without water, and filled with wild 'beasts," or "fathomless mud," or "Scythian cold," or "a frozen 'sea,"—so too, I, now that I have passed through those periods 'of time, which were accessible to probability, and afforded a 'resting place for an inves[tigation] which dealt with actual fact, 'may well adopt a simil[ar]—'all beyond is the land of 'marvel and romance, w[here] poets and mythologists hold 'sway, and there is no[thing] trustworthy as evidence or definite 'truth.'" In the endless [controversy] respecting the credibility of early history, this illustration always seemed to us to come home with all the force of [an argument,—it at once goes to the root of the matter, the absence of *evidence.*

Unless this primary [fact is] borne in mind, the most learned researches only [involve us] more hopelessly. Long lists of authorities [create an] illusion, which imposes on author as well as reader. [We] constantly weigh the relative antiquity and value of [each] witness, as he is brought into court. A crowd of [such] writers is often valueless, because they must have had [no] more of the matter in question as ourselves; while [one] testimony, on which we can rely, at once settles a dispute. [Dean] Thirlwall, in the first volume of his history, has laboriously collected together the conflicting legends of the Greek [heroic] times, but his own confession (vol. i. p. 71.) sufficiently reveals how little he himself was satisfied with the result. "There can scarcely," he says, "be a 'more irksome or unprofitable task than that of balancing 'arguments of this nature, and watching the fluctuation of the 'scales, as a new conjecture is thrown in on either side."

The human mind is naturally unwilling to have the bounds of its knowledge circumscribed. As it turns to the past,—the

days of our fathers and "the old time before them,"—it craves to pierce the veil which conceals it, and eagerly grasps any guide which promises to disclose the secret. No matter how little worthy of credit this guide may be; in the dearth of all other aid, his professions are at once believed; we trust the will of the wisp in the darkness, because it is the only glimmer in sight. We are reluctant to realise to ourselves, (however we may believe it in the abstract,) that nations, as individuals, in their childhood, have an insatiable appetite for stories, but care little as to their accuracy or truth; the imagination is then at its strongest, but the judgment is yet to be developed, and hence the very power to distinguish fact and fiction is, as it were, in abeyance in the soul. As long as the story agrees with the prevalent sentiments of the age,—as long as the events and characters strike the true chord in the hearts of the hearers, every existing demand is fulfilled, and the story comes home to their inmost souls with the intensest feeling of reality. Its influence does not arise from its being a fact which has happened, for the hearers of those early times cared little for life's daily routine; but its root must strike into the national feeling and draw thence its vitality and power. It is felt to be *real*, because it makes the hearer's pulse beat quicker, it is true in the world of feeling, and what matters it to him if it be false in the world of fact? It is poetically and morally true, and overpowers the mind into assent; the judgment is too feeble and undisciplined to resist or modify the impression, and the imagination soon assimilates the fiction, until it becomes part and parcel of the man's inmost belief. If even at the present day, with all our reasoning powers so continually exercised, and our imaginations kept under such constant check, a fictitious narrative, which we know at the time to be fictitious, can yet for a while get complete mastery over the mind, so that it influences us far more than any historical fact, however well attested, we need wonder at the absorbing influence exercised by fictions over a nation in its childhood.

There is one grand difference between authentic and legendary history, which at once parts them by a wide interval. In authentic history, there may be much obscurity, there may be contradictions which we cannot reconcile, these arise from our want of materials, and we feel that fresh documents would clear up the difficulty. In Roman history our means of increasing our knowledge cannot increase the materials which we have, the works of Livy and Tacitus are to be written, and the facts which

vanished, like the burned volumes of the Sibyl. But as far as our means extend, we may make use of them to the full, and by combination and comparison we can double our resources in their historical value. The more we investigate, the clearer we grasp the bye-gone age; the rigorous cross examination of every ancient document brings out a thousand little facts which a careless reader might have overlooked; and rays are made to converge from the remotest quarters to throw light on every vexed question of history. This is still more the case in modern times, where the means at our disposal are so much more ample, and where fresh documents, letters, and journals are continually being added to our stock. Here again we find that the closer we examine our witnesses, the more intimately we know the very *heart* of the events; every fresh document illustrates collaterally a hundred others, for truth cannot but be consistent with itself. There is no feeling of disappointment in such researches as these, it is no "irksome or unprofitable task," but one of the highest intellectual pleasures of which our nature is capable,—to construct out of scattered contemporary records, a living image of a past age, not merely with the bones and sinews of the bare facts, but clothed in flesh and blood; no cold dead statue but the marble informed with warmth and vitality, by the reproduced feelings and habits of thought and belief of the time.

But when we turn to the legendary period of history in any nation, we at once find ourselves in a different world; it is, to use Plutarch's words, a land "where poets and mythologists hold sway, and there is no such thing as evidence or definite truth." Apart from the marvels and miracles which meet us very turn, (since it is possible to explain these away,) we nfronted by this startling fact, that the farther we carry arches, the more contradictions and impossibilities rise thical tale, at first sight, may read like a consistent stories, as they are "cooked" in Lempriere, for em tolerably plausible and compact; but if we rticular legend to its sources, the slightest countless variations and discrepancies. If uthor, our story might have passed muster rever we have others by which to test at the whole legend melts away in the is subjected, as it passes from hand l's words, respecting this part of n any part this shew of know- comes to nothing." Now between the two kinds of

ation in truth; Zál and Afrasiab melt away as shadows, and even one-half of the kings have no real existence. Jamshid, Feridún and Isfendiyar, (like Sigurd and Atle in the Edda) belong to the sacred books of Zoroaster; and if we trace them back, instead of growing more real as we draw nearer to them, they recede ever further into an unapproachable mist of mythology. It is only here and there in scattered parts of the Shahnamah that we come upon any *disjecta membra* of the truth, and no *à priori* conjectures could possibly have pointed them out. In the same way the mediæval legends of Charlemagne have a certain substratum of fact, and by the aid of authentic history, we can explain how the monstrous fiction arose. Charlemagne did make an expedition into Spain against the Saracens, and he did meet with disaster at Roncesvalles; but how has this trivial episode swelled, under the poets, until it has filled the monarch's whole reign! Were we left to the legend, our ideas of Charlemagne would be as shadowy as of Arthur or Theseus, and our attempts to reduce them to history would have been miserable caricatures of the reality,—a wild confusion of Charles Martel, his grandson, and the first crusade. We should have known nothing of Charlemagne the Great, his laws and his Teutonic and Italian conquests; the real splendour and grandeur of his reign would have been sacrificed to a petty foray on the Moors*. We might have thought that his military career would have filled the imagination of his times; the legislator might be unappreciated, but surely the conqueror would live in song; yet here, as elsewhere, we are taught that the sympathies of an age are only known by its children, and that it is hopeless in a later critic to throw himself back again into that whirl of life, over which the dust of a thousand years has gathered.

We have been led into these introductory remarks by the volume which we have placed at the head of our paper; the first of a promised series, whose object is, to illustrate the origin and progress of the religion and institutions of India. The peculiar characteristic of the work is, that it presents in a continued succession the various forms of each legend, as it appears in the earlier and the later documents. The reader can trace for himself the gradual alteration and corruption of the original story; he can, as it were, watch the overgrowth of later fiction, as it creeps, ivy-like, round the ancient tradition, and smothers all the primæval freshness and life. Mr. Muir, in this way, brings back each legend to its earliest extant form, and shews us which elements

* See "Carlovingian Romance," in *Oxford Essays*, 1856.

were present from the first, and which are due to later interpolation, and the rise of new features of the national government or belief.

In this point of view, Hindu literature has a great advantage over those of Greece or Rome. The legends of the latter are, for the most part, only known to us by later compilers, whose aim was to reduce the mass of conflicting legends to a system, and who have therefore modified their materials to suit their own plan. The immense collections of Cyclic and other poems, (as those of Cinæthon of Lacedæmon and Eumelus of Corinth on the Dorian legends of the Peloponese,) have all perished, except a few scattered lines; and we have no means of ascertaining, in most cases, the oldest form of the tradition. But in Indian archæology we have ample materials at our command. We are embarrassed by the very bulk of our store. In the Vedas and their ancient commentaries, the Brahmanas, we find the Hindu legends in their earliest form,—wild indeed and improbable, and with no trace of any historic impulse in the breast of either bard or auditor; but still in these we have the legends themselves, undisguised by later changes, untouched by the breath of any age save their own. In Manu's code of laws we find ourselves in a changed scene; we are drifting away from the Veda world into a new sphere of speculation and invention. Then come the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, the Puránas and the plays—and here we have ample opportunity to trace the changes which the old legends undergo. No literature in the world offers us such materials for investigating the legendary era of a people; but European scholars must read it aright, if they would extract from it a new chapter for the history of the human mind. Mr. Muir has begun in the right spirit in this volume. He has never forgotten that he is treating of legends, not history; and we anxiously look forward to his future volumes, as a most important addition to our knowledge of the old Indian world.

Mr. Muir's primary object, he tells us, is to assist the researches of those Hindus, "who wish to become critically 'acquainted with the foundation on which their ancestral reli-'gion reposes;" but for this purpose, "before this object can 'be attempted with much prospect of convincing persons im-'bued with the notions popularly current among the modern 'Hindus, it will be necessary to lay a foundation in some pre-'liminary investigations, which may serve to awaken in their 'minds a proper historical sense, and a just conception of their 'own relation to the other portions of the civilized world." Hence his future plan is to give an exposition of the results

of comparative philology, and to shew their bearing on the mythological and other tenets of the Hindus; especially as proving that their original language has an affinity with those of the west, and has been altered by contact with indigenous dialects previously existing in India; and that in the Vedas we find not only this language in its most ancient form, but the most primitive aspect of the national institutions and forms of worship, of which ancient type the Puranas and other later works are only debasements.

Many questions of historical, social, and religious import, will then be discussed, which naturally spring from the Vedas; and "an endeavour will be made to ascertain from numerous pas-
'sages of the Vedas themselves, what was the real character of
'the hymns, in what circumstances they originated, and what
'opinions their authors themselves entertained in regard to
'their own compositions, how far they claimed to be moved by
'any divine inspiration, or looked on the hymns as the simple
'products of their own minds."

"An enquiry will follow into the Vedic mythology, and
'into the nature and relations of the different component ele-
'ments of Indian Society in the Vedic era, as deducible from
'the hymns. I shall next endeavour to exhibit, by citations
'from the Brahmanas and other writings growing immediately
'out of the Vedic hymns, and from the still later mythological
'poems, and other works, the development of the caste system;
'the growth of the popular religion; the decline in the rever-
'ence paid to the ancient deities of the Vedas, and the incipient
'and progressive popularity of various new divinities in later
'ages; and finally the rise and development of the different phi-
'losophical systems, and their relations to the Vedas and to each
'other;—so far, I mean, as the description of these several
'questions may be connected with the general ends which I
'[redacted]complish, or can be elucidated from the limited
[redacted], original or derived, which are at my

[redacted]gramme, which Mr. Muir has sketch-
[redacted]heme which will take years of toil for
[redacted]present volume is only an introduction
[redacted] we heartily welcome it, as the first
[redacted]o come. A collection of original data
[redacted]nd co[redacted]ientious statement
[redacted]ll form an era in
[redacted]too much of hypo-
[redacted]g us back to fact
[redacted]l we are treading,
[redacted]s of Brahmanical

tradition, and it will be our own fault if we allow ourselves to be deluded by the cloud palaces of a baseless dream. The chronological arrangement of the different materials will, of itself, clear away much of the confusion, and we shall be led at once to the earliest extant sources of the narratives, instead of being bewildered by the later versions of an age, to which these early legends had become as unintelligible and obsolete as to our own. In fact, the Vedic legends, to that later age, were even *more* obsolete than they are to ourselves; comparative philology and mythology have brought us nearer to the ancient world; and the ancient forms of faith and life, which to the later Hindu had stiffened into a dead torpor and "cold obstruction's apathy," are warmed by the contact of modern science into something of their pristine vitality, and the life blood of human interest trickles again through the frozen veins.

The following extract from Mr. Muir's preface will explain the subjects, which are treated in this volume:—

"This first part brings together texts from the Vedic hymns, Brahmanas and Upanishads, as well as from the Puràna and Itihàsas, (the Ràmàyana and Mahàbhàrata), relating *first* to the general cosmogonic theory of the origin of castes maintained by the native authors; *secondly*, to the accounts which they give of the formation of the caste system, when, in the course of their legendary histories, they connect it with any particular persons as its founders; *thirdly*, to the notices which we find in the Puràna and Itihàsas, of struggles between the Brahmans and Kshatriyas regarding their respective functions and prerogatives; *fourthly*, to the opinions, which the Puranic writers express on the origin of the rest of the human race, living without the pale of the Indian institutions, but conceived of as adjacent to Hindustan, and their relations to the Hindus; *fifthly*, to the descr[illegible] altogether of a fabulous character, contained in the same works, [illegible] remoter regions of the earth and their inhabitants. The ob[illegible] this first part of my work is, thus, merely to exhibit [illegible] ticise the views of the Indian writers then[illegible] caste and some cognate topics,—leaving [illegible] real origin and history of the Indian peopl[illegible] institutions, so far as we are enabled to tr[illegible] exact researches of recent times."

In conducting such investigations as [illegible] history of India, one important con[illegible] upon us, if we wo[illegible] ancient Greece o[illegible] their mythic time[illegible] period when for all[illegible] of the father or [illegible] on the bard or th[illegible]

so long as the tale, offered as a substitute, agreed with the prevalent feelings of the audience. The mythic ages and their traditions were once implicitly believed: the past was no blank void, but peopled with heroes and demi-gods, whose existence was to them as real as their own. But in Greece and Rome this age passed away, and hence Greece and Rome have left an eternal stamp on the story of the world. The national mind progressed, and out-grew the unreasoning belief of its childhood. Conquest, commerce, and foreign travel widened the whole range of men's ideas; they advanced in social life and political organization, and learned to think for themselves; and as the passing events of their own time assumed a new significance, history arose to meet the new need. The old mythic world remained, to a certain extent, present with them to the last period of their national existence, but the old unreasoning belief, on which it rested, was gone; and men, like Thucydides, applied the same canons of criticism and political motives of action, to Minos and Agamemnon, which they were accustomed to do in judging of Solon or Pericles. The dramatists altered the legends at their pleasure, and twisted them to suit any social or political theory. They were no longer a sacred heirloom of national belief, but a mere conventional machinery for poetry, like the classical mythology of the Italian poets or the fairies and witches of our own. They retained a poetical existence, they lived in the imagination's creed, but their root in the nation's heart of hearts was dead. Their chief power lay in their close association with poetry; every allusion to their familiar incidents was sure to tell on the audience, and hence the poets wielded them as a never-failing engine. But their influence played on the surface; the real world of Greek and Roman thought and action lay beneath and apart. Philosophy, science, history, and, in practical life, the schemes of commerce and visions of empire absorbed the energies of the mind; the old mythic world might amuse a tired hour, but it was flung aside if it interfered with the sterner realities of the present.

But in India, the national mind never out-grew this its early phase. We never escape from the legendary age; it lasts, like Rabelais' almanack, "*pour l' an perpetuel.*" Cut off, since the first, from all communication with its western brethren, the nation has been left to its own solitary strivings; and debarred from all healthy interchange of thought, it has been stricken with palsy and old age, like Gulliver's Struldbrugs, in the midst of its years. Compared with Greek literature, that of the Hindu is a labyrinth that leads no whither, we are continually retracing our steps in its mazes, and never seem to make any way. In the

Greek mind, as we have seen, we can trace the healthy progress from the early mythology and heroic poems,—the Hercules in his cradle,—to its *youth* in the lyric poets, with all their passions flung into the present, "drunk" (as Aristotle says of the young man) "with youth as with wine;" and its *manhood* in Thucydides, the dramatists and the philosophers, in whom the old imagination and feelings are subdued, not extinguished, while the reason, with its various powers, is exalted to its rightful supremacy. But in India there is no such history as this,—we begin with myth and dream, and alas! in these we end. Philosophy indeed there is, but it is wrapped in dream and fiction, based, not on fact and observation, but on imagination and theory; and transcendent powers have been wasted to no result in its pursuit; a drama there is, but it belies the name,* and instead of being based on real life, and, as the Greek drama, carrying the throbbing interests and passions of to-day into the world of still life in antiquity, and thus reproducing on the stage the stir and conflict of the ecclesia, and bearing all men's sympathies with it, the Indian drama languidly dallies with the loves and sorrows of an unreal hero, who moves in a glamour-land, like the Castle of Indolence, or Tennyson's "Lotus-eaters," where

> All round about the languid air did swoon,
> Breathing like one that hath a weary dream.

And we long in vain amid all the artificial beauty for one reviving breath from the world of real life outside, like that sea-breeze, which, it has been well said, blows in the reader's face from every page of the Odyssey. But history, even chronicle, there is none; and it is to this utter want of the historic impulse that the mournful stand-still is to be traced. For the absence of history betrays a fatal defect in the national character, which has reproduced itself in the carelessness to truth and life, and the languid dreaminess, which meet us at every turn in the Indian mind.

In Indian literature we never escape from legends. The Vedic Brahmanas abound with them, but of course in these we should expect them, and here they are not out of place. But legend haunts us wherever we go, to paralyse every research into Indian antiquities.† Without geography, without chronology, we grope our way hopelessly in the dark,—unable

* Δρᾶμα, ἀ δράω.

† Even Dr. Roth acknowledges (Ind. Stud. i. page 457,) that "the contradictions, with which the collector and arranger of the Greek heroic legends has to struggle, are simple harmony and clearness, compared with the tangled skein, in which the arbitrary extravagances of the Indian poets have involved the traditions of their old times."

to construct even a plausible theory to reconcile the inconsistent details. In this dream-world, all seem contemporaries; thus Vasishtha in the Vishnu Puràna is the family priest of Ikshwàku, the first prince of the solar dynasty, while in the Harivansa he is introduced with Trisanku, Ikshwàku's twenty-sixth descendant! But "Hindu mythology, with its boundless resources in supernatural machinery, and in the doctrine of transmigration, can reconcile all discrepancies, and get rid of all anachronisms, making any sage re-appear in a new form, at any juncture when his presence may be required, another and the same."* The very existence of such a "transparently indolent" dogma betrays the total absence of any historical impulse, or even of any sense of its deficiency, in the Hindu mind, as left to its own unaided resources; and hence arises the importance of the historical element in their present education. Objectors may sneer at the cramming of the minds of the pupils with mere facts and dates, but it is on these authentic details, that all after generalizations must at the last rest; and it is to the rigorous study of the *facts* of ancient history, as distinguished from its fables, that we must look as one main instrument to awaken the "lost" historical "sense" in the Hindu mind. Modern history alone cannot supply it, for it is only contemporary with Mohammedan India; behind it lies the old Indian world, to which all the national and religious feelings of the Hindu turn. We must prove to him that contemporary with those very times, which produced his Bráhmanas and his Rámáyan, in Greece and Palestine we can read with ever clearer light a record of real events and persons; that at the very date which modern science fixes for his Veda, Moses and Joshua had already settled the Jews in the promised land; that Solomon's temple was built before Manu had probably compiled his code; that Jewish annals give no barren names of dynasties, but the full history of their kings down to the contemporaries of Ajáta Satru and Sákya Muni; and that from the fall of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, Greek history begins, and Herodotus inaugurates, that long line of authentic European narrative, which runs on in an unbroken series to the present day. From the time of Solon, no age has been left

* Mr. Muir, page 87. Compare also Mr. Hall's remarks, in his preface to the Sankhya Pravachana Bhashya, page 10, "rather than depart from the strictest letter of the theogonics, I have found the pundits disposed to fall back on their grand solution of all difficulties as to time, space and individuals, *the transparently indolent dogma of cyclical renovations of mundane events.* These iterations admitting of an indefinite number of changes as to particulars, any body may at last be every body; and it thus becomes a very easy matter to make light of ordinary chronological sequence."

without its witness, and century after century can be exactly mapped out by the student, and for every period he can turn to authors who wrote in the midst of the very events which they describe. Greek and Roman history in themselves may be useless to the Hindu, and he may ludicrously misapply them in relation to present times; but nothing can change the one vital fact, that he learns to associate an authentic history and contemporary testimony with those very centuries, which his native literature had only taught him to look on as an age of mythology and marvel.

India also has her long line of authors far eclipsing the antiquity of Greece, and rivalling the sacred writings of the Jews. Like the three hundred and forty-five statues, which Herodotus beheld in the hall of the temple at Thebes, "Piromis from Piromis," "man from man," the series reaches back, age behind age, to the earliest times, till it is lost in the darkness of the past. But what are these writings worth, when we look at them with the eye of the historian, or would construct an image of that India, whose name* was first known to Greece from the invasion of Xerxes, and which Herodotus thought of with wonder, as the most populous of the nations of the earth; so that, in speaking of the Thracians, he only calls them "the greatest of all known nations, except the Indians?" For direct information, they are absolutely worthless; it is only their indirect allusions which give us any light at all. We grope in a land of shadows, like the tale of the American Indian's heaven† where the traveller, wandering in a "wood of shades," grasps at the apparition of a stone, when alarmed by the phantom of a lion. Gods and heroes, nay, even poets, philosophers, and grammarians, are alike enveloped in a cloud of fable, which German erudition tries in vain to pierce. The founders of the six systems of philosophy are beings of mythology, not of the actual world; Kapila plays his part in the Rámáyana, as an incarnation of Vishnu to destroy the myriad sons of Sagara; while to Patanjali is assigned the shape of a serpent, and he is said to have married Lulúpá whom he found in the hollow of a tree. Of the dramatist Kálidása nothing is known, and we can hardly make an approximation to his date; while to settle the age of the other great Hindu dramatist, we must have recourse, not to proper Indian sources, but the Rája Táranginí, or chronicle of Cashmire. Pánini is as mythical as the rest, although we might have thought that a grammarian was a sufficiently prosaic character to escape being sublimated

* It first *rises* in Greek literature in Æschylus, Suppl. 282.

† Spectator, No. 56.

into a myth; it is only by the reports of Chinese travellers in India that we can settle his date, or that of his fellow-labourer Kátyáyana. It is as though in Greek literature, Plato and Aristotle were mythological beings, and Æschylus or Euclid as unreal as Orpheus or Cecrops, and the Alexandrian school of grammar and criticism as dubious as the Argonautic expedition. The same uncertainty tracks us down to Mohammedan times; the life of Sankara Achárya, the great religious innovator, who lived in the eighth century, A. D., is as fabulous as that of Vyása, the traditional arranger of the Vedas; and the court of king Bhoja of Dhárá, in the eleventh, with all the poets and scholars who flourished there, is no more a subject for history than the round table of our own Arthur. India owes all her history to foreigners, not to her native sons; "no *date* of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander, and no *connected* relation of the national transactions attempted until after the Mohammedan conquest,"* and, we may add, no ray of light was thrown on her real antiquity until she was brought under British sway.

The mere English reader can hardly conceive the effects of this total absence of historical data throughout Hindu literature, or the extent to which the mania for legendary explanations has spread. If a scholiast wishes to enforce the importance of the accents in the Veda, he gives us a legend as his one clenching argument. "Indra slew Viswarúpa, the son 'of Twashtri, the artist of the gods. Twashtri therefore did 'not invite him to the Soma sacrifice, and Indra, having caused 'a hindrance to the rite, carried off the Soma-juice by force and 'drank it. The remainder of the Soma Twashtri consecrated 'by a hymn, intending it as an incantation against Indra, "*Swáhá*, prosper, *(macte,)* Indra's smiter;" but in his passionate 'haste he misplaced the accent from the last to the first syllable, 'and thus reversed the meaning of the charm!" A favourite epithet, in the Veda, for the Sun is "the golden-handed," which, as *Kara* in Sanskrit means "a ray" as well as "a hand," is a simple and striking metaphor, exactly corresponding to Pindar's "golden haired" (χρυσοκόμης,) since "hair"† to a Greek was an obvious metaphor for beams. But the taste of the Hindus demanded a more literal explanation, and even in the Bráhmanas

* Elphinstone.

† Cf. comet, κομήτης, and Milton's description,

That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In the northern sky, and from its horrid *hair*
Shakes pestilence and war.

We find the same idea in the Roman Catullus.

—— faces splendidas quatiunt *comas*.

we find the following prosaic degradation of th
figure. When the gods performed their sacrific
Savitri (the Sun,) the remains of the oblation, ca
since he had placed himself in the station of
superintending priest. He stretched out his h
it, but they were unfit for such holy contact; s
as it touched them, cut them off; and the gods
deficiency, gave him hands of gold.* A less im
haps equally significant instance occurs in the
the well-known Meghadúta, or "cloud messe
into English verse by Professor Wilson. The gr
poem is the banishment of a Yaksha, or demi-go
the Deccan, for some neglect in his duty at
(*Swádhikára-pramatta.*) Surely none but Hin
would have deemed it necessary to specify th
vent a fable that he had been the warder
Kuvera's garden, and, having quitted his pos
had allowed Indra's elephant to commit a tresp
down the flower-beds.

The legend, which we have given above,
Sun's golden hands, is not without its interest
of view. The Sun's lost hands are restored in
early Grecian legend, when Tantalus, to p
divinity, served up his son Pelops at the ba
of the shoulder, which Ceres, absorbed in
daughter, had eaten unawares, was replaced
ivory. Thus far the Greek and Hindu lege
childish, and in fact the Greek is the more chil
as the Hindu tale had originated in a fine ou
feeling. But the Greek mind, as we have said,
fables, or could only endure them by allegorisi
deeper meaning; and Pindar (born B. C. 5
very legend as immoral and therefore untrue.
'are marvellous; and myths, decked out with s
'lead the credulous rumours of men astray.
'creates all that is sweet to mortals, overspread
'oft makes the incredible believed; but aft
'wisest witnesses. And it is meet for man to s
'the gods things of good report; for thus the
A fertile source of the legends, which bec
later days, is found, as we have seen above, i
of the Veda. Thus the original authority
dwarf *Avatár* of Vishnu (which fills such an

* This legend is found in the Kaushitaki Bráhmana, *We*
ii. *p.* 306—*Cf. Wilson's* RIGVEDA, v. i, p 51.

in Paurânik legend) seems to be found
of the Rig Veda (1,22,17); "Vishnu
'three times he planted his foot; and t
collected in the dust of his (foot-step.)
identify Vishnu here with the sun,
with its rise, culmination, and setting
foundation is reared the later story of
suppliant dwarf. Weber traces the le
and other treasures hid in the ocea
and Asurs sought by churning it with
for the churn and the serpent Vásuki
texts in the Veda as this, (Rig v. i
(*Amritam*) is in the waters; in the
herbs; therefore, divine priests, be pro
Similarly the highly figurative descriptions
the cloud, called *Vritra* or *Ahi* (the former
Vri, to enclose, the second from *han*, to s
the waters pent up in its bosom, have b
a literal conflict in the Mahábhárata and
great mass of the legends, which fill ever
of course of non-Vaidik origin; they grew
was an historical blank, and men's instincts
blank filled, though it were but with a po
tions. In the same way, the Greeks knew n
he was to them, as to us, "but a wandering
longed to invest him with a personal history
in the Pseudo-Herodotus' life, the wild fi
none knew how, to meet the demand.

We now return to Mr. Muir's volume; a
tailed illustration of our remarks, we sha
on the origin of caste, and give an abstr
Hindu theories, which he brings forward fi
All these sources, be it remembered, are, a
belief, sacred and infallible; and from th
how far the Hindus themselves can supply
the solution of the great problem in their h

In the Veda, with the exception of o
found, with a few verbal variations, in
Sanhitás, there is no direct mention of cast
Brahman is used in the sense of the su
who holds the chief place among the sever
who officiate at the sacrifice; and although
which are not unfrequently mentioned, are
Scholiast as the four castes, and the out-cast
authority, the *Nirukta* or glossary of Vedi
thor, Yáska, Prof. M. Muller considers to h

ives a very different interpretation, as
s, Gandharvas, Pitris, Gods, Asuras and
Vedic verse in which we have the four
ned is the following. It occurs in that
(the *Purusha-Súkta,*) in which the
sha) is represented as offered up in sa-
and the world is fashioned out of his

ed [or offered up] Purusha, into how
ivide him? What was his mouth? What
at were called his thighs and feet?
as his mouth; the Rájanya was made
was the Vaisya was his thighs; the
his feet.
produced from his mind; the sun from
Agni from his mouth; and Váyu from his

of this extract has been explained by
ccordance with the notion of later times,
been made the Brahman, &c.; but the
adicts this, as *báhú* "arms" is in the dual,
(factus) is in the singular, and can there-
ruction, only agree with Rájanya. Mr.
s allegorical interpretation by the opening
yaha, "the dawn in truth is the head of
; the sun is the eye, the wind the breath,
nouth, the year the body, &c." With regard
ymn itself, we add the following judgment
(*Misc. Essays*, i. 309), as of course it bears
its value as the earliest glimpse of the

e hymn is, in language, metre and style,
the rest of the prayers with which it is
a decidedly more modern tone, and must
d after the Sanskrit language had been re-
mar and rhythm perfected. The internal
urnishes serves to demonstrate the import-
compilation of the Vedas, in their present
place after the Sanskrit language had ad-
rustic and irregular dialect in which the
s and prayers of the Veda was composed,
l sonorous language in which the mytholo-
d and profane, have been written."
original date of the *Purusha Súkta*, there
tion that its allegorical allusion (as in the
quoted, and many more such could be

added) has furnished the basis for the later legend of the separate creation of each caste from different limbs of Brahma. The Brihad Aranyaka mentions the creation of the four castes, but is silent as to their separate origin; hence perhaps we may conclude that this expansion of the myth had not yet come up, when it was composed.

We find it in its full form in Manu, though with many of those inconsistencies as to its details,* which continually occur in the different parts of that work, and seem to prove that the Institutes are a compilation from various and sometimes conflicting sources. The later Shástras continually reproduce this account, and from them it has gradually filtered through the national mind, and become an integral part of its belief.

With this mythological account, the European scholar has of course nothing to do, except so far as it bears on the popular creed, and its history; to him, the two important inferences are, that (with one very doubtful exception,) the caste system is not found in the Veda, and that the present belief as to the separate origin of the four castes, is certainly unauthorised there.

But besides this mythological account, which has in later times so unduly preponderated, we find in various ancient works, others of a very different kind, the quasi-historical; and it is these, to which modern research is naturally most attracted. They divide into two classes, both apparently recognising the original equality of mankind; the one traces the rise of caste to a moral distinction, while the other associates its introduction with certain well-known names in the legendary cycle. The very existence of such contradictory solutions of the problem, reveals to us the heterogeneous nature of the materials which compose the ancient Hindu literature.

The first of these quasi-historical accounts is given in the Sánti Parva of the Mahábhárat. Yudhishthira asks his uncle Bhishma to describe the creation and destruction of the world, the formation of living creatures, the cause of caste, &c. Bhishma replies by narrating an "ancient story," to the effect that the sage Bharadwája, beholding the great Rishi Bhrigu sitting on the peak of Kailása, had proposed to him a series of questions on these very points; and the Rishi's answers are now repeated to solve Yudhishthira's doubts.

* Thus in i. 31 we have Brahmá's separate creation of the four castes, but in i. 39 we find that men were produced at another stage of the creation by the Maharshis, the third in succession from Brahmá. And again in xii. 43, &c. we have a very different classification of creatures, according to the three qualities, and Kshatriyas and some Bráhmans occupy the same grade while other Bráhmans occupy two of the higher classes. See *Muir*, p.p. 16-18.

"Bhrigu speaks: Brahmá thus formerly created the Prajápatis, his own sons, distinguished by his own energy and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, devotion, the eternal Veda, virtuous practice, and purity for the attainment of heaven. He also formed the Devas, Dánavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asurs.....and men, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Súdras, and all other castes of living creatures. The colour* of the Brahmans was white, that of the Kshatriyas red, that of the Vaisyas yellow, and that of the Súdras black.

"Bharadwája here rejoins; If the class of the four castes is distinguished by their colour, then we perceive in all the castes a confusion of caste (or colour). Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, anxiety, hunger, fatigue, prevail over all; by what then is caste distinguished? They have in common all the bodily secretions, with phlegm, bile, and blood; and the bodies of them all decay; by what then is caste distinguished? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary; how is the caste of all these different classes of creatures determined?

"Bhrigu replies; There is no distinction of castes; this whole world is from Brahmá; for having been formerly created by him, it became separated into castes in consequence of works. Those red-limbed twice-born, who were fond of sensual pleasures, fiery, irascible, prone to daring, and who had forsaken their duties, fell into the condition of Kshatriyas. The yellow twice-born, who derived their livelihood from cows and agriculture, and did not practise their duties, fell into the state of Vaisyas. The twice-born, who were black and had lost their purity, who were addicted to violence and lying, who were covetous, and subsisted by all kinds of work, fell into the position of Súdras. Being thus separated by these their works, the twice-born became of other castes. Religious ceremonies and sacrifice have not been always forbidden to all these. Thus these four castes, whose speech is from Brahmá,† were formerly instituted by Brahmá, but by their cupidity fell into ignorance. Brahmans are dependent on the Veda; their devotion does not perish, while they constantly maintain the Veda, its observances and rules. The Veda was

* *Varna* means "caste" and "colour," – a very pregnant etymology, when we connect it with the Veda's "white complexioned friends of Indra," and the dark followers of Vritra, "the neglectors of sacrifice."

† Weber would translate this "Brahmanical" (Ind. Stud. ii. 194), and accept it as a proof that the Sudras spoke the same language originally as the other castes —as if a legend of the Máhabhárata were as scrupulously accurate in its details and weighed its words as carefully as Thucydides!

'created the chief of all things; they who do not know it are 'no Brahmans. Of these there are many other classes of 'different sorts in different places, Pisáchas, Rákshasas, Pretas, 'various classes of Mlechhas, who have lost all knowledge, 'sacred and profane, and follow whatever observances they 'please."

This is, in many respects, a very remarkable passage, and, whatever historical value we may attach to it, it evidently (to quote Mr. Muir) reveals "a fair and moderate writer, who 'had just views of the essential unity of mankind, and of the 'superiority of moral distinctions to any factitious divisions of 'a social character."

Mr. Muir's second chapter is devoted to a survey of the various passages which connect the origin of caste with some particular individuals, and thus attempt to fix a period of its beginning; we have only space for a brief analysis of the subject, and must refer our readers to the volume itself for the full details, as well as for the succeeding chapters on the early contests between the sacerdotal and military castes.

Manu Vaivaswata stands as the legendary head of the great solar dynasty, but among his sons and descendants we find a great variety of castes. Thus one son Prishadra becomes a Súdra, through killing his guru's cow; another, Karúsha, is the ancestor of the powerful Kshatriyas, the Kárúshas; from a third sprang Kshatriyas who obtained brahmanhood, while a "fourth became a Vaisya by his works." From another son or grandson Nabhága sprang the illustrious line of the Angirasas, Kshatriyas by birth, but Brahmans by profession, a school of warrior priests, who are associated in early legend with the organization, and perhaps the institution, of the worship of fire among the Hindus.

In the great lunar dynasty, descended from Purúravas, we find the same unmistakeable traces of a long passed social revolution, but whose especial details are for ever hidden by that best of all secret-keepers, Time. Purúravas himself is said to have instituted the three sacred fires, as well as other changes in the ancient faith. "Formerly," says the Bhágavata Purána, "there was only one Veda, the sacred monosyllable 'Om, the essence of all speech, only one God, Náráyan, one fire 'and one caste; from Purúravas came the triple Veda, in the 'beginning of the Treta age. By fire, whom he had taken as his son, the king attained the heaven of the Gandharvas." The Mahábhárata also mentions his institution of the three fires, and it seems implied in a verse of the Rig Veda; but the later epic treats the hero as anti-Brahmanical, and overthrown by a sacerdotal curse. "Being straightway cursed by the incensed Rishis,

'he perished, this covetous monarch, who from pride of power 'had lost his understanding."

The fourth descendant of Purúravas was Ghritsamada; "from him," says the Vishnu Purána, "was descended Saunaka, who originated the four castes;" or as the Harivansa expresses it, "from him sprang the Saunakas, Brahmans; 'Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras." Other accounts in the Mahabharata, with that characteristic lubricity which renders the study of Indian antiquities so hopeless, give Ghritsamada a very different parentage, and make Saunaka his descendant in the thirteenth generation. The twentieth in descent from Ghritsamada's brother, is Bhargabhúmi, and of him again it is said, by more than one authority, that he originated the system of four castes.

Again Bali, a descendant from Purúravas, by a different line, has the same mysterious celebrity, and he is said to have obtained from Brahmá himself "the boon that he should 'establish the four fixed castes."

The precise meaning of these dark allusions will never be known, but they must originally have had a meaning of some kind.

"They prove that, according to the traditions received by 'the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India '(traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even 'their strong hierarchical prepossessions,) Brahmans and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from 'one and the same stock. The European critic can have no 'difficulty in receiving these obscure accounts as true in their 'literal sense; though the absence of precise historical data 'may leave him without any other guide than speculation to 'assist him in determining the process, by which a community, 'originally composed, for the most part, of one uniform element, 'was broken up into different ranks and professions, separated 'from each other by impassable barriers. On the other hand, 'the possibility of this common origin of the different castes, 'though firmly based on tradition, appeared in later times so 'incredible or so unpalatable, to some of the compilers of the 'Puránas, that we find them attempting to explain away the 'facts which they record, by statements such as we have en-'countered in the case of the kings Rathitara and Bali, that 'their progeny was begotten on their wives by the sages Angiras 'and Dirghatamas, or by the introduction of a miraculous ele-'ment in the story, as we have seen in one of the legends re-'garding Ghritsamada."*

* *Muir*, p. 57.

On a review of these various conflicting theories, which the Hindu mind has put forth at different times, to explain the most interesting problem in its history—it needs little critical skill to determine, that as far as history is concerned, these legends are all nothing worth. Except perhaps the meagre names of those of the third class, they represent no real events, they are dissociated from all actual space and time; they are simply the offspring of a lawless imagination, which found the whole past a *tabula rasa*, on which to paint at its will. They are dust in the balance against one fact of ethnology, or one root of the Indo-Germanic tongue.

It is only from comparative philology and a rigorous cross-examination of every dialect of India, that we can hope for any real light on India's early history. We shall then perhaps be able to interpret, with something like certainty, those obscure but constantly recurring allusions in the Veda to "dark" tribes and "white" tribes, of hostile language and religion, who were then contending for the country. It is not from native sources that any definite information is to be gained; their scattered hints can only be of use to confirm our foreign researches. In *Arya* and *Dasyu*, with their respective Indo-Germanic and Turanian relations (if we may venture to speak confidently on what is still the subject of investigation and discussion) will be found the key to much, that, viewed from the Hindu side alone, is "darker than the darkest oracle." As the Veda is subjected to the rigorous scrutiny of Europe, and confronted with the other extant monuments of the old world's belief, it will be forced to break its sullen silence, and, one by one, yield up to us its secrets. But it is no spontaneous witness,—it has no perennial gush of narrative, like the epics, and Puránas; it has closed its lips as doggedly as Iago, and only science with its systematic *torture* can make it speak.

ART. VI.—1. *Tom Brown's School Days.* BY AN OLD BOY. *Cambridge*, 1857.

2. *Preface to the Sixth Edition of Tom Brown's School Days.* 1858.

IT is not alone by "sublime lives" of action that great men leave their footprints on the sands of time. The lives of some of the greatest of men have been either wholly insignificant, or full of pernicious example; the personal career of Shakespear seems to become less interesting the more we learn of it; while that of Goethe, about whom so much has been written, is chiefly deserving of study as shewing what the student should avoid. To pursue Mr. Longfellow's nautical metaphor, its brilliancy is that of a lighthouse on a fateful shore. Others there have been, such as Socrates and Samuel Johnson, who have not even influenced men by their writings, but whose mark will never be effaced, left as it was by the apparently ephemeral effect of convivial discourse. In the Constable Bourbon, and in Wallenstein (among other less remarkable cases), we have men who, with every capacity for great and good conduct, seem to have been led, principally by ill-fortune, by a mere want of common luck, into positions where they earn an imperishable, though equivocal, fame from disaster and offence.

Undoubtedly a man of action is as much more entitled than a writer of equal calibre to our personal admiration, as work is more noble than words; but the world has had a few characters—a very few, and of whom she was not worthy—who distinguished themselves more by the capacity for greatness than for its exhibition in any classified manner; of whom their *moral* aroma of character is the true embalmment, so as to attest the truth of old Shirley's saying:

> "——the memory of the JUST
> "Smells sweet, and blossoms even in the dust."

It is this apostolic virtue and singleness of heart that appear to constitute the great interest, which attaches itself to the memory of Thomas Arnold. Not a witty or stimulating talker, for that he wanted the many-sided sympathy which has covered the sins of many a worse man; not a first-force scholar, his "Rome" being chiefly a faithful gleaning in the fields of Niebuhr, and his Thucydides chiefly valued for its earnest grasp of physical, geographical features; certainly not a popular theologian, with his latitudinarian explanations, and his puzzling bursts of ecclesiology; not even a complete

school-mast
a bad boy;
a personal
life speedily
seems to in
morable Ha
of the "lam
and bids fair
teacher of
visitants qu
and bid some g
member the feelin
the pride of manly str
he heard from the lips of a
home to the same village a day later,
is dead." How heartless seemed the war
a glare shone in the sun-beams of that June

It is by no means purposed to retrace the li
that has been done by Canon Stanley, and his bo
one's hands. To those who seek a clear *resumè*, we
mend the notice of the work, whose name heads our
published in a late "Quarterly Review," and ascribed t
accomplished author of the "Hand-Book of Spain." I
is not without interest that we Anglo-Indians of 185
survivors of the deluge—can reflect on the man
work. A few extracts, and a brief epitome of "Tom
school days" will shew us the system of Rugby under
a few contemporaneous sketches will shew the po
Rugby in India.

Tom Brown is the son of a country gentleman i
of White Horse, who, after the usual incidents of
hood, is sent to Rugby at the age of eleven.
Arnold had assumed charge of the school.
this period it had been a large grammar-school o
stamp—like Repton, Tonbridge or Shrewsbury—
Dr. Wooll, a gentleman of short stature and shor
immortalized by the school-boys in the epigram,
and little Wooll," so constant was the wailing of the

The mind of Arnold was impetuous, one-sided, an
righteous; and the system of his predecessor, bo
inadequate and as being old, was sure to dissatis
writer well remembers a conversation he had
of the Doctor himself a Master in the school, i
which he (the pupil) respectfully enquired, "w
"was to be m e a Bishop." "Never" was the
reply; "he is too crotchetty." Arnold's me

his "Life;"

ils in which
hall not be
er's cunning
le, to have
ghtful men
ain, in her
said, "what-
any part of the
d on what important
upon to enter." And
nom the scholars of Rugby were
e usually distinguished in the high places
even there, their influence is known to
any of Arnold's alumni being now employed
education in their turn—like the new head-
Marlborough, Mr. Bradley—and others engaged in
for important periodicals, like the "Saturday Review;"
e field of the middle classes and *petite noblesse* of England
fly found in her colonies and dependencies.

old was not the only person who, in the reforming
of 1829, when he first went to Rugby, had a feeling
the then obtaining public-school system. Many of
als of those days, indeed, went further than he did.
sentiments shall be stated in his own language. "The
e said on first coming, "is quite enough to employ
love of reform; and it is much pleasanter to think
h you may *yourself hope to relieve*, than those with
h you can give nothing but vain wishes and
..... "There is enough of Toryism in my nature
very apt to sleep contentedly over things as
d therefore I hold it to be most true kindness,
one directs my attention to points in the school,
e alleged to be going on ill." "The perpetual
on of changes," continues the biographer, "which
from this, was by many objected to as excessive, and
to endanger the stability of his whole system.
very morning, it was said of him, with the im-
everything is an open question." But rapid as
alterations to which the details of his system
, the general principles remain fixed. What
are now to see.
with an effort to "have nothing to do with boar-

ge, April 24, 1828,) he soon came to
keep boarding houses. This was one
dom from surveillance, which was so
the old system. But he went farther;
arry into the playing-field, the same
be exercised by the Masters in the
his doubts, but the public opinion ran
which had so many features of tyranny
w, that the whole system was denoun-
he delighted to stand forth as its cham-

ned a class of "μεσεται between the
the boys" but his Præpostors were
oung prigs with grey heads on green
" he said in a sermon, "the common
were looked upon as a *kind* of *Masters*,
s, be deluded and eluded. The Præpos-
of words*—obtained habits of command,
es, the genial sympathies of their time of life;
ges were gained at the expense of many of
unity. But, farther, there were other advan-
system," gained *à coup de garçon*; that is to say,
whom "there was not one in the set whom you
own as a bad fellow if taken alone," were yet
he saw

A good scholar with
with a barren mind, is
thus been raised (or r
"muscular Christianity'
are now noticing is a w

Not much criticism
gone through six edit
object of a man in prod
neral rule) and in succ
it to be inferred that he
And in point of fact,
how this has happened
subjects familiar, thoug
tion; the writer does
the Horatian difficulty

"P

but above all, the story
to the best and to so
of English readers—t
reputation of Arnold a
usual habits of quiet se
nestness," till No Cant
fulness of the full me

which indeed they, and most of us, are better without. Talbots and Stanleys, St. Maurs, and such-like folk, have led armies and made laws time out of mind; but those noble families would be somewhat astounded—if the accounts ever came to be fairly taken—to find how small their work for England has been by the side of that of the Browns.

"These latter, indeed, have, until the present generation, rarely been sung by poet, or chronicled by sage. They have wanted their "sacer vates," having been too solid to rise to the top by themselves, and not having been largely gifted with the talent of catching hold of, and holding on tight to, whatever good things happened to be going,—the foundation of the fortunes of so many noble families. But the world goes on its way, and the wheel turns, and the wrongs of the Browns, like other wrongs, seem in a fair way to get righted. And this present writer having, for many years of his life, been a devout Brown-worshipper, and moreover having the honour of being nearly connected with an eminently respectable branch of the great Brown family, is anxious so far as in him lies to help the wheel over, and throw his stone on to the pile.

"However, gentle reader, or simple reader, whichever you may be, lest you should be led to waste your precious time upon these pages, I make so bold as at once to tell you the sort of folk you'll have to meet and put up with, if you and I are to jog on comfortably together. You shall hear at once what sort of folk the Browns are, at least my branch of them; and then, if you don't like the sort, why cut the concern at once, and let you and I cry quits before either of us can grumble at the other.

"In the first place, the Browns are a fighting family. One may question their wisdom, or wit, or beauty, but about their fight there can be no question. Wherever hard knocks of any kind, visible or invisible, are going, there the Brown who is nearest must shove in his carcase. And these carcases for the most part answer very well to the characteristic propensity: they are a square-headed and snake-necked generation, broad in the shoulder, deep in the chest, and thin in the flank, carrying no lumber. Then for clanship, they are as bad as Highlanders; it is amazing the belief they have in one another. With them there is nothing like the Browns, to the third and fourth generation. "Blood is thicker than water," is one of their pet sayings. They can't be happy unless they are always meeting one another. Never were such people for family gatherings, which, were you a stranger, or sensitive, you might think had better not have been gathered together. For during the whole time of their being together, they luxuriate in telling one another their minds on whatever subject turns up; and their minds are wonderfully antagonist, and all their opinions are downright beliefs. Till you've been among them some time and understand them, you can't think but that they are quarrelling. Not a bit of it; they love and respect one another ten times the more after a good set family arguing bout, and go back, one to his curacy, another to his chambers, and another to

his regiment, freshened for work, and more than ever convinced that the Browns are the height of company."

This spirit eminently influenced Rugby during Arnold's time. The merchants of Liverpool, the manufacturers of Manchester, bankers, brewers, and professional men, these sent their sons in hundreds, till the school flooded over; but of "swells" there were but few, of whom one—the present Lord Stanley, may be claimed for the purposes of this article, being the deservedly popular President of the India Board, or rather, Secretary of State for India, and arbiter of our destinies. There went a story, true or well invented, how the highest-placed and loveliest of England's duchesses had come down to Rugby, entered the Doctor's study, thrown herself at his feet, and with dishevelled hair and broken accents, implored him to admit her eldest son as a pupil in the school. "Madam," so the reply ran in school-boy phrase, "my school is for another class, the Marquis and my boys would spoil one another," and he bowed out her weeping Grace. This is a little inconsistent with the young Stanley's admission; but its very currency shews what was the feeling.

So far as the glorification of the middle class goes, the scope of Tom Brown shall not be meddled with here. Mr. Parker's thrilling story of the "Empire of the Middle Classes" ought not to be so soon forgot; if Anglo-Indians have a spark of partriotism for their second country—she who gives them food and clothing, and a field of honor denied by the land of their birth—it will be linked with pride in their class, and sympathy for a great middle-class school: the slight strain of something akin to cant in its pages, here and there, is less agreeable, but must be fairly exhibited in extracts from the book, if the book is to be fairly represented.

We have said that the beginning is taken up with the hero's early training. Ninety-six pages are so occupied; and it is only when we land him at Rugby, that we feel the real interest of the book to begin. The school and school-house foot-ball match is capitally described, and fairly launches Tom on the Microcosm:—

"There is a slight move forward of the school-house wings; a shout of "Are you ready?" and loud affirmative reply. Old Brooke takes half-a-dozen quick steps, and away goes the ball spinning towards the School goal; seventy yards before it touches ground, and at no point above twelve or fifteen feet high, a model kick-off; and the School-house cheer and rush on; the ball is returned, and they meet it and drive it back amongst the masses of the School already in motion. Then the two sides close, and you can see nothing for minutes but a swaying crowd of boys, at one point violently agitated. That is

where the ball is, and there are the keen players to be met, and the glory and the hard knocks to be got: you hear the dull thud thud of the ball, and the shouts of "Off your side," "Down with him," "Put him over," "Bravo." This is what we call a scrummage, gentlemen, and the first scrummage in a School-house match was no joke in the consulship of Plancus.

"But see! it has broken; the ball is driven out on the School-house side, and a rush of the School carries it past the School-house players-up. "Look out in quarters," Brooke's and twenty other voices ring out; no need to call tho', the School-house captain of quarters has caught it on the bound, dodges the foremost School-boys, who are heading the rush, and sends it back with a good drop-kick well into the enemy's country. And then follows rush upon rush, and scrummage upon scrummage, the ball now driven through into the School-house quarters, and now into the School goal; for the School-house have not lost the advantage which the kick-off and a slight wind gave them at the outset, and are slightly "penning" their adversaries. You say, you don't see much in it all; nothing but a struggling mass of boys, and a leather ball, which seems to excite them all to great fury, as a red rag does a bull. My dear sir, a battle would look much the same to you, except that the boys would be men, and the balls iron; but a battle would be worth your looking at for all that, and so is a foot-ball match. You can't be expected to appreciate the delicate strokes of play, the turns by which a game is lost and won,—it takes an old player to do that, but the broad philosophy of foot-ball you can understand if you will. Come along with me a little nearer, and let us consider it together.

"The ball has just fallen again where the two sides are thickest, and they close rapidly around it in a scrummage; it must be driven through now by force or skill, till it flies out on one side or the other. Look how differently the boys face it! Here come two of the bull-dogs, bursting through the outsiders; in they go, straight to the heart of the scrummage, bent on driving that ball out on the opposite side. That is what they mean to do. My sons, my sons! you are too hot; you have gone past the ball, and must struggle now right through the scrummage, and get round and back again to your own side, before you can be of any further use. Here comes young Brooke; he goes in as straight as you, but keeps his head, and backs and bends, holding himself still behind the ball, and driving it furiously when he gets the chance. Take a leaf out of his book, you young chargers. Here comes Speedicut, and Flashman the School-house bully, with shouts and great action. Won't you two come up to young Brooke, after locking up, by the School-house fire, with "Old fellow, wasn't that just a splendid scrummage by the three trees!" But he knows you, and so do we. You don't really want to drive that ball through that scrummage, chancing all hurt for the glory of the School-house—but to make us think that's what you want—a vastly different thing; and fellows of your kidney will never go through more than the skirts of a scrummage, where it's all push and no kicking. We respect boys

who keep out of it, and don't sham going in ; but you—we had rather not say what we think of you.

"Then the boys who are bending and watching on the outside, mark them—they are most useful players, the dodgers : who seize on the ball the moment it rolls out from amongst the chargers, and away with it across to the opposite goal ; they seldom go into the scrummage, but must have more coolness than the chargers : as endless as are boys' characters, so are their ways of facing or not facing a scrummage at foot-ball.

"Three-quarters of an hour are gone ; first winds are failing, and weight and numbers beginning to tell. Yard by yard the School-house have been driven back, contesting every inch of ground. The bull-dogs are the colour of mother earth from shoulder to ankle, except young Brooke, who has a marvellous knack of keeping his legs. The School-house are being penned in their turn, and now the ball is behind their goal, under the Doctor's wall. The Doctor and some of his family are there looking on, and seem as anxious as any boy for the success of the School-house. We get a minute's breathing time before old Brooke kicks out, and he gives the word to play strongly for touch, by the three trees. Away goes the ball, and the bull-dogs after it, and in another minute there is a shout of "In touch," "Our ball." Now's your time, old Brooke, while your men are still fresh. He stands with the ball in his hand, while the two sides form in deep lines opposite one another : he must strike it straight out between them. The lines are thickest close to him, but young Brooke and two or three of his men are shifting up further, where the opposite line is weak. Old Brooke strikes it out straight and strong, and it falls opposite his brother. Hurra ! that rush has taken it right through the School-line, and away past the three trees, far into their quarters, and young Brooke and the bull-dogs are close upon it. The School leaders rush back shouting "Look out in goal," and strain every nerve to catch him, but they are after the fleetest foot in Rugby. There they go straight for the School goal-posts, quarters scattering before them. One after another the bull-dogs go down, but young Brooke holds on. "He is down." No ! a long stagger, but the danger is past ; that was the shock of Crew, the most dangerous of dodgers. And now he is close to the School goal, the ball not three yards before him. There is a hurried rush of the School fags to the spot, but no one throws himself on the ball, the only chance, and young Brooke has touched it right under the School goal-posts.

"The School leaders come up furious, and administer toco to the wretched fags nearest at hand ; they may well be angry, for it is all Lombard-street to a China orange that the School-house kick a goal with the ball touched in such a good place. Old Brooke of course will kick it out, but who shall catch and place it ? Call Crab Jones. Here he comes, sauntering along with a straw in his mouth, the queerest, coolest fish in Rugby : if he were tumbled into the moon this minute, he would just pick himself up without taking his hands out of his pockets or turning a hair. But it is a moment when the boldest

charger's heart beats quick. Old Brooke stands with the ball under his arm motioning the School back ; he will not kick-out till they are all in goal, behind the posts ; they are all edging forwards, inch by inch, to get nearer for the rush at Crab Jones, who stands there in front of old Brooke to catch the ball. If they can reach and destroy him before he catches, the danger is over ; and with one and the same rush they will carry it right away to the School-house goal. Fond hope ! it is kicked out and caught beautifully. Crab strikes his heel into the ground, to mark the spot where the ball was caught, beyond which the school line may not advance ; but there they stand, five deep, ready to rush the moment the ball touches the ground. Take plenty of room ! don't give the rush a chance of reaching you ! place it true and steady ! Trust Crab Jones—he has made a small hole with his heel for the ball to lie on, by which he is resting on one knee, with his eye on old Brooke. "Now !" Crab places the ball at the word, old Brooke kicks, and it rises slowly and truly as the School rush forward.

"Then a moment's pause, while both sides look up at the spinning ball. There it flies, straight between the two posts, some five feet above the cross-bar, an unquestioned goal ; and a shout of real genuine joy rings out from the School-house players up, and a faint echo of it comes over the close from the goal-keepers under the Doctor's wall. A goal in the first hour —such a thing hasn't been done in the School-house match this five years."

Our next extract is not quite so pleasing. There has been singing in the School-house hall, and "old Brooke, the cock of 'the house," wishes to improve the occasion in a farewell speech, before taking leave of them; he is going to quit School for the University. Passing over an eulogium on the beer provided for supper, which is utterly opposed to our personal recollections, we come to this :—

"And mind now, I say again, look out for squalls, if you will go your own way, and that way ain't the Doctor's, for it'll lead to grief. You all know that I'm not the fellow to back a Master through thick and thin. If I saw him stopping foot-ball, or cricket, or bathing, or sparing, I'd be as ready as any fellow to stand up about it. But he don't—he encourages them ; didn't you see him out to-day for half-an-hour watching us ?" (loud cheers for the Doctor ;) "and he's a strong true man, and a wise one too, and a public-school man too." (cheers.) "And so let's stick to him, and talk no more rot, and drink his health as the head of the house." (Loud cheers.) "And now I've done blowing up, and very glad I am to have done. But it's a solemn thing to be thinking of leaving a place which one has lived in and loved for eight years ; and if one can say a word for the good of the old house at such a time, why, it should be said, whether bitter or sweet. If I hadn't been proud of the house and you—aye, no one knows how proud—I shouldn't be blowing you up. And now let's get to singing. But before I sit down I must give you a toast to be

drunk with three-times-three and all the honors. It's a toast which I hope every one of us, wherever he may go hereafter, will never fail to drink, when he thinks of the brave bright days of his boyhood. It's a toast which should bind us all together, and to those who've gone before, and who'll come after us here. It is the dear old School-house—the best house of the best school in England!"

It may fairly be doubted whether such a speech would have been ventured upon at Rugby at all in those early days; much less received with "rapturous applause;" but it was necessary to shew the boys in their conventional character of incipient Bishop Selwyns, combining the utmost amount of out-doorishness and pluck, with strong manifestations of holiness and devout contemplation; a mixture, as has been remarked, of "Bell's Life," and the "Whole Duty of Man," a doubling of the parts of St. Francis Xavier, and the Clerk of Copmanhurst. This is the model Arnold boy, and, when found, should certainly be taken a note of; only there are not many of them the things being, for the most part, incompatible. We can call to mind many giants at foot-ball and at cricket; many whose studious and sober youth gave promise of a useful (if somewhat priggish) manhood; but we cannot remember more than three instances of men who, in any great degree, united the two. Meanwhile we must pass on with Tom's adventures, not mis-stating, nor undervaluing what is really an extraordinary result, if the combination has been even partly produced as it undoubtedly has. Tom goes to chapel, and the event happens to him which was to many so important, "the first sermon from the Doctor:"

"More worthy pens than mine have described that scene. The oak pulpit standing out by itself above the School seats. The tall gallant form, the kindling eye, the voice, now soft as the low notes of a flute, now clear and stirring as the call of the light infantry bugle, of him who stood there Sunday after Sunday, witnessing and pleading for his Lord, the King of righteousness and love and glory, with whose spirit he was filled, and in whose power he spoke. The long lines of young faces, rising tier above tier down the whole length of the chapel, from the little boy's who had just left his mother, to the young man's who was going out next week into the great world rejoicing in his strength. It was a great and solemn sight, and never more so than at this time of year, when the only lights in the chapel were in the pulpit and at the seats of the præpostors of the week, and the soft twilight stole over the rest of the chapel, deepening into darkness in the high gallery behind the organ.

"But what was it after all which seized and held these three hundred boys, dragging them out of themselves, willing or unwilling, for twenty minutes, on Sunday afternoons? True, there always were boys scattered up and down the School, who in heart and head were

worthy to hear and able to carry away the deepest and wisest words there spoken. But these were a minority always, generally a very small one, often so small a one as to be countable on the fingers of your hand. What was it that moved and held us, the rest of the three hundred reckless childish boys, who feared the Doctor with all our hearts, and very little besides in heaven or earth: who thought more of our sets in the School than of the Church of Christ, and put the traditions of Rugby and the public opinion of boys in our daily life above the laws of God? We couldn't enter into half that we heard; we hadn't the knowledge of our own hearts or the knowledge of one another; and little enough of the faith, hope, and love needed to that end. But we listened, as all boys in their better moods will listen (aye, and men too for the matter of that,) to a man who we felt to be, with all his heart and soul and strength, striving against whatever was mean and unmanly and unrighteous in our little world. It was not the cold clear voice of one giving advice and warning from serene heights to those who were struggling and sinning below, but the warm living voice of one who was fighting for us and by our sides, and calling on us to help him and ourselves and one another. And so, wearily and little by little, but surely and steadily on the whole, was brought home to the young boy, for the first time, the meaning of his life: that it was no fool's or sluggard's paradise into which he had wandered by chance, but a battle-field ordained from of old, where there are no spectators, but the youngest must take his side, and the stakes are life and death. And he who roused this consciousness in them, showed them at the same time, by every word he spoke in the pulpit, and by his whole daily life, how that battle was to be fought; and stood there before them their fellow-soldier and the captain of their band. The true sort of captain, too, for a boy's army, one who had no mis-givings and gave no uncertain word of command, and, let who would yield or make truce, would fight the fight out (so every boy felt) to the last gasp and the last drop of blood. Other sides of his character might take hold of and influence boys here and there, but it was this thoroughness and undaunted courage, which more than anything else won his way to the hearts of the great mass of those on whom he left his mark, and made them believe first in him, and then in his Master.

"It was this quality above all others which moved such boys as our hero, who had nothing whatever remarkable about him except excess of boyishness; by which I mean animal life in its fullest measure, good nature and honest impulses, hatred of injustice and meanness, and thoughtlessness enough to sink a three-decker. And so, during the next two years, in which it was more than doubtful whether he would get good or evil from the School, and before any steady purpose or principle grew up in him, whatever his week's sins and shortcomings might have been, he hardly ever left the chapel on Sunday evenings without a serious resolve to stand by and follow the Doctor, and a feeling that it was only cowardice (the incarnation of all other sins in such a boy's mind) which hindered him from doing so with all his heart."

This is, we think, very fine, an almost unique description of a good man's teaching. And we note this, once more, of Arnold, that it is the great moral weight of his nature that does such wonders, and raises that curious Tuck-Xavier ideal, so useful as a standard even to those who have fallen—alas! how short.

Next is very naturally described how the animal vivacity of a boy's nature, and the vulgarizing influence of average boys' company, gradually bring Tom into bad habits. Perhaps he is never quite bad enough, but then glimpses are given of much worse boys; and poor Tom gets flogged more than once, and is on the eve of being "sent away."

And this brings us to a salient peculiarity of Arnold's system, which has been already spoken of speculatively; his stern and saintly soul shrank from sin and irreverence, but unhappily he wanted the knowledge of mankind (to be derived from experience no less than from genial sympathy of nature) which might have taught him to distinguish levity of youth and spirit, from the rooted cynicism so unlikely to be found in boyhood; and the natural lawlessness of an undisciplined lad, from the deliberate villainy of unprincipled egotism. Literally, every one with him was good or devil; a boy, not good after the Arnold pattern, was "a source of evil in the school," and to remove him from his sphere of bad activity was casting out of Satan. The word "natural" was used above; Arnold objected to nature, she was too spontaneous for him; the following clever but one-sided passage is one among many which occurs in his school sermons:—

"The questions become of exceeding interest, whether the change from childhood to manhood can be hastened, and how far it ought to be hastened. That it ought to be hastened appears to me to be clear; hastened, I mean, from what it is actually, because in this respect we do not grow in general fast enough; and the danger of overgrowth is, therefore, small. Besides, when change of one sort is going on very rapidly; when the limbs are growing, and the bones knitting more firmly, when the strength of bodily endurance, as well as of bodily activity, is daily becoming greater; it is self-evident that, if the inward changes, which ought to accompany these outward ones, are making no progress, there cannot but be derangement and deformity in the system. And therefore, when I look around, I cannot but wish that the change from childhood to manhood in the three great points of wisdom, of unselfishness, and of thoughtfulness, might be hastened from its actual rate of progress in most instances."

Mr. Dickens' works are not free from faults perhaps. One may not always like the party-tone, the sneers at riches and "respectability," the tendency to see nothing but good in the

Nazareths of Seven Dials and Whitechapel; but surely the following, from another school sermon, is a very harsh estimate of this great master of smiles and tears, this benevolent painter of humble struggles, this sympathetic annalist of the poor. A great cause, it is stated, of comparative failure in the school is this:—

"The works of amusement published only a few years since were comparatively few in number; they were less exciting, and therefore less attractive; they were dearer, and therefore less accessible; and not being published periodically, they did not occupy the mind for so long a time, nor keep alive so constant an expectation; nor by thus dwelling upon the mind, and distilling themselves into it as it were drop by drop, did they possess it so largely, colouring even in many instances, its very language, and affording frequent matter for conversation."

If Tom Brown had been at any other house but the School-house, he would probably have been sent away. The system ill-brooked the resistance of human nature; but there was still another remedy remaining for his particular case; he could be asked to tea with Mr. Arnold, and a chance given to the possible good points in his unsystematic character, by being taken from his companion in license, Harry East, and associated with a new boy of whom he would have to take care. Fortunate Brown to be a School-house boy! Mr. Arnold is represented (not unfairly we feel) throughout the book, in a far more amiable light than that in which he appeared to the school at large; there were two sets only who came under the great and good teacher's personal influence, and the testimony of both is all but unanimous as to the love and gentleness of which he was capable; one was that of the sixth form or præpostors, who were, as we have seen, Arnold's middlemen between Masters and boys, and who had large privileges, power, and responsibilities, the other the inmates of the School-house, who stood towards him in the relation of private pupils. But to the outsides he was the source of punishment, the stern presence darkening the class-room of each form once a month, and sometimes the unsympathising purist, who got rid of a boy he could not understand. This second side is always to be borne in view, if we would form a just estimate of Arnold's character—indeed without it he would have been, what no man ever was, perfect; and Rugby boys would have commanded all the prizes of life that are open to merit. Looking back, no doubt, we should like to think we all formed willing members of a system so excellent in theory; and the real hero-worshipper will give but small share of the blame to the Doctor; but in practice Tom Brown—we remember the rogue well—was far from a favorite with his austere Master.

To pursue the slight thread of master Tom's story: George Arthur, his new chum, is a perfect boy, gentle but brave, a victorious scholar, but an excellent cricketer; who revolutionizes the house, by introducing private prayer and Bible-reading, and gradually eliminates the use of "cribs" and "vulgus-books." The nature of this latter species of steps to Parnassus, is thus humorously described by our author:—

"At Rugby vulgus and lines were the first lesson every other day in the week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; and as there were thirty-eight weeks in the school year, it is obvious to the meanest capacity that the Master of each form had to set one hundred and fourteen subjects every year, two hundred and twenty-eight every two years, and so on. Now to persons of moderate invention this was a considerable task, and human nature being prone to repeat itself, it will not be wondered that the Masters gave the same subjects sometimes over again, after a certain lapse of time. To meet and rebuke this bad habit of the Masters, the school-boy mind, with its accustomed ingenuity, had invented an elaborate system of tradition. Almost every boy kept his own vulgus written out in a book, and these books were duly handed down from boy to boy, till (if the tradition has gone on till now) I suppose the popular boys, in whose hands bequeathed vulgus-books have accumulated, are prepared with three or four vulguses on any subject in heaven or earth, or in "more worlds than one," which an unfortunate Master can pitch upon. At any rate, such lucky fellows had generally one for themselves and one for a friend in my time. The only objection to the traditionary method of doing your vulguses was, the risk that the successions might have become confused, and so that you and another follower of traditions should show up the same identical vulgus some fine morning; in which case, when it happened, considerable grief was the result—but when did such risk hinder boys or men from short cuts and pleasant paths?"

In the protection of his young client, Tom gets into a fight with a boy at another house, the houses being almost as distinct as, and more antagonistic than, rival colleges at Cambridge or Oxford. This is described with great accuracy and spirit, except that the injuries and results of the conflict are a little toned down. Does any one remember the fight between O—b—r and dignity J—n—s, both School-house boys, in which one of the combatants was stunned, and both "staid out" for near six weeks? But the concluding remarks are admirable, both for spirit and expression:—

"And now, boys all, three words before we quit the subject. I have put in this chapter on fighting of malice prepense, partly because I want to give you a true picture of what every-day school life was in my time, and not a kid-glove and go-to-meeting-coat picture; and partly because of the cant and twaddle that's talked of boxing and fighting with fists now-a-day. Even Thackeray has given in to it;

and only a few weeks ago there was some rampart stuff in the 'Times' on the subject, in an article on field sports."

"Boys will quarrel, and when they quarrel will sometimes fight. Fighting with fists is the natural and English way for English boys to settle their quarrels. What substitute for it is there, or ever was there, amongst any nation under the sun? What would you like to see take its place?

"Learn to box, then, as you learn to play cricket and foot-ball. No one of you will be the worse, but very much the better for learning to box well. Should you never have to use it in earnest, there's no exercise in the world so good for the temper, and for the muscles of the back and legs.

"As to fighting, keep out of it if you can, by all means. When the time comes, if it ever should, that you have to say "Yes" or "No" to a challenge to fight, say "No" if you can,—only take care you make it clear to yourselves why you say "No." It's a proof of the highest courage, if done from true Christian motives. It's quite right and justifiable, if done from a simple aversion to physical pain and danger. But don't say "No," because you fear a licking, and say or think it's because you fear God, for that's neither Christian nor honest. And if you do fight, fight it out; and don't give in while you can stand and see."

The fever is next described, no Rugbean of the time will forget it. Geordie Arthur (a Scotchman by his name) the perfect boy, gets it, as a matter of course, and, equally as a matter of course, recovers. This incident introduces a quantity of sentiment, not very suitable, we think; and which we do not think it necessary to extract. The rather improbable result being, to make Tom give up the use of "cribs" in the preparation of his lessons—a moot point of school and college morality to this day. But the abandonment of translations by such a boy as Tom, of average abilities only, and with a determination to avail himself of his athletic powers to the utmost, and "become A 1 in cricket and foot-ball," could never, we think, have led to his obtaining at the same time a high place in the school, as related in the story. The Agamemnon of Æschylus is the book principally mentioned, which Tom was to get up without the aid of the wisdom of his ancestors, but we find that the Knights of Aristophanes, and the great work of Thucydides also, occupied his unassisted attention, or as much of it as could be spared from the physical gymnastics of the Close. This will hardly do.

The story, such as it is, here abruptly ends with an exciting description of the cricket-match between the Rugby eleven and the Marylebone Club, during which the present Bishop of Calcutta is introduced; and the description of the enlightened and amiable prelate is capital. After the match Tom leaves school, a fine young man of nineteen; and is only again intro-

duced by way of comment on Arnold's premature and lamented death. At the opening of this Article we referred to the feelings which the sad event excited; these are well expressed in a touching description of Brown's visit to the chapel which sheltered the mortal remains of his revered teacher,—

"He passed through the vestibule, and then paused for a moment to glance over the empty benches. His heart was still proud and high, and he walked up to the seat which he had last occupied as a sixth-form boy, and sat himself down there to collect his thoughts.

"And, truth to tell, they needed collecting and setting in order not a little. The memories of eight years were all dancing through his brain, and carrying him about whither they would; while beneath them all, his heart was throbbing with the dull sense of a loss that could never be made up to him. The rays of the evening sun came solemnly through the painted windows above his head, and fell in gorgeous colours on the opposite wall, and the perfect stillness soothed his spirit by little and little. And he turned to the pulpit, and looked at it, and then leaning forward with his head on his hands, groaned, aloud, "If he could only have seen the Doctor again for one five minutes; have told him all that was in his heart, what he owed to him, how he loved and reverenced him, and would by God's help follow his steps in life and death, he could have borne it all without a murmur. But that he should have gone away for ever without knowing it all, was too much to bear."——"But am I sure that he does not know it all?"—the thought made him start—"May he not even now be near me, in this very chapel? If he be, am I sorrowing as he would have me sorrow—as I should wish to have sorrowed when I shall meet him again?"

"He raised himself up and looked round; and after a minute rose and walked humbly down to the lowest bench, and sat down on the very seat which he had occupied on his first Sunday at Rugby. And then the old memories rushed back again, but softened and subdued, and soothing him as he let himself be carried away by them. And he looked up at the great painted window above the altar, and remembered how, when a little boy, he used to try not to look through it at the elm-trees and the rooks, before the painted glass came—and the subscription for the painted glass, and the letter he wrote home for money to give to it. And there, down below, was the very name of the boy who sat on his right hand on that first day, scratched rudely in the oak panelling.

"And then came the thought of all his old school-fellows; and form after form of boys, nobler, and braver, and purer than he, rose up and seemed to rebuke him. Could he not think of them, and what they had felt and were feeling, they who had honoured and loved from the first, the man whom he had taken years to know and love? Could he not think of those yet dearer to him who was gone, who bore his name and shared his blood, and were now without a husband or a father? Then the grief which he began to share with others became gentle and holy, and he rose up once more, and walked

up the steps to the altar; and while the tears flowed freely down his cheeks, knelt down humbly and hopefully, to lay down there his share of a burden which had proved itself too heavy for him to bear in his own strength."

And so, he, being dead, yet speaketh. Many and many an Englishman, whose dull eye failed to see the warm human heart beating beneath the harsh exterior, whose sordid senses responded not to the presence of a pure-minded servant of God, when he was there; many such have since, no doubt, studying him in his life and works, learned to follow his love of truth, his dauntless devotion to duty. The concluding paragraph admirably sums up what they must feel on this subject:—

"And let us not be hard on him, if at that moment his soul is fuller of the tomb and him who lies there, than of the altar and him of whom it speaks. Such stages have to be gone through, I believe, by all young and brave souls, who must win their way through hero-worship, to the worship of him who is the King and Lord of heroes. For it is only through our mysterious human relationships, through the love and tenderness and purity of mothers, and sisters, and wives, through the strength and courage and wisdom of fathers, and brothers, and teachers, that we can come to the knowledge of Him, in whom alone the love, and the tenderness, and the purity, and the strength, and the courage, and the wisdom of all these dwell for ever and ever in perfect fulness."

It has been hinted above that Arnold's influence is peculiarly felt in India. The Services in India are recruited from the gentry of England; and the working-men of the Services are chiefly men who were at school from twenty-five to fifteen years ago. Arnold died in June 1842; and thus a vast number of his pupils have had their share in the affairs of India during the past few years. More especially during the hell-flood of 1857—in which some have been swept away—has it been theirs to play the man, in a manner often not unworthy of their sainted Master. In the civil service we have Mr. Seton Karr an able writer and official; Mr. John Walter Sherer, who, escaping with life from the insurrection at Futtehpore, accompanied Havelock's 'band of heroes' on its avenging march, and has held his dangerous post at Cawnpore ever since—the most agreeable of companions, and one of the most original and graceful writers whom India has produced. The accomplished secretary to the Punjab Government, Mr. Richard Temple; Mr. H. G. Keene of Dehra; Mr. R. M. Edward, of Mozuffurnugger; Mr. T. D. Forsyth, who held the helm at Umballa during the disturbances; poor Henry Brereton, the ablest of detectives, and quencher of Thuggee in the Punjab; P. S. Melvill, a most able district officer; A. J. Ar-

buthnot, Director of Post Offices in Madras; the late clever private Secretary of Lord Elphinstone, Mr. Adams; together with Messrs. Forbes, C. Grant, junior, and H. R. Madocks, are among the instances which occur to our recollection.

The army comprises, amongst others, the late gallant cavalry leader and accomplished linguist, William Hodson; Charley Sanford of the (late) 3rd Bengal Cavalry, the victim near Lucknow of a petty fortress and a dubious hand, but one of the boldest, most accomplished, gentlest of cavaliers; Capt. Luther Vaughan, the well-known Punjabee leader; "Georgy" Allgood, the best rider in India; Major Thelwald of H. M. 24th, now Commandant of a Punjab corps; Mark Currie, of the artillery; Major Thompson, Commanding the Governor General's Body-Guard; and David Newall of the Artillery, the readiest Latin verse-writer of his time.

In the educational department the name of William D. Arnold, the author of the cleverest book on Indian Society that has ever been published—OAKFIELD—occurs at once, as a possessor of the hereditary mantle of moral fearlessness. Mr. H. Woodrow, the Inspector in Bengal, is also well and favorably known in this department. The Rev. T. V. French, of the Church Missionary Society, is perhaps as devoted a servant of Christ as ever trode on heathen land; and his noble exposure of his own life during the disastrous retreat into the Agra fort—which place of safety he refused to enter until he had lodged there his trembling flock of native Christians—actually carrying in many of the children in his own arms, is a spectacle, not often realized, of a shepherd bearing in his bosom his lambs, even his *black lambs*. We have already alluded to the present Bishop of Calcutta, and to Lord Stanley, so happily now connected with India.

O! if there be a right-minded but faint-hearted servant of God, who reads these humble records, whose weak flesh but ill supports the willing spirit in a career of usefulness, whose faith perhaps is overgrown with formalism, his hope clouded with despondence, and his love shackled by sensitiveness; let him look at these fruits of one man's earnest labor, and take heart. Let him learn that it is not to the dialectician, or to the scholar alone, that such influence is accorded; but to the fond and faithful spirit, the heart devoid of guile, the prayerful courage which says in the words of the noble Scottish race, "God only I fear."

These qualities cannot be denied to Arnold, even by those who are most sensible of the flaws in his system. We have not sought to gloss these over; but it is humbly submitted that many, perhaps most of them, had their share in producing the results shewn. Not only in Arnold's best scholars,

not only in Rugby men, is his influence manifested; the great moral force of this excellent man tells in every direction; it has revolutionized public school management throughout England; it has raised an ideal of manly worth; it has communicated principles of exertion to men, who were always grieving his righteous heart while they were under him, and to men who were never personally connected with him at all. And our children's children, aye, perhaps the children's children of these apparently God-forgotten Asiatics by whom we are now surrounded, may have few greater causes of thankfulness to Almighty Providence, than that he raised up, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, such a teacher as Thomas Arnold.

It is right to say a word in reference to the new Preface, which has appeared since this Article was commenced. It consists of two parts; the former containing a long letter by a friend of the author on "bullying"—a point on which he thinks enough stress has not been laid in the chronicle of Tom Brown's School-days. He suggests, as a remedy, the separation of boys of different ages into different schools in different localities; so that boys of ten years old shall not be associated with boys of fifteen, and the sports and pursuits suitable to each age shall be appropriated accordingly. Now, it is very true that very young boys at Rugby were, under Arnold, rather oddly deprived by the custom of the school, of the games best adapted to their strength and habits. Marbles, peg-tops, trap-bat, rounders, and prisoners' base, all good games in their way, were entirely proscribed at Rugby; and the only games ever played were cricket, foot-ball, fives, and hare and hounds. But this pedantry was unnecessary, and the Masters could have done away with it. On the other hand, another correspondent to whom the author must have shewn the letter referred to, truly objects that the real bully is often younger than his victim; that Masters have a good deal of power without the introduction of "sneaking" habits among the boys; and omits to mention that, if the separation recommended were possible, it would be an unnatural deviation from the practice of Providence, and the analogies of life.

An accomplished friend of the present writer, speaking from experience as Master, and also as pupil, thus expresses himself:—

"My opinion always was, that people blessed with such ἄδωρα
' δῶρα as precociously sensitive boys, had much better not
' plunge them into a boisterous sea of school boys, about as
' politic a proceeding as pitching a brat off London Bridge
' to take his chance of getting to a wharf..... As to outrageous

'bullying, such as the roasting scene in 'Tom Brown,' that 'must be partly the fault of those in authority, and very often 'the fault of the sufferer himself..... My receipt against 'bullying (*bien entendu* that very thin-skinned little fellows 'should not be sent at all to a public school) would be to 'encourage manly games as much as possible, a point in which 'I believe Dr. Arnold failed.* And as to long winter evenings, 'if the boys have jolly games outside, they will have plenty 'to talk about inside."

The other part of the Preface is taken up with a defence, (perhaps almost superfluous) against a charge of "preaching," which it seems, has been brought against the author. As an open Kingsleyite, it is the author's "mission" to preach; and the words with which he concludes form an eloquent summary and justification of the serious tone of some of the writing in Tom Brown, and of the similar character often urged as an objection to the Rugbeans of Arnold's time generally—"I 'won't say that the reviewers have not a certain plausible 'ground for their dicta. For a short time after a boy has 'taken up such a life as Arnold would have urged upon 'him, he has a hard time of it. The more seriously he buckles 'to his work, the oftener these mischances seem to happen; 'and in the dust of his tumbles and struggles, unless he is a 'very extraordinary boy, he may often be too severe on his 'comrades, may think he sees evil in things innocent, may give 'offence when he never meant it. At this stage of his career 'our reviewer comes across him, and ... at once sets the poor 'boy down for a prig and a Pharisee, when in all likelihood he 'is one of the humblest of the reviewer's acquaintance.

"But let our reviewer come across him again in a year or 'two, when the 'thoughtful life' has become habitual to him, 'and fits him as easily as his skin; and if he be honest, I think 'he will see cause to reconsider his judgment, for he will find the 'boy grown into a man, enjoying every day life, as no man can, 'who has not found out whence comes the capacity for enjoyment, and who is the Giver of the least of the good things of 'this world—humble as no man can be, who has not proved his 'own powerlessness to do right in the smallest act which he 'ever had to do—tolerant, as no man can be, who does not live 'daily and hourly in the knowledge of how Perfect Love is for 'ever about his path, and bearing with and upholding him." Of course all Arnold's boys did not become all this; but it is his peculiar glory to have *created the ideal.*

* The few games studied at Rugby actually became a science, and helped to drive many boys into idle habits; this is an undoubted fact.

ART. VII.—1. *Statistics of Cawnpore.* BY R. MONTGOMERY, C. S.

2. *Report on the 24-Pergunnahs.* BY MAJOR RALPH SMYTH. *Calcutta.* 1857.

3. *Alarer Ghorer Dulal.* BY TEKCHAND THAKUR.

IN the fifteen years during which this Review has been before the public, there are few topics which have not been treated of in its pages. Few salient points in either Indian literature, or Indian history, or Indian politics, have remained entirely unnoticed. Many subjects have been considered from more than one point of view, until we fear the patience of our readers must be exhausted. Thus, we have had India in Provinces, and India in Departments; articles on kingdoms as they were, and on kingdoms as they should be: on the causes that should lead to annexation, and on the effects of annexation duly carried out; articles on all the principal sources of our revenue, and on the land tax, as it appears under its different modes of realisation, and with all its striking features, of village, ryotwary, and zemindarry settlements. We have had reviews of books, and reviews of biographies; we have had criticisms on the works of travellers, who have speculated in Diaries, and in Tours and Bird's-eye views, on some of the most complicated problems ever presented for the solution of the statesman. The condition of the police, the administration of justice, the deficiencies of the law, have been thoroughly dissected and laid bare. Enquiries have been pushed even into the purlieus of great cities, into hill sanataria, into the physically unhealthy condition of masses of the population, and into the mineral treasures that lie concealed beneath the earth. In short, we have had articles on almost every conceivable subject, that could interest the scholar, the reformer, or the mere Dilettante. From their self-importance many matters will require to be cut and carved again and again; and from the gradual changes in public opinion alone, it may be necessary from time to time regularly to pass in review the working of particular systems, or the condition of important branches of the public service. What a vast field for enquiry is now presented, by the disordered state of our finances, the re-organisation of a moderate native army of some kind or other, and the re-establishment of security and order over districts, where the fiends of rapine and lawlessness have been for months let loose! What room for an elaborate paper on the expected pacification, and settlement of Oude! How many

interesting theories may be either established or exploded by the comparison of swift, summary, and pro-consular government, with government by acts and regulations, alarming statements on paper, repeated checks, and never-ending appeals! There is no limit, just now, to variety of subject-matter or to shades of opinion. In this paper, however, our researches will be confined within a narrower bound. We shall endeavour to engage the attention of our readers not on a new army, or a newly subjugated kingdom, not even on a "fertile but neglected" district, nor on an ancient Hindu or Mohammedan capital, nor on any one remarkable tribe or number of communities, but on *a village*. What the Presidency is to India, what a province is to a Presidency, what a district is to a province, that, obviously, is a village to a district. We do not mean an imaginary village, combining the characteristics of half a dozen, skilfully dovetailed together. But to be precise, we beg our readers to follow us through two real villages, one composed entirely of Hindus, the other almost as entirely of Mohammedans. We shall say something on the trades, occupations, and social position of almost each one of the adult inhabitants of either; on their discomforts or comforts and peculiarities; on their land tenures, and, as far as they can be entered into by Europeans, on their feelings and hopes.

We commence with the village inhabited by Mohammedans. We should state that both villages are situated within half a mile of each other; that, with regard to advantages of position, climate, and convenience, they are not unfavourably situated, being only two miles from a large station, and that in them are to be found specimens of ryots of all kinds, from substantial *grihasts* and thrifty husbandmen, to those who from ill-luck or carelessness are living, literally, from hand to mouth. These two villages are average villages, not teeming with *pucka* houses, nor mere collections of fishermen's hovels, and they may be the more instructive from the very contrast of particular cases of well-being, and of downright poverty. The Mohammedan village is named, with the usual recourse to a high sounding nomenclature, "the Seat of Prosperity;" the Hindu village is "the City of Fortune." We do not pretend to give an accurate census of every man, woman, and child in either, or to describe the entire fortunes of every single individual in the two villages—but we are in a position to give a fair outline of each distinct house or *bari*. This word, be it observed, has with the native often a distinct meaning from the word *ghur*. The latter is, simply, a house, with its raised mud floor, its bamboo posts, and

its thatch of straw. The *bari* is both home, family, and residence. To speak correctly there may be a dozen houses in one and the same *bari*. Men may live in the same *bari*, but with huts or houses (*ghur*), arrangements for cooking, eating and sleeping, entirely distinct. Our village, then, to be described on this principle, will be gone through by numbering each *bari* in succession, as No. 1 to No. 50, with such particulars of the number of houses or huts visible in each, and of the occupations and trades followed by the principal inhabitants, as we have been able to collect after a series of somewhat minute and careful enquiries. Afterwards we shall enter on such generalities as may seem fitted to illustrate the condition of the ryot. But we invite our readers, first, to visit him quietly at home, and pick up a few particulars of each man's biography.

No. 1, at the corner of the village, is a good sample of a poor hard-working man, just one degree above positive indigence. He himself, wife, and three children, live in one single house. His three cows, which are all his stock, live in a mere shed with open sides, close by. His *jumma* or assessed holding is three rupees a year, and the land gives him a few plantains, some pumpkins and a little rice. Owing to the smallness of his tenure he lives by working as a day-labourer, by digging, planting, building, weeding, or mending fences, at the bidding of any one who may hire him at from seven to nine pyce a day.

No. 2 is a specimen of a similar kind. He has one house, a wife and child, and *no* cattle of any sort. His *jumma* is two rupees eight annas a year, consisting of garden-land fenced in, immediately round his dwelling. He has no rice ground at all. His sole means of subsistence is daily manual labour, eked out by the few bamboos, plantains, or mangoes, which may ripen in his garden. When not hired by any one in the village, he goes to the neighbouring bazar, which is not much more than two miles off, where he is pretty sure to pick up employment. His wife is powerless to aid him by any skill in handicraft, and remains at home to look after their one child and to cook the meals. Both Nos. 1 and 2 are genuine samples of scanty fare and constant hard work.

No. 3 is an individual of a better class. His property, consisting of two different *jummas* or holdings, amounting to twenty-three rupees a year, is held by him with his brother, jointly, although the two have ceased to mess in common. Both, however, still live in the same enclosure. The land consists of rice, vegetable garden, and date garden, the last portion having no less than 160 trees upon it. No.

3, himself, besides his *jumma*, has service as a chowkidar or watchman of the neighbouring station, for which he enjoys the advantage of drawing regularly four rupees a month. In consequence of this employment, he has to walk to his post every evening about seven and eight o'clock, to watch all night, to return in the morning, and to sleep as best he can during the day. His achievements, as a guardian of the public security, are limited to the capture of a thief or burglar, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment; the captor himself getting a reward of five rupees. His nightly employment preventing him from tillage, he keeps a servant throughout the year, paid at the usual rate of one rupee eight annas a month, in addition to food and clothing; and during the season for piercing the date trees for their juice, he keeps an extra servant for the rather limited remuneration of six rupees for the season, and food and clothing, for these items are almost inseparable from low pay. The joint tenure of property with his brother, goes, however, no farther than common responsibility for rent and the common sharing in any profits. Thus, No. 3 himself had five cows of his own, while his brother had only three. And the salary of the chowkidar's appointment is not carried to the common account, but kept rigidly separate for the payment of the servant above alluded to, and for other incidental expenses or pleasures. The tenure by which the man holds his *jumma* is simply that of a resident non-proprietary cultivator, with fixed rates of rent, not liable to be ejected as long as payment shall be punctually made. The party to whom he pays rent, we shall, for the present, term the middleman of the village, holding under the zemindars, though we believe the said middleman to be nothing else than the real proprietor of the soil, if such a person can be found and defined. No. 3 was admitted by the villagers and even by himself, to be a thriving individual with cause for contentment.

No. 4 is a married man with two children, and has two small *jummas*, one of two rupees fourteen annas, and the other of only fourteen annas. The first *jumma* had originally been one of nine rupees, but the two other brothers, who shared it, had been sold up for debt to the *mahajan*, and had emigrated: that is, had gone off to some village distant eight or ten miles. Village history says nothing of the fate of one of them, but the other had retrieved his fortunes in a surprising way, and had become the possessor of a considerable number of date trees. No. 4 himself is tenant proprietor of the first *jumma*, but only cultivator, not liable to sudden ejectment, of the second. Altogether, the two *jummas* were not more in space than five

beegahs, with a rate of rent of about one rupee a beegah. The land is rice-land or garden, but seemingly there is not enough of both or even of one, to require all the man's energies or to repay undivided attention to culture. There are no more than five date trees, a clump or two of bamboos, and some mangoe and plantain trees, and the rice-land cannot be above three beegahs. Consequently, No. 4 falls back on the resource of day-labour for hire, and may be taken as a good specimen of the condition of *hundreds* of ryots.

No. 5 is, in some respects, a remarkable character. He has a *jumma* of only Rs. 2-8 immediately round his dwelling, represented by garden land, bamboos, mangoe-trees, beds of gourds and the like. On this he has erected three exceedingly neat and well-built houses, in which himself and wife, his old mother, and his sister, with her husband and child, all manage to live. One house is set apart for cooking, and two are for sleeping. The history of this man was that, when a minor, he had had a *jumma* of ten rupees thrown on his hands in a village about four miles off, which *jumma* he was unable to manage. He left it and came to his brother-in-law, who was then living in a village about two miles from their present residence, and the two together are now settled in their present holding as simple cultivators with leases at fixed rates, by a very substantial tenant-proprietor, who owns a considerable part of the village. This said proprietor had also engaged No. 5 himself as servant, at the usual rate of Rs. 1-8, and food and clothing, and in this capacity he takes his meals in his master's house; and as occasion requires, he plasters the earthen floor, mends the thatch, cultivates the garden, and drives the plough. The brother-in-law has a situation as dawk-runner, on a cross-country-line, and is thus destined to a twelve mile stage in one direction or the other, every day of his life. On the days when he carries the outward mail, he cooks and sleeps in a small shed belonging to the Post Office establishment, where he has to keep a distinct set of cooking things; and to add to his difficulties, he is obliged to go two miles beyond his own door every day, either to take up or to deliver his post bag. His pay is Rs. 3-8 a month, and he can run in dry weather about five miles in the hour, keeping up this rate throughout, and we have repeatedly seen him so travelling, and accomplishing his stage in about two and half hours. In this way, during the old coaching days of England, did many a guard of the Tallyho or the High Flyer go regularly every day in the year, between the metropolis and some town a hundred and twenty miles down in the country. The brothers-in-law, we mu

of the *jumma*, but also the profits of their respective earnings. No qurarel had as yet arisen between the woman-kind. The families had enough to live upon, and No. 4, who evinces a high degree of intelligence, animation, and contentedness, admits that his main object in life is to add a fourth house to his dwelling next year, and so complete the court-yard.

No. 6 is one of the principal inhabitants of the village. He has a tenure of forty rupees, of which he is the real proprietor, with only one nephew as shareholder, and he a mere boy. To cultivate part of his lands, he keeps, throughout the year, two servants, one of whom has been described in No. 5, paid, and fed, and clothed as usual. These two men look after about fifteen beegahs of land between them, the proprietor keeping two ploughs and six head of cattle one of which is a milch-cow, and in the date season a third hand is employed to cut the trees and carry off the juice, at sixteen rupees for the four months and a-half, during which the trees *run*. No. 6 can read and write, his reading being mainly confined to books written in the Bengali character, but in the strangest possible jumble of Persian and Arabic with words of Sanskrit origin; and he can instruct his younger relation in the duties of religion. His dwelling consists of five exceedingly well-raised houses, with a wall round them, the whole having been erected by the father, who in his day had been Naib or agent of a powerful Zemindar. It was the ill-luck of No. 6, that, when his father died, he himself was still a minor, or with his credit and opportunities he might have succeeded to the office of Naib, as such tenures descend constantly as heir-looms in the service of either land-holder or of Government. As to the well-being of this individual, there can be not the slightest question, and we believe that in every decent village throughout the country, there are three or four like him.

Certainly in this village there are, for the next man lives in the same abundance and comfort. No. 7 shares a *jumma* of thirty-two rupees with two brothers, who live in the same enclosure or nest of houses, though not in a common mess. The houses are eight in number, all well-raised and well-thatched. No. 7 himself is able to read and write Bengali, and has a smattering of Persian, in virtue of which he had formerly held a small appointment in the office of the Sudder Ameen, while one of his brothers had been a subordinate dawk inspector, but had lost his place for the very fault into which native supervisors and inspectors of all kinds so constantly fall, *i. e.* collusion for a *douceur* with the dawk runners, and

failure to make them do their work. Still, the family are obviously well to do. Two servants maintained throughout the year, and two extra hands employed during the date season, one on twelve rupees, and the other on sixteen rupees for the whole job, as well as the possession of two hundred and forty date trees, speak plainly enough of independence and plenty. No. 7 having lost his place and having servants to work for him, it would be difficult to describe his mode of passing his life, by any other term than the native one that "he sits." It is also pretty clear to us that this man, though he has ryots *under* him, and pays to the Zemindar above *him*, and therefore to a certain extent must be termed a middleman, is yet from his very tenure, his power to dispose of the land as he may think fit, cultivating some portion by his hired servants, and leasing out other portions to ryots, a *de facto* proprietor of the soil.

In order to avoid, as far as possible, exhausting the patience of such readers who may have followed us thus far, we lump together Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, as having nothing peculiar to distinguish them from the mass of the villagers. They are, in fact, average specimens of cultivators without proprietary rights. Their *jummas* are about from seven to eight rupees respectively, though No. 9 has retained, somehow, all, instead of one-half of twenty-one rupees, the other half being claimed by his brother, who is about to bring an action for it; all these men have three houses each, and wives and children. They all depend mainly on rice, but have a second resource in their date trees: they all live from hand to mouth, and have all been in debt to a moderate extent of ten rupees or so, at some time or other. We can discern but small hope for such men either on this or the next generation, for there can be little prospect of better circumstances, where there is no time to acquire education, and no wish to learn any distinct trade.

In No. 13, we have a man of a higher stamp. His *jumma* is only eight rupees, but it consists of first-rate garden-land, well stocked with good fruit and timber trees. Besides, No. 13 knows both Bengali and Persian, and even Arabic, though his knowledge of this latter language is limited to ability to read the *character* of the Koran in the original at racing pace, without understanding it. Still, his acquirements have procured for him a place as Dawk Munshi, at an out-station, on five rupees a month, nearly twenty miles from his village. Like every decent person, who obtains service, he remits money regularly to his wife and nephew, and comes home whenever he can get leave.

In No. 14, we have an individual who, by universal consent

is dubbed the 'Murad the Unlucky' of the whole village. To his fortunes, as illustrative of the grievance and unthriftiness of some Bengali ryots, we shall devote a few extra lines. The patrimonial inheritance of ten rupees *jumma* was fairly divided between No. 14 and his brother, in equal portions. Separation from the common mess took place. The brother stuck to his eight rupees *jumma*, built three houses, and got on very fairly. No. 14 himself had learned to read and write Bengali, and being of a restless and talkative disposition, spent his time in running after service which he never got, and in visiting and living on his relations. The result of this was not far to seek. Debt and difficulties, and two marriages, soon left him no resource, but to mortgage his *jumma*. He had borrowed twelve rupees from a substantial ryot in his own village, and another sum of twelve rupees from a money-lender in another village. To pay off the first debt, he had been ill-advised enough to grant a *mourusi* or invariable lease of part of his *jumma*, in which he had a proprietary right, to the substantial ryot alluded to, on the understanding that the produce of the land was to pay off the interest only, and that the repayment of the principal would be made from other sources, till which unlikely event the land should not be released. The land being productive, of course liquidated the yearly interest twice and thrice over, but by the foolish agreement entered into, not an anna could go to the reduction of the principal. For the second debt, No. 14 had only given his bond in writing, but he had pledged the remainder of his land for the money, fortunately without any reservation as to interest alone. This luckless condition was still further aggravated by the necessity of paying eight rupees yearly to the Zemindar for actual rent; a moderate rate, had the land remained in his hands, but excessive when the only means of paying it was the sale of bamboos and thatching grass growing immediately round his house. This strait, of course, in a year or two more, resulted in further debts by loans from three different ryots, to the total amount of thirty rupees, and the helplessness was again increased by the death of his second wife this year, the first having died some years ago, and the necessity of looking after two children, neither of whom were of age sufficient to look after themselves. The whole case of motherless children, valuable lands recklessly alienated, further debts incurred, and no visible means of paying them off by agriculture, trade, or service, or even day labour, seems to us almost without parallel, in spite of the general indebtedness of the rural population. Things, however, mend when at the worst, in English proverbs and in Bengali experience, in the

history of a great rebellion as well as in the biography of a ryot. This year, No. 14 has been enabled, by a loan without interest, to redeem his land thoughtlessly pledged for the payment of interest alone, and this wind-fall has determined him to make an effort and redeem the other portion, which he has effected by pawning his wife's jewels. The only lien on the lands is, now, that of the persons by whom they have been cultivated this year for the mortgagees, embracing, under immemorial custom, one-half of the rice crop. But before this number can appear in print, the chances are that No. 14 will have walked over some of his rice fields once again comparatively free. This little history shews to what a state of misery a Bengali ryot may be reduced by a little learning, by a total disregard of consequences, by improvident marriages, and by bereavements which he could not foresee; and at this moment No. 14 is still in debt to the extent of more than forty rupees, and has neither plough nor bullocks, nor a pyce of ready money to buy them. Yet No. 14 may have his parallel in reckless guards-men and foolish eldest sons elsewhere.

We class Nos. 15, 16, and 17 in the same category. Their *jummas* vary from ten to twenty-five rupees. But the main features of resemblance are, that they are all three chowkidars of the neighbouring station, paid hitherto by the Company's money, and dressed out in an uniform chosen by a Company's officer. The pay is moderate, being three rupees eight annas a month, and the work is night-work; and in case of sickness, a substitute must be provided, but the payment is made regularly, and the effect is visible in the number and appearance of the dwelling houses. These men had, all, other shareholders, who cultivated the lands of the joint possession, but as the pay of the chowkidari was not carried to the common stock, the share of the three watchmen in the work of cultivation was provided for by hired labour. No. 15 has, moreover, a brother who gains four rupees a month, by carrying bread and letters from the sudder or head station of the district, to the factory of a gentleman just twenty miles distant. The journey there and back is performed in two days regularly. No. 16 has this year spent eight rupees in thatching a large house—in fact, in thoroughly repairing it, and has paid his money down, like a gentleman. The condition of the ryot rises at once, like oil in water, wherever service or even handicraft comes in aid of mere agriculture. He who runs, may read this.

No. 18 claims half of the tenure of No. 9, who is said to withhold it wrongfully. But we have given No. 18 separate mention, because he has learnt the trade of a mason and earns by it six rupees a month, not to speak of the increased intelli-

gence, which any trade beyond mere digging and delving is pretty sure to confer.

No. 19 would be well off, with a *jumma* of twenty rupees, counting 160 date trees on it, had he not to support three younger brothers, minors, and had he not managed to incur a debt of sixty rupees. The creditor is a powerful Zemindar, though not the landlord, and the interest is the usual usurious one of two pyce monthly in the rupee. To what this amounted to per cent., annually, No. 19 had not the slightest idea, but he evidently looked on this rate as one sanctioned by time, and debt itself as a regular village institution.

Nos. 20 and 21 live close together, and are remarkable from their very contrast. The first is very old, with a wife as old as himself. The children are all dead. His daughter's son has left him for another village. His *jumma* is three rupees, consisting of a small plot round his house. His livelihood was once day labour, but being old and unable to work, he has, for the last two years, lived mainly by charity. The second is equally poor in substance, but, being young and lusty, manages for a portion of the year to earn four rupees eight annas a month, as a sugar baker in the house of a wealthy man in another village. And on this he, his wife, and two children, manage to subsist.

Nos. 22, 23, 24, and 25 are fair specimens of cultivators, who live solely by agriculture, and are yet some way removed from positive indigence. Their tenures range from ten rupees to twenty rupees a year. They have all from three to five houses a-piece, and three or four head of cattle, and the date garden came in aid of the rice field to each of them.

No. 26 has always that look of ease and content, of which the word "jolly" is perhaps the only fit expression. His tenure is only twelve rupees, but from light assessment and the deaths of all other shareholders, he has found it a very profitable one. He owns 400 date trees, of which, however, 200 are lately planted. To look after the cutting and piercing of the bark he keeps a man at twelve rupees for the date season, and food and clothing besides. From this year's produce he had made a profit of nearly seventy rupees; and with part of this sum he had paid his rent, and had laid up a store of rice, and the rest he had buried in the ground—the invariable Savings' Bank of ryots who have anything to lay by. For the sake of society he had invited his brother-in-law to come and live close to him, and had bestowed on him a small yearly *jumma* of one rupee eight annas.

No. 27, after experiencing changes of fortune, had fallen on his legs. His father had left two villages in succession when

No. 27 was a boy, on account of family differences. But No. 27 had managed to acquire, as a non-proprietary cultivator, three different *jummas* in his own and in a neighbouring village, the whole amounting to eleven rupees. He had got into debt this year to the extent of twenty-five rupees, for the marriage of his younger brother; he had a wife aged seven, who lived in her father's house, for the present; he did a little business in bricks and mortar as a mason, for which he occasionally got an odd rupee or two, and he amused himself by angling in the neighbouring river, whenever he could find time, without dread of being forbidden the waters by landlord or keeper.

No. 28 is one of the substantial proprietors of the village. The history of the family is curious. A few years ago the tenure, though divided into shares nominally, was managed entirely by the head of the family, an intelligent old man who bore the title of Mriddha, indicating some ancient office under the Mogul Government, of which every trace has perished but the name. When this old gentleman died, and with him died also the directing and controlling agency which kept things together, and satisfied every shareholder by allotting him his profits from the common stock, a separation from the common mess, and a real division into six shares followed, as a matter of course. Three of the shareholders are brothers, the others uncles and nephews But they still all live in the same cluster of houses, which make a little village in themselves. There were not less than fourteen houses in the cluster, nor less than twenty head of cattle amongst the family. No. 28 himself could read and write, and it is indicative of some progress that, besides the share of the land to which he had succeeded, two or three small pieces had been rented from the ryots of neighbouring villages, a rupee here and twelve annas there. This argues leisure and skill to make such a speculation profitable, and no person could look on the well-built and well-thatched houses, or hear the common talk of the rest of the villagers, without feeling that such men as these, owing to the lightness of the Government demand, have stood their ground under the Perpetual Settlement, and have flourished and increased more or less all over the country, and that it is their permanency and prosperity, as well as that of the mere ryot, that we must endeavour to secure.

Nos. 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33 present us with the same features of cultivators more likely to sink than to rise, from the probable increase of shareholders and the division of property. Their tenures vary from ten to twenty rupees, they have all rice and date land, three or four houses, and from three to

five bullocks, and they are all married. One man works as a day-labourer occasionally, and another, having learnt to read and write in his youth, has forgotten every thing but how to sign his name, from sheer want of practice.

No. 34 is put by himself as an instance of life that draws occasionally near to starvation, were it not that in this country a mouthful of rice is always thrown to the starving. He has two rupees *jumma*, and he, his wife, two daughters, and one son, all live in one miserably small hut, while a few tools—for he is a day-labourer—and a little straw, are kept in a small open shed. Fever and dysentery had laid No. 34 up for some days, and reduced him to a wretched plight—but how, even when in health and strength, he is to pay his rent to the landlord, and to feed and clothe himself, wife and three children, on the nine or ten pyce a day, which is about the average remuneration of daily labour, forms a problem which perhaps can be solved in Bengal only. That the thing can be done is, of course, owing to the inutility of much clothing, the facility for employment, and the cheapness of food.

No. 35 is an example of the advantages of *chakari* or service however humble. He is a peon on the establishment of a moonsiff, or civil judge of the lowest grade, some twenty miles off, paid by serving processes. He makes, in this way, between two and three rupees a month, comes home when the Courts are closed, and, in the interval, leaves his father-in-law to look after his homestead and belongings.

Of Nos. 36 and 37, the former had, and the other has, an appointment of the same kind. They were *chuprassis* attached to the criminal court. But the office of the former individual undergoing that unpleasant process of abolition, which the natives have learnt to designate by the term *ebālis*, he had been reduced to his *jumma* of six rupees and to daily labour. The latter on four rupees a month, and 'pickings,' did remarkably well, as all his neighbours seemed to know.

No. 38 has only a *jumma* of one rupee four annas a month, which lies just round the single house in which himself, his wife, and an unmarried brother, all live. No. 38 is a day-labourer, but his brother earns one rupee eight annas a month, as servant to the sleek and easy-going No. 6, and by throwing all earnings into a common stock, the two brothers manage to get on. It is undeniable that this mutual dependence and trust are constantly found, even in the humblest classes, and in the most striking degree, though varied, of course, by contrasts of animosity, such as a hot climate, evil advice, ignorance, and the devilry of bad passions let loose, can call forth and sustain.

No. 39 is as well off as the last man is poor. He is the proprietor of thirty-two rupees *jumma*, and has one son. *Two* servants are maintained throughout the year, one man belonging to this village and the other to a neighbouring one. Neither father nor son ever touch a plough or sickle. The son has read with a neighbouring Missionary. But even respectability and a fair exchequer have not saved this man from trouble. Five years ago he was cast in a summary suit for rent of ten rupees, and he gave his bond for the amount, being unable to pay the whole at the time. The debt has been cleverly made to keep still at ten rupees from interest, and though four rupees were paid last year, the Zemindar who is the successful suitor, declares that this sum is swallowed up by the interest, which it well may be, at the high rate of two pyce in the rupee a month.

No. 40 shows us how two brothers, living in a common mess and in unbroken friendship, can get on as agriculturists without following any other trade. The two possess four capital houses, five head of cattle, and one calf, and 100 date trees, and have spent nearly thirty rupees in the erection of their best house.

Nos. 41 and 42 have little to distinguish them from the rest of the village. Both are fairly off. The first has sixteen rupees *jumma*, six bullocks, one milch-cow, and four houses. The second lives with two brothers, in three houses, to which he hopes to add a fourth next season, on a *jumma* of twelve rupees a year.

No. 43 is a substantial non-proprietary ryot, holding under No. 28. On a small tenure of three rupees, he has managed to rear one hundred date trees, some of which however are not yet ripe for piercing, and this year he has sold date juice to the amount of twenty rupees. Besides this he has realised twenty rupees, at the rate of five rupees a month for four months, by boiling date juice, and converting it into the coarse *goor* or molasses, in a neighbouring village. This man's lease is drawn out for an invariable rate of rent as long as he chooses to pay it, and his biography shows how much better chance a man may have under a small resident proprietor of the same village, than under a great non-resident Zemindar, whose sole idea of a tenant is a ductile or malleable article, to be squeezed or hammered out into yielding more metal.

No. 44, though a proprietor, with cultivators holding under him, is not so well off as No. 43. His *jumma* of thirty-two rupees is divided with his nephew, who lives in a house adjoining. The tenure had been originally rated at rupees twenty-four, but the Zemindar had it measured, in the exercise

of that right to which he is unquestionably entitled, but which the ryot always looks on as one of the greatest grievances in the world. Both No. 44 and his nephew are in debt to a money-lending Zemindar, the former fifteen rupees, and the latter ten rupees.

In Nos. 45, 46, and 47, we descend again below the mere agriculturist, to men who weed corn, dig, plough, or do any job for daily hire. Their tenures are none of them above three rupees eight annas, and comprise the land just round the house. One man sells the milk of his two milch-cows. Another has to support his aged mother, and leaves his wife with her father. The third used to live with his brother-in-law, but has set up for himself rather than be a burden on a relation. He has two cows, the milk of which is sold to enable him to live, on days when he may have to work at the repairs of his own house, or when work is not to be had. This man is still unmarried, but when the important event in his life-time may come off, it will be no difficult matter to conjecture the position in which he will be placed, in regard to the nearest substantial ryot or *mahajun*, who lives by the wants of others.

No. 48 is οὐτις or Nobody, as regards the village we are describing. It appears that this man used to live in a village ten miles off, where he held a *jumma* of eighty-one rupees. Falling into difficulties, he had been compelled by the money-lender to abandon it, though whether the usurer had got possession of the tenure by mortgage, or had sold it up, we were unable precisely to fathom. Being driven to desperation he came across country with all his womankind, sisters, and brothers' wives, and his old father, and settled on a small holding of four rupees, containing four houses owned by a small proprietor of a neighbouring village. Differences however were adjusted, by No. 48 agreeing to take back his old tenure, at a slightly enhanced rate, and he had returned to his home. The abandoned proprietor had sold all the houses except one, and the purchasers had removed them, and of course, the next thing to be done would be to establish a new tenant. Nothing is more common than for men hard pressed by creditors, or at variance with relatives, or landlords, to quit one village for another in the neighbourhood, though it is unusual for a man to leave the part of the country or the district to which he has been accustomed. And it is equally common for men in want of a house to purchase one standing, and carry it off bodily with the help of neighbours or friends, the roof whole, and the sides and posts separate. All that is necessary is to untie the fastenings and the house is dissolved.

Nos. 49 and 50 are moderately well off. The first has six

houses and a tenure of twenty-five rupees, and his son had learnt the trade of a mason. His sister's son lived close to him, and had a small tenure of three rupees, which gave him one beegah of rice land, and some milch-cows. No. 50 is very old, has one plough and two pairs of bullocks and four houses. His labour is confined to chopping straw and *pottering* about the house. The work is really done by his nephew, who, with a wife and three children, lives with him and will inherit the property.

No. 51 is a vacancy. The ryot died, and his wife and minor son went away to their relations, while the proprietor of the holding, who is No. 39, was looking out for a new tenant. Those who know the Mofussil will readily descry the foundation of a law-suit, in any claim to re-entry which the minor son may make when he attains his majority, especially if the new tenant should happen not to suit the leasing proprietor. And as readily will they imagine the sort of suit, viz: one for alleged forcible dispossession of the minor, backed by the proprietor and his dependant ryots, against a determined sturdy tenant, pleading that the minor had gone away of his own accord, and appealing for himself to that visible possession which in India, as in England, is often nine points of the law. We have reserved Dogberry and Figaro to close the biographies of this village.

No 52 is the village chowkidar. He has two *jummas* each of eight rupees eight-annas: a young cousin lives with him, and his brother has two houses in the same enclosure, though the two do not live in a common mess. There had been three brothers to divide the family inheritance, but one had died. The chowkidar *howled* periodically three times in the night, slept during the day, and cultivated his share of the lands by the system of *Barga*, under which, as many of our readers know, the ploughman gives the seed and the labour, and takes one-half of the crop. The whole system of the village watch has lately undergone examination, and the result has been clearly to show that the watchmen are usually nominated by the zemindar or his agents, at the requisition of the magistrate; that these watchmen receive payment, sometimes in kind, but oftener in money; that payment is compelled by the authorities of the district under a stretch of the law, and that there is a sort of supervision exercised over the conduct of watchmen generally, though they are not disciplined, nor enrolled, nor chosen in the manner most conducive to the security of property, or the detection of crime. The pay of the watchman in our village, like so many others, is assessed rateably on each house, the lowest rate being two pyce a month, or

six annas a year, and the highest being about three or four annas a month, or from two to three rupees a year. Of course these dues are paid irregularly, and a great deal depends on the character of the chowkidar and his ability to dun, on the goodness of the season, and on the temper of the inhabitants. But of one thing we are tolerably certain, which is that this individual, if not superannuated, is perfectly in a position to know all that goes on, bad or good, in his village, if he only choses to exert himself.

No. 53 is the village barber, the only Hindu in the village. Nearly forty years ago this man left a neighbouring village, because his father died there, and this misfortune, combined with other difficulties, induced a dislike to the place. But he still keeps a tenure there of thirty-six rupees. In the same enclosure with himself lives his nephew, who has retained the title of Jemadar, because his father had once held such an office. Both No. 53, and his nephew, ply their trade on Hindu and Mohammedan alike. The barber's razor confers no pollution; and no expiation need follow his touch. From Brahmin to Kayast, from Hindu shop-keeper to Mohammedan agriculturist, all may pass under the shears of the *Napit* or *Paramanik*, or *Shil*, for by such titles is the barber known. No caste keeps a barber for itself, except the Chandal who is no caste at all. The earnings of this individual amount to fifteen or twenty rupees a year. The cluster of houses of uncle and nephew numbers no less than thirteen. The barber's son has been educated, and holds a place in the Post Office department of five rupees a month. The nephew commenced to dig a tank for the benefit of the village generally, but stopped short at least eight or ten feet on the wrong side, and his tank was universally condemned, in emphatic language, as a piece of humbug, or sham in short, such as those abortive and shallow attempts at reform, by which larger communities are continually excited and deluded. The Barber, like all men of his class everywhere, is the greatest gossip for miles round.

No. 54, our last man, may be said to belong half to this village and half to the one which we are about to describe. He has a *jumma* of three rupees in the "Seat of Prosperity," and a twelve rupees ditto in the "City of Fortune." But his real connection with the latter is that he performs the office of watchman to it, on three rupees a month, because the whole community, for reasons to be explained, are too proud to do the work. And with this man ends our description of the individual villager. Our remarks on the general aspect and state of the village will follow.

We now change from almost pure Mohammedanism to the village of pure Hindus, or the "City of Fortune." It lies at the distance of half a mile from the abode of the community just described, and is tenanted by the Hindu agricultural caste, well-known in Lower Bengal as Sadgope. The peculiarity of this tribe is its strong devotion to one single pursuit, to the exclusion of almost every other. A Sadgope will engage in no miscellaneous business, will learn no handicraft, will take no humble appointment as peon, watchman, *burkúndaz* and the like, will not drive a cart, will do nothing except bore his date trees, weed his rice lands, or cultivate his indigo. Consequently, the features of one house in the village closely resembling those of the neighbouring houses, the forbearance of our readers will not be very severely taxed.

No. 1 is the leading man of the place. His dwelling affords a remarkable instance of a Hindu family living in unbroken amity and peace. He himself, his nephew, two brothers and their families, in all about twenty-five people, live in a cluster of seven houses. No quarrel has ever arisen, even between the wives. The whole family mess together, the food being cooked in two small kitchens. No. 1 is a proprietor of about 100 rupees *jumma*, and had once held a place as *gomashtah*, which, as it involved reading and writing, it was not beneath his dignity to hold. He was then remunerated by three rupees a month, and had to collect rents of 1,000 rupees a year. But his master, having been obliged to "reduce his establishment," the place was doubled up with some other place, and No. 1 fell back on agriculture. Yet even now he is able to hire servants occasionally, and is looked on as a man extremely well off.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 all present the same characteristics. The *jummas*, which are not heavily assessed, range from four or five to thirty rupees. No family has less than three good houses, and some have half-a-dozen. Nearly every man has a pair of ploughs and two pair of bullocks; and some have milch-cows besides. The milk was usually drunk by the family, rather than sold. The cultivation comprised early and late rice, date gardens, indigo for seed, mustard and linseed, vetches and pulse. One or two only can read or write. Every family is certainly far above indigence or misery.

No. 14 is a proprietor, owning twelve rupees *jumma*, with two houses, and the empty, raised mud-floors of two more. This man lives quite alone, having lost his father, mother, and another relation, by one fell swoop of the cholera a year ago. His intellect, never very strong, had nearly given way under this blow, and he had just sense enough left him to go about his daily business of sowing and ploughing.

No. 15, at the other end of the village from No. 1, is in his small way, nearly as well off. His two elder brothers are dead, but their wives and families, and his own, and his youngest brother's family, fifteen souls in all, dwell together in four houses. This man is not a tenant proprietor, but a mere under-tenant of a small village proprietor, or rather of a number of them—for, being given to agriculture only, he holds no less than eight small portions of land, under eight different people, the least being assessed at one rupee, and the largest at seven rupees eight annas a year.

No. 16 is much lower in the scale. He has three houses and three head of cattle, but has a sick and helpless brother to support. Yet being in the habit of cultivating the lands of others, receiving half the crop for his pains, he *manages* to live, under the 'cold shade' of men better off.

No. 17 has only himself and a minor cousin to support. He has a small holding of his own, but finding this insufficient, has taken small portions of land under no less than nine other village proprietors, at a total of nineteen rupees. He possesses four houses, five bullocks, three milch-cows, several calves, and two bulls, of which last, it will be necessary to get rid, as the animals are constantly fighting, and inasmuch as to keep them for breeding would entail a loss of caste. This man, it is quite obvious, is one of the stout yeomen of the village, if such a term can be applied to the Bengali at all.

No. 18 was once a rich man, that is, he was proprietor of lands paying fifty rupees to the Zemindar. He had a pair of bullocks, a cow, and four good houses. But twenty years ago, falling into trouble, he sold his *jumma, i. e.* he parted with his proprietary rights to a neighbouring and powerful Zemindar. This, by the way, is constantly the first step adopted by influential men in this country, when they wish for purposes of aggrandisement, or for the annoyance of an adversary, to get a firm footing in any estate or village. But whether there was no adversary to annoy, or whether the combined influence of an agricultural community, all in the same boat, and with no dissensions, such as weaken the small republic, was too much for the man of wealth and ambition, we cannot exactly say; but No. 18 was permitted, after the loss of his rights, to live on, as an occupant, paying the same rent of fifty rupees a year. Obviously, here is the seed of a lawsuit, or a downright good quarrel at some future day, in the present position of this ryot towards his Zemindar. Matters are, however, quiet for the present, and the Zemindar either sees no advantage, or has failed to push it, or is simply content with having realised his dues.

No. 19 ends this small village, and is the only non-agricultural man in the place. He is the barber, possessing a small *jumma* of three rupees, which he easily finds means to cultivate, four houses, no cattle, and, like his fellow in the Mussulman village, he shaves every one, except positive out-castes, or the lowest of the Hindu community, such as Domes and Bagdis. And with him ends our slight sketch of the fortunes of every family, in two neighbouring villages, tenanted by men of opposite creeds.

From individual biographies we now come, as promised, to general characteristics; and the first point on which we shall touch, is that of the land tenure, and the rent of the whole villages. Our readers, who know any thing of real village communities, will at once see that in the North-West Provinces, our small Hindu village of agriculturists would have probably presented us with a good type of the Bhyachara system. The agriculturists would have been perhaps Jats or Kurmis. There would have been several Thoks or Pattis in the village, and Nos. 1 and 15 would most certainly have been appointed the Lumberdars or men responsible for the revenue. Then there would have been a settlement with its field maps, made about twenty years ago by a crack Collector; at which time the facilities for irrigation and for the sale of produce, would have been carefully recorded; every acre cultivated, culturable, waste and unproductive, would have been separately noted down; an impertinent intruder—one Zubberdust Khan, who had wished to make out a title to the whole village as Zemindar, might have been promptly thrust aside, and the land would have been assessed at the rate of at least two rupees eight annas a beegah. Then there would have been a quantity of statements, and maps, and figures, shewing the allowances of watchmen, the perquisites of Lumberdars, the roads and footpaths, the ravines and salt-pits, the number of ploughs and the heads of cattle possessed by the community, and, in short, there would have been that exact, minute, and wonderful record of rights, which no native Government and probably no European Government, except that of the English, would ever have thought of compiling as part of a grand scheme. Elaborate and beautiful as the machinery was, it was much too intricate to endure. A Mutiny last year showed the necessity of a class possessing wealth and independence, to stand as links between the cultivator and the Government. The mere lapse of time, and the complication of interests and of law-suits in all progressing societies, would have gradually broken up the village system, without mutiny, violence, or disruption, in the course of three generations. In spite of our

desire to see the rights of small proprietors, under-tenants, and even mere cultivators, clearly recorded or at least defined; we congratulate ourselves on having escaped the village system in Bengal. As to the land tenures in our two villages, they are pretty much alike. The Hindu village pays, as it has done for years, to one single landholder, that is, to a person who has a *dar-mourousi* or perpetual lease over the whole village granted to him by a *mourusi-dar*, who had obtained his right from "the Raja." Three Zemindars came into contact in the Mohammedan village. The rate of rent levied by these four Zemindars is about fourteen annas per beegah, with no distinction of in-field or of out-field, of garden or of homestead, of early or of late rice. Not one of these Zemindars or rent receivers has ever set foot in either village, or done anything to develope them, as far as we know, and in all human probability, not one of them ever will. There is no cutchery in either village, the rents being paid at a place in the neighbourhood by the several substantial small proprietors, whose means of livelihood we have ventured to describe above. These small proprietors in the neighbourhood of the place we are writing from, and in several other districts, are termed *gantidars*. But we care little about a local term, which conveys no distinct impression to the mind, and which may mean the same thing as half-a-dozen very different terms in use in other parts of the country. What we do care about is the significant fact, that in such men we find those who appear to us to be the real proprietors of the soil. Their rate of rent is fixed and cannot be enhanced, except under some very peculiar circumstances; they plant and dig, prune, cut down, and build up, transfer, sell, mortgage, alienate, and establish ryots on their lands, exactly as they please. The miles of date gardens which met the eye in every direction over thousands of plains, are mainly their creation; they collect from half-a-dozen mere ryots on the one hand, or cultivate, by hired labour, a small home farm on the other; they have all those attributes which, to minds not wilfully blind to facts, nor wedded to theories, nor beyond the power of conviction, are descriptive of virtual, tangible, *de facto*, ownership in the land. Underneath them, we have the cultivating ryots, resident and non-resident, of which our list furnishes so many examples. The rate of rent paid by these latter men to the small proprietors is fairly established by custom, but is of course higher than what is paid to the rent-receiving Zemindar. In the present instance we should say that it was, on the average, about one rupee four annas, or one rupee two annas, for rice land, two rupees for gardens, and about two rupees, or two rupees four annas, or two rupees eight annas, for homestead. The three zemindar-

ies are entangled and interlaced in the most arbitrary fashion, and so are the lands held by the cultivators. One man has a small piece round his house, another at some little distance, two beegahs in the plain to the west, and a date garden in the plain to the east. The term by which this interlacing of zemindaries, or estate, is vulgarly known in Lower Bengal, is *Pitalgola ;* the terms which to English ears, we should employ to describe the confusion of things in general, caused by this arrangement, are either the well-known terms of Johnson about a net as "decussated and reticulated at intervals, with interstices between the intersections" or those of Burke applied to the famous Cabinet, the "curious piece of patch work," the "diversified mosaic" in which the members knew nothing of each other until they found themselves "pigging, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed."

As far as we can speak with any authority on so complicated a question, we should say that, as a general rule, the ryots have no acknowledged right to transfer their holdings, without due notice to the proprietor who established them: that when they do venture to transfer them off-hand, a quarrel ensues; that they are not considered liable to ejectment as long as they pay their rent, nor to enhancement of that rent, as long as they have any document to depend on, or one which will stand the test of a civil or a summary suit; that both real proprietor and humbler ryot are constantly liable to have their lands measured, and their rents raised, not indeed on its average on the beegah, but because the land is found to be of greater area than was imagined, or than the lease was given for; and that land, according to an old native proverb, with "gold and women," is generally found to be the most fruitful source of protracted litigation, or of internal village feuds. Of course there may be exceptions to all the above rules. The local influence or character of the Zemindar too, may affect the rent-roll marvellously; he may be meddling, ambitious, and oppressive; or if he be weak and unskilful, he will stand no chance whatever with a few energetic small proprietors backed by the spears, bamboos, and clubs of the cultivating tenants. To pursue the point of actual proprietorship further, would lead us into too long an enquiry. We shall conclude our remarks as to the actual tenures, by observing that, in such a village as we have described, one Zemindar or other might at any time create a *puttuni* tenure on his estate, or give it in *ijarah* or farm. The *puttunidar*, in his time, might create a *dar-puttuni*, and the latter again a *seh-puttuni* —just as the farmer or *ijarah-dar* might create a *dar-ijarah* and so on. Matters are usually more simple when this has not

been done. But it may aid those who are inclined to follow up such researches, or who discuss such questions in the closet, if they will remember to look out, first, for the Zemindar or Talookdar paying revenue to Government, who collects from one village, from half a dozen, or from the whole Pergunnah: next, for the substantial small proprietors, who, in appearance middlemen, *own* a quarter, one-eighth, or one-half the village, we care not by what title they are designated; next, for any cultivating ryots, with clear proprietary rights if there be such, who practically will not differ much, except in status, from the aforesaid small proprietors: and, finally, for the class of men who squat, take leases, temporary or permanent, and do the main business of cultivation, with rights hardly defined, but quite capable of definition, all over the country. Possibly by following such a course of enquiry, Indian revenue may not be quite such a puzzle as it seems.

The influence which the famous Perpetual Settlement may have had over such villages, we cannot entirely pass by, though it is difficult to determine it with complete accuracy. First for Zemindars or Talookdars to influence the fortunes of ryots, they must be men paying considerable sums as revenue, and not men who have had the good fortune to have petty estates of a few annas or a few rupees, and of corresponding small acreage, recorded separately in the books of the Collectorate. In our two villages the several Zemindars are all men of wealth and substance, and some of them have abundant means. That they do not meddle with the affairs of the ryots, is, we believe, the best thing that can happen. A Zemindar is either easy-going, and leaves things pretty much as they are, or he is active, acute, and determined to look into business himself. In the former case the condition of the villagers will depend mainly on the character of the agents, who may take their cue from their master, or on the small proprietors, or middlemen, who are, obviously, less imposing and less difficult for the ryot to deal with. If the Zemindar, on the other hand, be gifted with a head for business, the odds are ten to one that he institutes law-suits by scores, that he uses, as he has a legal right to use, every means which the law puts within his reach, to assess highly, to measure strictly, and to enforce punctually his demands; that he also collects all sorts of illegal cesses whenever he is in want of money; that he will bear no rival near the throne; that he will resort to force at any time; and that, after a short struggle, the ryots or the middlemen find it hopeless to contend with him, and give up the unequal contest. We are ready to produce numerous examples of both kinds, varying from weakness and good nature, up to the most grinding severity. But still,

taking one with another, we firmly believe that the rural population are not by any means so utterly crushed and annihilated as is supposed. What with the general lightness of the land-tax, the surprising fertility of the country, the expansion of commerce, the divisions of estates, the creations of small tenures, the temporary alienations, the farms, the *puttunis*, the power of combination which, however, is so often misdirected, the immense number of paid situations which our administration, as well as the whole zemindary system, creates and maintains—what with all this, we say, the villager, one stage above a ploughman or day-labourer, has several chances. All are not yet reduced to one dead level of equality. Many rights, though precarious, are quite capable of consolidation. Now is the time for the Reformer and the Statesman to

> Ring out a slowly dying cause
> And ancient forms of party-strife,
> Ring in the nobler modes of life,
> With sweeter manners, purer laws.

And these last we believe to exist in the Bill for the preservation of under-tenures, and in part of that for the consolidation of the laws relative to rent. *Quousque tandem* are we to wait for the former Bill? There is indeed an opportunity for repairing the omissions of the benevolent founder of the system, which, true and untrue to its name, is a perpetual subject for unsettled discussions. But if discussion terminates in action, the great scheme may eventually call forth an amount of real prosperity, of which even Shore and Cornwallis had never ventured to dream.

We now proceed to look in at the ryots of our villages at home. For a description of the agriculture of the country, the implements, and their value and uses, we venture to refer our readers to Articles No. I., and No. VI., in numbers XVII. and LVII. of this Review respectively. It would be wrong to say that the ryot is very badly housed. Except in the case of the very poorest, his hut, or cottage, or house, is made of good materials, easily procured. Some of the dwellings are models of neatness. The posts of the house are generally bamboo, but occasionally the trunk of the date or palm tree is used. The best material for the sides is split bamboo, joined so as to make a firm wattle. When time is precious, ready-made mats of coarse reeds are simply tied to posts to form the sides of a house, and the work is done. The roof is made of a light frame of split bamboo, covered with a thick coarse grass, grown in grass preserves for the purpose, and giving a thatch quite impervious to rain. All good houses have at least one verandah, and the *beeta* or earthen floor on which the house is built, is

sometimes four or even five feet high. To keep the earthen sides intact, they are washed at intervals with a mixture of cow-dung, earth, and water, which, though not white, answers the purpose of white-wash. Most ryots can repair or even erect their own dwelling houses, but all but the very poorest are accustomed to employ the services of men well-known as *ghurramies*, or house-makers, and who have no connection with carpentering, a much higher branch of art. As far as mitigating the power of the sun, or keeping off the drenching rain, or rendering his home secure against any ordinary gale, short of the well remembered hurricane of 1852, the ryot has decent notions of convenience and comfort. It is in the commonest rules of conservancy that he entirely fails. We have repeatedly seen the fourth house in a cluster erected, so as exactly to exclude the wholesome influence of the south-west summer wind, the reason invariably given being, that privacy is to be preferred to purity of atmosphere, or that to admit air might admit the driving rain also. Of course, the stagnation of the atmosphere is aggravated by a neglect of the sources of miasma and disease. Water may stagnate within a few yards of a dwelling house, as it does at the door of many an Irish hovel. In the hole, from which the earth has been taken to raise the house-floor, may collect for months, falling leaves, scourings and rain-water, and refuse vegetation. Beneath the loftier trees there may arise a dense green underwood, which is the abode of snakes, and which is not even useful for fuel. All these causes combine to produce or to perpetuate the diseases by which the rural population are so much affected. Of course the neighbourhood of groves of fruit trees, or of the larger kind of timber, is not only harmless, but positively beneficial. Those only who have seen a village newly established, round which the fruit and timber trees have not growth to form a shelter, can have an idea of the degree of heat and of glare, to which its inhabitants are exposed. It is not the grove of mangoe or date trees, or the tamarind, though the natives have a superstition that it is a minor Upas tree, that does the damage—it is the mass of creepers, the rotting leaves, and the pool of water, on which the sun, the great purifier, rarely shines. Yet in spite of all this, the ryot exhibits neatness and dexterity in much of his handiwork. When he has a valuable garden, he can trench and dig it round, bank up the earth thrown out of the trench, and top the whole with a thorn or bamboo fence, which will keep out everything, but the most determined "pasture-breaker." His date trees are shaped and pierced on alternate sides year after year, with scientific regularity. With his plough, which in shape is like an anchor,

and his harrow which is a mere ladder of two bamboos, he can perform perfect miracles of pulverisation. A couple of oxen will thrash out the rice crops on a threshing floor levelled in one corner of his field, and hardened to the consistency of brick without losing a grain in an hundred ears. With his stationary knowledge, his unvarying routine, and his common implements, he has, aided by a fertility of soil, and by suitable alternations of climate, contrived to stamp on thousands and thousands of square miles in Bengal, two undeniable features, that of the plain covered from edge to edge with green, waving, unbroken, rice crops: and that of the village, in which the habitations of man, however numerous, are obliterated by a mass of verdure such as the pen of a Kingsley, or the pencil of a Turner, alone might adequately describe.

To say that there is much to be mended in the condition of the Bengali; that he has to learn and unlearn; that good laws must be devised in his behalf to be carefully worked by the best men which any system or service, Company's or Queen's, can produce; that the rudiments of such education as will be practical ought to be placed, if possible, within the reach of thousands, and not merely of hundreds or scores; and that not even the agriculture, and certainly not the commerce, or the common trades in any one district, have yet received their full development—is to say what any reasonable reformer will be ready to endorse. But to talk of all Bengali villages as mere "hovels," as abodes of "squalor" and "wretchedness," and of all ryots as "poverty-stricken," and as "dragging on a miserable existence," a "burden to themselves," is to indulge in sheer declamation to which the luckless fact, the worse be it for them, seems to us in direct opposition.

In the case of our two villages, we have arrived at the conclusion, after a comparison of many statements, that as far as regards mere agriculture, the Hindus have the best of it. Their land is somewhat better ploughed, their crops are more carefully weeded, their cattle stronger, and their own power of endurance and knowledge of times and seasons, superior, on the whole, to the Mohammedans; the Hindu cultivator can work from morning till near twelve o'clock, without bite or sup, though we have heard natives admit that after such exposure, in April or May, the well-worked cultivator comes home to his wife or family, with the appetite of a savage, and the temper of a demon. The Mohammedan in the next village, must have a whiff or a taste of *something* before he sets to work, and will hardly last out as long as the Sadgope. It was

quite clear to us that there were fewer instances of positive indigence in our Hindu village. But, so also, were there fewer instances of men with capability to rise in the world. How many rupees had been kept out of the village by a foolish pride, which would not take service, which would not work at this or that kind of labour, which disdained everything but the agriculture, which had remained the same for centuries, or the pen which few of the villagers could wield! What chance is there of progression in a community, which must increase by a law of nature, whose occupations never vary, and whose sphere of occupation can scarcely be ever enlarged? Taken as the rule, the Mohammedans of Bengal are behind the Hindus in activity, and keenness of perception to their own interests. And taking even this exception, we found the Mussulmen envying the Hindus for their superior cultivation. But we own that we would rather cast in our lot with the population, which numbers its peons, and watchmen, its masons and dawk-runners, its ploughmen and house servants, than with the one which persists in doing nothing but driving the same plough, on the same maxims, over the same ground, at the same periods of every year.

As regards conveniences, both villages are not unfavourably situated. They have a flourishing bazar, with a bi-weekly market or *Haut* within two miles and a half. There is a second smaller bazar within the same distance, and another second-rate *Haut* within a mile. But the true interest of the ryot is to travel to the more distant bazar, because the necessaries and comforts of life are cheaper, where the competition is the greater. Besides the barber, as already observed, there is no person plying any of those hereditary trades, which are believed to be essential parts of a pure village system, and there is no one remunerated by land for any services whatever. The watchman is paid irregularly, as we have shewn, by a tax on each house, which varies from two pice to three or four annas a month, and which is exacted according to the measure and moral status of the watchman, with more or less of that *worry*, without which nothing in this country is ever paid or done. A blacksmith lives in a not distant village, and will make or repair the ploughshares or other agricultural implements, when sent for, for so much rice in the husk per year. In the adjoining village are some Mohammedan oilmen—the Teli being the Hindu, and the Kolhu the Mussulman, who follows the trade of oil pressing. The Mohamedans have waxed fat by manufacturing linseed oil, and mustard oil, which the poorer classes burn in preference to oil of cocoanut, and by selling it wholesale or retail, with-

out license, on "the premises." A little further off lives a set of carpenters, who can turn out capital bullock carts at about four rupees eight annas a piece, and who, besides ploughs, and harrows, stools and boxes, if required, can, at a pinch, rise to the higher departments of the art, and carve a log of wood into an image of Durga or Jagannath, like the *faber* of Horace, who, after being in doubt, whether

Scamnum, faceretne Priapum,
Maluit esse Deum.

Close to the crack carpenter, resides a class of potters, who can, each of them, turn out about thirty or forty common earthen pots a day, baking them in four rows one above another, to the amount of perhaps a hundred at a time. The clay for this work is fortunately to be found, by a little search, in almost any Bengal plain, but the fuel of the trade comes rarely to less than one rupee eight annas or two rupees a month. The potters we allude to, are, in their way, men of capacity, and can manufacture, not merely the small vessels, which are sold in hundreds at a pyce, or half a pyce a head; but the large jars, such as would have held a good sized thief a piece, and into which the watchful Morgiana might have poured any amount of boiling liquid. A third village, also not far off, is tenanted by a whole tribe of Mohammedan weavers, called *jolas*, to distinguish them from the Hindu Tanti. Every one of these men has a small piece of land to depend on, besides his trade. But the trade itself brings in a lot of money to the village. Four persons can turn yarn which costs seven rupees eight annas, into *dhooties* and *chudders*, which will sell for ten rupees eight annas, in the course of eight days. Of the four persons so employed, two may be women or boys, who are merely required to card or comb the yarn. At this rate a family, allowing for days when no work is done, can, without difficulty, clear from seven to ten rupees a month. There are no general complaints of poverty, or inability to pay rent from bad seasons, wherever such trades are carried on. And the weavers' quarter is, by universal consent, looked on by the mere agriculturists, as literally plethoric with wealth. We suspect, however, that Manchester is gradually coming into the markets, and is likely to supply the population with a better and more durable article at a cheaper rate. These men will sell, like the oilmen, wholesale and retail, to the man who pays them a passing visit and wants a *dhooti;* or in open market by bundles and suits of clothes.

One of the real hardships to which the rural population are exposed, arises from the want of water, plentiful, permanent,

and pure. Those who have only known the head stations of districts in Bengal, may imagine that reservoirs are only too many. At such places every magistrate for generations has had a "call" to excavate or clean out some one tank or other. And the result is that there are often more tanks than can be kept clean, or free from that vegetation which is a main source of defilement. But, in the *real* mofussil, it constantly happens that half a dozen villages have one tank amongst them. Sometimes it may be one of those splendid excavations, which speak of the time when labour was very cheap, Rajas very powerful, and piety and charity active. The measurement of one of these reservoirs, at this moment before us, shows that it is 615 yards in length, 185 ditto in breadth, and deep in proportion. But no such monument of "the graspings of an insatiable generosity," which had laboured to perpetuate itself in the future, adorn the two villages which we have been describing. Each village has a half-excavated tank, which holds water from the commencent of the rainy season to the end of January or so. And precisely when the sun is the fiercest, and water most required, the inhabitants have no resource but a river, which from some of their houses is more than a mile and a half distant. Nothing, to our thinking, shows the helplessness and incapacity of the Bengali, and his unwillingness to combine except for bad purposes, more than this neglect to avail himself of means within his reach. To dig a tank requires a very moderate amount of skill. Sloping sides, covered with turf to prevent abrasion or diluvion, a good depth for the bottom of the tank, and a reasonable proportion of labour, are all that is required. Three days work in the year, abstracted from other employments or from mere leisure, on the part of every able-bodied man in a populous village, would dig a tank calculated to outlast the heats of April and May. A ryot will stake his last rupee in some suit brought to ruin an enemy. One-half the community will exhaust its strength in endeavours to excommunicate the other half. A whole village will turn out to damage land sown with indigo, to resist an auction purchaser of an estate, to break the head of an official enforcing a legal attachment for arrears with all the requisite forms of law. But, with stout limbs, leisure hours, ground to choose from, and one of the crying wants of life to be provided for, it is not once in a hundred times that thirty or forty villagers will unite together for a week or fortnight, to work four hours a day for their mutual good.

The mention of spare time brings us to another branch of

our subject—the actual physical labour which Bengalis commonly undergo. As remarked in this, and in previous articles, the toil of an agriculturist at particular times, is decidedly severe. Ploughing and sowing commence in the hottest period of the year. The work of harrowing, weeding, dibbling, demands a good deal of exertion. But it is indisputable that this labour is only called for at intervals, and that it is varied by periods of complete or partial inactivity. Indeed, nature herself has imposed certain laws which cannot be disregarded. Repeated enquiries from all labouring classes have satisfied us, that there is no such thing as a Hindu or Mohammedan sabbath. No one day of the week is set apart for relaxation, either on religious or on social grounds. Friday is only partly kept by the Mohammedan of rank or independence. Of course the recurrence of well-known dates, in either calendar, is a signal for fasting or feasting, for rejoicing at home, or for walking three or four miles to see the huge car of Jaganath drawn by a hundred votaries, the image of Kali dipped in the river, the holy shrines of Kerbela hoisted above the heads of a frantic crowd of enthusiasts. On such occasions, in Bengal at least, Hindu and Mohammedan will look indifferently on any show. We saw more Mussulmen than Hindus this year, at the great festival of the Rath. We have been told of Mohammedans hiring themselves to be swung at the Charrak Pooja. But in any case, it is most certain that all the lower classes take a holiday and enjoy it, when they can. Then nearly every man has his circle of relations to visit. Marriages are usually formed between parties, residing from within two to fifteen miles of each other. A visit to the father-in-law, or to the cousin lately married, consumes four days. Again, there come periods of the year when there is nothing to be sown, weeded, or reaped. Generally speaking, from January to the commencement of operations for next year, after the first rains of April, the ryot has rest. Even the date juice ceases to run after the first ten days of March; and date cultivation, though accidents frequently happen by men falling from a high tree, does not ask the same toil as ploughing and breaking up land. It is just as exaggerated to depict the ryot as toiling incessantly from morn to eve, as it is to represent him familiar only with wretchedness, and steeped to the lips in indigence. The French revolutionists, we know, tried unsuccessfully the experiment of annihilating the Sabbath, and of giving man and beast only one day's rest in *ten*. At first sight it might seem that what signally failed in France, had gone on successfully for centuries in India. But the fact is that festivals, visits, the course of the

seasons, the facility with which the mere necessaries of life are procured, and constitutional laziness, give the ryot relaxation, which though taken by fits and starts, compensates him for the absence of any regularly allotted day of rest. We would still back the six days of an English labourer, against three weeks or even a month of the *uninterrupted* work of the Bengal peasant.

The outward life of a people is not so very difficult to conceive or describe. But to follow the Ryot home, to enter into his thoughts, if he thinks at all, or his feelings which are often abundantly sensitive, is no easy matter. There seems to be a certain point, up to which all enquiries are readily satisfied. Crops and customs, landlords and rights in land, the quirks of the law, the price of food, the rate of wages, the comforts and conveniences of outward life—on all this, curiosity may be soon gratified. But to say for certain what a ryot thinks on religion, on marriage, on local or general politics, or what exactly is his every-day social life in the privacy of his two huts, is, we believe, almost beyond the power of foreigners. The most candid, after the Mutinies, must allow what a wide breach gapes between them and a people who, though suspicious and soon alarmed, are yet not the least talkative of mankind. We can tell our readers, what very many of them know already about ryots, i. e., that it is a wife's duty to have a meal prepared for her husband when he returns from the field; and that if she neglects this, a quarrel, not always ending without blows, ensues; that ryots do not often burn oil in their houses at night, but go off to sleep soon after the evening meal, unlike the shopkeepers in any bazar, who choose that time to adjust their accounts, and who burn a small lamp, which bears a very strong resemblance to a Roman lamp dug up from Pompeii, till past ten o'clock; that many Hindus have periodical visits from a *guru*, and Mohammedans from a Moulavi, each teacher duly instructing his disciples in the rudiments of religion, and living on them for a time; that Mohammedan marriages cost less than Hindu ones, because in the former less dowry is demanded by the father-in-law, who instead of making settlements is paid by the person who takes his daughter off his hands; that every man looks forward to the time of marriage, and we are afraid, does worse until that time comes, and that to incur debt and to support poor relations are two canons which are rarely set aside.

The percentage of men able to read or write has been shown to be very small, even though some facilities for the attainment of education exist in the vicinity. It can hardly

be said that more than three or four men in either village owe any rise in their condition to reading and writing. Much more must be done by the establishment of vernacular schools than has ever been even talked of, before we can venture to hint at our diffusion of intelligence and enlightenment. We think, too, that considering the occupations described by us, there are few in either village, to whom a smattering of English education would be of much benefit. But ability to write a letter; to run off a bond, quittance, or agreement; to see that the receipts for rent are correctly drawn out; to keep an account of all current expenses, provided these operations be confined to the mother tongue, would be a real benefit to men of any country, would make them more independent, and would vastly increase their utility to their employers in either private or the public service. Any person conversant with the employment of natives, must acknowledge that, in almost any situation, a man who can read and write is just twice as handy as one who cannot. This may be a truism, but it is from neglected truisms that our credit and our administration so constantly suffer. Of general enlightenment the villagers have obviously not much. Where trades are hereditary, and life uniform, and where there is no change of scene, we can hardly look for new ideas. Of quickness and discernment, however, there is abundance; and we think that in this respect, the Bengali especially would not suffer by comparison with the peasantry of any country in Europe. Of their habit of visiting in a circle, we have once or twice spoken. Some of our villagers have been in quest of employment, or deputed for a job, to Santipore, Hooghly, Calcutta, and other places, distant three or four days journey. One man had pursued a run-away ryot to the suburbs of the metropolis, and had succeeded in bringing him back to his homestead, like a run-away school boy. On one subject the whole village had become possessed of an odd idea. It was a rooted belief that England, or Wilayat, the country sending forth the governing race, lay somewhere to the east of Chittagong. On another subject their ideas had been remarkably enlightened. In our two villages and in the surrounding ones are, at least, two men who have seen a locomotive engine. These well travelled persons have so possessed their fellows with information, that twenty men who, we are positive, had never seen a railway, were able to describe the appearance of a train as that of a car, moving on two straight lines of iron, apparently by its own will or power, with twenty carriages attached, all full of people of *all castes*, which car, coming on with the scream of an elephant and the rage of a *rakhas*,

(demon) shook the ground, took away the breath, and was gone in a minute! We do not think that the *Times'* Special Correspondent would more pithily describe the march of an eastern army, the launch of the Leviathan, or the taking of a rebel city.

One of the individuals, who had so travelled on a railway during a journey to Gya, dwelt most on the fact that it had enabled him, starting at 10 o'clock in the morning, to accomplish a journey of six days, by 4 o'clock in the afternoon. This fact is not without its significance. Even the Bengali may learn to appreciate the value of time. But apart from the palpable advantages of speedy and certain intercommunication, of a ready market for an overstocked district, and of an easy supply for a starving one, the mere employment of new hands, and the demand for labour caused by any new undertaking, will make money to circulate, and will relieve the ryot from fear as to his rents. We have seen already the wages of day labour rise over miles of country by the simple advent of the Telegraph department. The system of indigo cultivation, whatever be its faults, supports in many districts *thousands* of workmen, paid in cash at liberal wages, for months in the year. A small company engaged in baking sugar, a mission with half-a-dozen schools and a church, a sub-division which shall give employment to a dozen people, anything, in short, to break the dead uniformity of Bengali lives and landscapes, to disburse money in the purchase of stock or the payment of labour, must raise the villager one step higher in the scale. The land will always be looked to, somehow, by those who have an interest in it, and agriculture will hardly deteriorate, though divers trades should prosper, more of skilled labour be in demand, and new appointments invite scores of candidates. As to agriculture itself, though there is a good deal to be done in the way of *manuring* light or barren soils, and of draining marshes by cuts and canals, we are often tempted, on seeing advertisements for the best essay on the means of improving such and such cultivation, to bid the advertisers go and watch the unimproved and despised cultivation, such as it is. We suspect that such persons would admit that they might go and burn their essays. There is, however, ample room for an improvement in the breed of cattle. They are part of the ryots' very existence, their strength is deficient, and their size puny. Instead of advertising for theories, let some practical individual or association order a hundred head of cattle from Guzerat, or try the effect on stock of a dozen English bulls. When we hear the nobility and landed gentry of Bengal prate about their interests and

rights in the soil, and compare themselves to the Aristocracy of England; we feel inclined to tell them that all this talk will be listened to when they have done for agriculture here, what the Cokes and Russells have done for it in England. We are, indeed, heartily sick of frothy declamation, unwarrantable intrusion on public functionaries, and impertinent vaunts. Two or three good laws, settling disputed or uncertain questions as to rights in, or connected with, the soil, abundance of earthen roads, vernacular schools, and the employment of any amount of European capital in either old or new channels, will do nearly all towards the elevation of the ryot that Governments or capitalists can do. He must look to himself to cure his own faults. Neither as a nation nor as individuals are we as yet responsible for early marriages, for funeral suppers in which the baked meats consume the savings of years, or anticipate the timely fruits of the seasons, for the love of finery which decks with jewels the persons of pauper children and women, for absurd pride which disdains honest employment, for neglect of the plainest rules of health, or of those dictates of morality, which are embraced and defined in all creeds, for misdirected energies, for wasted time, or for that perverse spirit which bends before tyranny, is aroused to defiance by authority, and sets law at nought.

The social condition of the ryot is one of those vast problems which, at regular intervals, is brought before the public mind by the determination of some one philanthropic class of men, or by two classes meeting antagonistically, or by some startling event in Mofussil life, which illustrates strikingly some of the defects of our system. Then in the absence of more stirring news, if armies do not mutiny, Companies do not fall, and great territories are not "absorbed," there is quite enough in the subject of the rural population to awaken a prodigious amount of controversy, displayed in some ignorance, but linked to much real sympathy and benevolence. Then are instances of official or seignorial harshness collected. Tales of oppression are revived without reference to the dates of their occurrence, or to the changes which may have rendered such oppression almost impossible; stories of torture, stories of indigence and misery, stories of raids and feuds, of the burning of bazars or the plundering of villages, are scraped up and brought together, to form a full and life-like picture of the miserable condition of our neglected and enslaved subjects. All the above is perhaps, on the other side, contradicted by statements of the wealth and the commerce, of the diffusion of capital, of the spread of agriculture, of the increase of population, and of many other signs of progress which cannot be mistaken. It is in the hope of not ministering to angry pas-

sions, but of getting at glimpses of the truth, that we have endeavoured to describe two real, compact, and not imaginary villages. To present our readers with a highly seasoned dish would have been easy enough. From the mass of materials now at our disposal, which we have been some time amassing, at some pains, we could, by collection and selection, and by dovetailing and fitting in one bit with another, have made out a pleasing narrative by which Bengal should appear only as the country of untaxed labour and of unlimited wealth. We could have put our finger on estates assessed in 1770 or so, at ridiculously low figures, now changing hands for ten thousands of rupees. We could have gone through large and populous bazars, as we have gone through two rural hamlets, where every other house had reached the dignity of bricks and mortar, where the ground rent was one rupee, and the house rent two rupees a month, where swarms of shop-keepers and Mahajuns imported grain from Patna, hemp from Serajgunge, rice from Nulchitty, brass pots from Calcutta, and piece goods originally from Manchester; and where no one single necessary or luxury of existence, except salt, had paid one anna of taxation to the Company's Exchequer. We could, on the other hand, have chosen some tracts neglected by the official eye, not favoured by nature, tracts on which rack-renting or oppression, or crime, or inundation or pestilence, had set their mark. We could have described a half-cleared grant of land in the Sunderbunds, infested with tigers, ruined by a rise in the tide over a frail embankment, and with a wild population decimated by malaria, or we could have picked out some tracts far removed from European supervision, where the Zemindar was a feudal Baron, and the Ryots were serfs stripped of everything but seed that would support life and supply the next season's operations, or some *locale*, where in a collection of miserable hovels some fifty human beings divided their time between thieving and fishing, maddened by musquitoes, infested by snakes, disfigured by cutaneous eruptions, and laid prostrate, at intervals, by fever and spleen. In preference however to crowding peculiarities into one description, or heightening our narrative by ingeniously contrived comparisons, we have simply endeavoured to let the villagers make out their own contrast and tell their own tale, adding such remarks as might illustrate their actual condition. We are perfectly well aware that such enquiries may be based on erroneous data. But we have done all in our power to ensure accuracy. Our results have been obtained not by figures and statements transmitted from one office to another, and filled up by the enquiries of an inquisitive and greedy Mohurrir, attended by an ominous, hungry-looking individual,

with a brass badge and an empty pocket; not by authoritative calls for information which generate suspicion and lead to the concealment of resources; but by unostentatious visits, off-hand conversations, and comparison of one version with another. In the actual statistics there may be a few partial errors, for no one knows better than the writer of these pages, how extremely difficult it is to tie the ryot down to any thing like accuracy. Even in the things which most concern him, his looseness of statement as to dates, numbers, and seasons, is perfectly appalling. There are eight or ten mouths to provide for; the cattle in the shed are five or seven; the *jumma* is of ten or twenty beegahs; the age of a certain individual is forty or fifty or sixty; the land is scattered into half a dozen, seven, eight, ten, or a dozen plots; the original debt to the usurer, incurred only last year, is thirty or forty or fifty rupees. It is only by quiet cross-examination that he will abide by one number or the other. But as far as pains can ensure correctness, we conscientiously believe, that our description of the two villages is full, and as accurate as can well be obtained in this fertile, populous, improving, but untruthful country. In fact, the only merit that we claim is, that our dull and uncoloured truths may be perhaps as remarkable as other men's lively and clever fictions. And we beg our readers to excuse us for the constant repetition of *jummas, beegahs*, cattle, houses, rupees, and ploughs. It is after all on such things that the hopes and feelings of thousands are unchangeably fixed. It will be admitted, too, that there is nothing particularly favourable in the circumstances of either village. The vicinity of a neighbouring Station causes the disbursement of a few rupees monthly, in the shape of salaries in one village. But this is not more than would happen from the vicinity of a thriving factory, or from the residence of an opulent Zemindar. And several causes which regulate the ebb and flow of wealth and substance, are in these instances wanting. No indigo is sown in the village, except by the ryot, and that for seed, and consequently there have never been made any advances by Indigo Planters. There is not a single *pucka* house to stand out from the houses of 'shreds or patches,' and we must hold with the *Dacca News*, that a *pucka* house, a *dallan*, as the Bengalis term it, is one of the objects of a native's dearest hopes. There are here no Brahmins with the rent-free land, which in small patches of less than fifty beegahs, are to be found all over the country, unharmed by the operations of the Resumption Department; neither are there very many individuals who have waxed fat by taking service, or money-making tradesmen or handicraftsmen, such as we have shown to be

flourishing in three or four of the surrounding villages. Not a field is sown with sugar-cane, always a profitable crop. In short, the villages are of the average and nothing more. Yet, we repeat, there are contrasts in them as dark as if we had laboured to create an interest by collecting them with research and comparing them with ingenuity. It is this fondness for bringing things together from distant quarters, and then dressing them up side by side, which has given us pictures of Indian life so admirably calculated to mislead. No doubt there is the germ of truth in all such clever scene-painting. There may be, we are ready to believe, authentic accounts which would bear out several of the striking revelations of Panchkouri Khan. There is a basis of truth in the caricatures of Indian life of all sorts, of which a series has lately appeared in the Household Words. Mr. Slasher of Rancegunge, the Magistrate of Bijnore, the Judge Advocate at the Court-martial, were not pure inventions. But let us look from India, which we do not know, to England which we do know, and conceive what a distorted picture might be drawn by a clever French Feuilletonist, who should bring together every instance of ruffianly outrage by a coal-heaver on his wife that appeared in the reports of the Mansion House, every partial decision by a quorum of magisterial squires against farmers' boys believed to have set snares for pheasants, and every appalling instance of ignorance, vice, and physical and moral degradation, which an energetic city missionary had detected in the Rookery of St. Giles. Would this be a fair picture of our acknowledged civilization?

It is the common life and the inside of two villages which, in all honesty and conscientiousness, we have endeavored to set before such readers as have neither time nor opportunity to visit one themselves, and who may not be wearied out with the sameness of dry details. Of the outside of a Bengal village, every person, who has driven or ridden five miles out of Calcutta, can judge for himself. The exterior aspect, indeed, of rural life, the long line of trees, the rich verdure, the abundant crops, are familiar to all. We all know the feathery date trees, the Barassus with a shock-head like that of an unwashed school-boy, the bamboo growing in sheaves rather than in clusters, the hardy plantain, half vegetable, half tree, which will grow everywhere, the tank covered with the lotus, the enclosures rich with grass of 'silky feather,' the fruit garden luxuriant but with trees annihilating or injuring each other, and above all, the magnificent old banyan tree, spreading its arms with daughters growing round it, that numbered

several rings of its existence, before the Great Company which it will survive had numbered its earliest conquests, and to which relic of a Mohammedan sovereignty,

> Rolling, as in sleep,
> Low thunders bring the mellow rain
> That makes it broad and deep.

It is countless villages, masked by such artificial jungle, that we hope to purify of crime, to deprive of excuse for litigation, and to invite to healthy competition in new or old channels of prosperity. And it is in precisely such villages that reside some hundreds of thousands of our subjects, whose condition, past and present history, and marked peculiarities, we must endeavour to determine with precision, when we would apply the legal or the moral cure.

[NOTE.—We have, with the license of reviewers, made no allusion to the works prefixed to this article. The statistics of Cawnpore published in 1849 are, like all Mr. Montgomery's reports, completely exhaustive of the subject. After the destruction of all records they must be literally invaluable—for they contain *everything* which a magistrate, collector, or settlement officer could wish to know. The Statistical Report of the 24-Pergunnahs contains useful information, and the measurements of the survey and the accounts of acre-age, and revenue, are obviously of importance. The Bengali novel—the Play-thing, or the spoilt child of the family—is cleverly written in genuine colloquial Bengali, suited to the various characters introduced, and it gives a life-like picture of the education, pursuits and fortunes of a Zemindar. There are some clever sketches too, of Baboos, confidential servants, agents, &c. We commend the work to those who read Bengali; and a work of another kind, Phulmani and Karuna, by Mrs. Mullens, is in its way admirable, and, we are happy to learn, is now published in Urdu.]

ART. VIII.—1. *Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Papers on the proposed Railway in Bengal. I. Calcutta*, 1853.

2. *Correspondence received from the Governor-General of India in Council, relative to Railway undertakings in that country. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed; 19th July*, 1853.

3. *A Copy of the Memorandum laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company upon Railways in India. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed; 24th July*, 1857.

MORE than thirteen years have now elapsed, since the East Indian Railway Company was provisionally formed in London; nine years since the Company was incorporated by statute; and more than seven years since the experimental line to Burdwan and Raneegunge was commenced. Yet but a very small portion has been made of the Railway, for the construction of which the Company was established, and not a third part of the work, which it was at one time confidently anticipated would have been finished ere now, has been done. There are now in Bengal and the North-west provinces 265 miles of Railway in working order, including the lengths between the junction at Burdwan and the river Beddiah, near the Adjai, and the distance between Futtypore and Cawnpore, just completed; of the rest much is in an advanced state, but none is ready for traffic. When, therefore, we consider in what a short space of time the greater number of the European and American Railways have been finished, and remember the prospect of speedy completion which the line presented in the year 1855, at which period contracts had been entered into for having 649 miles ready in the year 1857, this result does not appear very satisfactory. But it must be remembered that Railway enterprize in this country, if it has sustained no serious reverse, has not had a career of quite unchequered prosperity; and the circumstances under which the line has been made, account for much of the delay which has occurred. Moreover, we must look on it as no small share of success already obtained, that the Railway, as a commercial speculation, has more than answered expectation, and that proof has already been given that it will be of great use to the Government as a means of administration. "Even if," said Lord Dalhousie in his minute of the 20th of April, 1853, "contrary to the expectation of those

'best qualified to form a judgment on the subject, Railways 'should not prove a profitable investment; and the Honorable 'Company should be called upon to make good all or a consi- 'derable portion of the interest it has guaranteed, the direct ad- 'vantage it will derive from Railways in the reduction of mili- 'tary force which they will render practicable, and the many other direct benefits which will accrue to it, politically, com- 'mercially, and socially, from their existence, will be so great 'and so palpable, as to render the payment of the guaranteed 'interest a burden which the Honorable Company may cheer- 'fully and contentedly bear." The profits of the Railway can already bear a dividend more than equal to the one guaranteed, (which is the amount now paid), and it thus appears that a result far more satisfactory than that for which the Govern- ment was prepared, has been attained.

Few undertakings have been commenced under auspices apparently more favorable than those which attended the for- mation of the East Indian Railway Company. The conclusion drawn from the first surveys was, that this country offered more advantages than most for Railway works,—a conclusion, however, which subsequent experience has not altogether borne out. A dividend of five per cent was guaranteed by the East India Company, who also offered the land required for the line and the terminal stations. The undertaking was com- menced, with the advantage of the experience dearly bought by most of the English. Companies. And in addition to this, the Company had the services of a man who thoroughly un- derstood the capabilities and deficiencies of the country, and the state of affairs both in England and in India, in relation to Railways; it was with good reason supposed, that no abler man than Sir Macdonald Stephenson could be found to carry out the plan for which, principally by his efforts, the Company had been formed. Thus launched, the East India Railway Company could hardly fail to succeed; its shares became as good investments as the stocks, funds, or securities of any Go- vernment,—indeed very much better than those of most Go- vernments—and they have from the first sold at a considerable premium. And though it is true that delays have taken place, results have not hitherto so far fallen short of expectations, as that the Company's affairs can be said to be other than most prosperous and promising, and their prosperity is only limited proportionally to the speed with which the works are carried on.

It was apparent at the commencement of the proceedings of the promoters of the scheme of railways for India, that it would be almost impossible to undertake such works, with- out the co-operation of the Government, and accordingly th

Provisional Directors of the East Indian Railway made it a condition upon which the measure was taken up by them, that,—as they not very clearly expressed it,—"The under-'taking should not be regarded as a purely commercial specula-'tion, but as a national and political object, sanctioned, sup-'ported, and protected by the Government." The Railway Company, in fact, could not act without the assistance as well as the protection of the Government. Indian Joint Stock Companies were then in no great estimation, and it is doubtful whether the risk of investment in a speculation, to a great extent beyond the control of the directors in England, would not have prevented shares from being freely taken there without the Government guarantee. It was also probable that, without the full consent of the East India Company, great difficulties would have attended the passing of the Railway Bill in Parliament, and that it would be nearly impossible to obtain the land, and carry on the works in this country.

It appeared that the control, which the co-operation of Government involved, would operate in every way to the advantage of the Railway Company, for the interests of the Government and of the Railway Company in the speedy carrying out of the undertaking were completely identical. Without considering the addition to the commercial prosperity of India certain to arise from the making of the line, it was clear that the rapid means of conveyance would increase the military power of Government, by diminishing the difficulty of moving troops, stores, and the munitions of war, over a great space of country. Public works, moreover, so far as the state of the country would permit them to be, were the object of special attention on the part of the Indian Government; and it was not only as a means of strengthening his military administration, that Lord Dalhousie contemplated a Railway system, though he appears to have wisely held that object as of chief importance. His minute of the 28th of April 1853, shews that he took the widest view of the benefit of railways, that could well be entertained. "Ships from every part of 'the world crowd our ports in search of produce, which we 'have or could obtain in the interior, but which at present we 'cannot probably fetch to them, and new markets are opening 'to us on this side of the globe, under circumstances which 'defy the foresight of the wisest to estimate their probable 'value, or calculate their future extent."

It was at the same time clearly the object of the Government to introduce, not a Railway, but a plan of Railway communication, selected with reference to the requirements of the

country; and to establish a system under which the different Companies then provisionally formed, or likely to be formed, for the making of Railways in various parts of India, might be dealt with on similar terms and with equal facility.

The result was the establishment of a Railway system very different from the English, which asks little but the *laissez faire*, and rather resembling those of France and Belgium. On the principle of Government co-operation and control, the scheme of the East Indian Railway Company was taken up by the East India Company in the year 1849; and an Act of Parliament passed in that year empowered the Railway Company, not to make the Railway, but—"to carry out such 'objects as might be agreed upon between them and the East 'India Company," for the making of it,—and in the same year an agreement was made between the Court of Directors and the Railway Company, for the making of an experimental line at the estimated cost of a million sterling, to be advanced by the former and repaid by instalments. On the completion of the experimental line, the East India Company were to grant the Railway Company a lease of the land and works for ninety-nine years,—at the end of which time it was agreed that the land and the Railway should become the property of the Government;—a right of purchase was also reserved to the East India Company after the expiration of fifty years. With a view to carry out the plan of superintendence and control by the Government, it was agreed that the servants of the Railway Company should be subject in all things to the superintendence of the Government of India, and that nothing should be done by the former without the previous sanction of the latter; while power was reserved to the Government, to give the Railway Company and its servants such orders as should be thought fit. Under this agreement, after much discussion as to the most suitable direction of the line, the Railway to Burdwan and Ranegunge was commenced in 1851.

The Railway Company thus organized was self-dependent, though not independent, and the engineers, and chief engineers, as well as the managing director of the Company, Sir Macdonald Stephenson, were empowered to act only under the control of the Government. All their proceedings were subject to, and required the sanction of, the Government, and the ultimate superintendence of the Railway rested with the department of Public Works. Looking back on the past history of the Railway Company, we find that, while much of the successful conduct of its affairs is due to the deliberate mode of proceeding of the Government officers, still most of the delays that have occurred, and many of the difficulties of

those who have had to carry on the works of the Railway, have originated in the way in which this control has been exercised. It may be doubted, indeed, how far the very minute superintendence of the Government over all the details of the Company's works, has operated to advance its interests, and whether the exercise of this control, if differently regulated, might not be rendered more beneficial to the Railway Company.

Some delay occurred in putting the Company into possession of the land; and it is easily conceivable that the appropriation of the land in the mode prescribed by Regulation I. of 1824, (which was made applicable to lands taken for Railway purposes by an Act passed in 1850,) would be a matter of time. In whatever way the delay arose, it was much complained of by the contractors, who in some cases were obliged to maintain establishments suitable for the works which they had undertaken, whilst they were prevented from commencing them. The land for the distance of 335 miles from Howrah, including the site of the terminus, cost the Government Co.'s Rs. 3,21,926, which is Co.'s Rs. 2,752 a mile; a very high price, out of which we believe that the head men of villages in many cases made very considerable profits. It is to be regretted now that more land was not taken in some places than was then appropriated, especially near the Howrah station, for the natural effect of making a Railway and terminus is to increase the value of ground in the neighbourhood, for the land now required at Howrah is only to be obtained at the rate of Rs. 150 per cottah, and if too much had been taken it could easily have been leased or re-sold.

In the autumn of 1854, trains began to be regularly run on the experimental line, as far as to Pundooah, 37½ miles from Howrah; and in February 1855, being about four years from its commencement, the whole distance to Burdwan and Raneegunge was opened for traffic. In the present condition of Railway speculations in this country, all information as to the details of this line is interesting. The contract price for making the line as far as Pundooah was little more than nineteen lakhs; but the cost of the whole experimental line was in fact about £12,000 a mile, so that on the whole distance the estimated cost was exceeded by about £250,000. In this sum, however, is included the cost of the terminal stations, and of doubling the line to Burdwan, which was found to be necessary, and has now been done as far as Hooghly. The Howrah station alone cost, we believe, about £77,000. This expenditure, when compared with that incurred in making the Railway from Madras to Arcot, sixty-five miles in length, which

cost in all only £5,500 a mile, seems great, but then the latter was of much more easy construction, and much of the outlay upon the Bengal experimental Railway, is to be calculated for the whole line to the North-west. In particular the cost of management would come under the category, as well as the cost of a very large rolling stock, much of which is conspicuous to the traveller's view as he passes out of the Howrah station. Making allowance for such additional outlay, we believe the line of 121 miles cost, of itself, no more than £9,800 a mile. The additional sum expended in excess of the contract price originally agreed upon, was borrowed from the East India Company at five per cent., and raised on debentures, since authorized to be converted into shares. Whether cheap or expensive on the whole, there is no doubt that the experimental line may be ranked with the first class English Railways, and in the present state of its permanent way it is inferior to none. The line to Pundooah at first carried 1,500 passengers daily, and it soon appeared that, besides the sources of traffic which had been especially relied upon by the projectors of the Railway, there was another equally reliable and more immediately productive. It had been with good reason supposed that a Railway, in order to succeed, must be laid between the large towns possessing a considerable commercial traffic, and it had been contended, that no line starting from Calcutta would be certain to yield a satisfactory return, if it did not reach as far as Mirzapore, the great central market for the import and export trade of Calcutta. It had in fact been considered, that the points to be looked to for Railway interests, were the traffic between the populous towns; the conveyance of Government stores; and the periodical pilgrimages of the people. Nobody imagined that the ryot and the buneea had such locomotive habits as they soon shewed; that between the small towns or villages, with nothing but a local trade, a continuous traffic would set in; and that, as the event proved, the third class passengers would crowd the Railway and be its main support. In the memorandum laid before the House of Commons in 1857, we find this stated: "It may 'be remarked that the receipts from this class (the third) 'are nearly four times as much as from the two higher 'classes combined,—the receipts from the passenger traffic 'in the half year ending 30th June, 1856, having been 'first class 27,986, second 29,589, third 199,833." Very little seems going forward in Serampore, Chinsurah, Hooghly or even in Burdwan, (though at the latter place a considerable goods traffic from the grand trunk road comes into the line,) and how so much activity in travelling can co-exist

with the *dolce far niente* of Bengalis, is more than we can explain. There is no doubt, however, that business transactions amongst the natives of Bengal are immense in number, though not perhaps of very great magnitude.

In consequence of the extent of the passenger traffic, it was soon found necessary to make a double line to Burdwan, notwithstanding the rule fixed by Lord Dalhousie, that all lines at present should be formed with a single track. There is a steady increase of traffic as shewn by the half yearly returns, and comparing the returns for the half year ending June, 1858, with those of the half year ending in the same month of 1857, we find an increase of 831 passengers by the first class, 1846 by the second, and 16,178 by the third, and of the passengers by third class there were no less than 5,48,202. The total number of passengers conveyed during the year 1858 has been 1,103,860, showing an increase of 75,323. A corresponding increase in the returns of merchandize and minerals is also to be remarked. The increase in the number of maunds of goods carried in the half year ending June, 1858, over the number carried in the half year ending June, 1857, is 285,831-0-2; and in minerals the increase is 4,98,383,-11-2. The total quantity of goods carried in the latter year being mds. 8,75,729-22-1, and of minerals mds. 4,98,383-11-2. The past year has been a bad one for the mercantile world, and has been far from being marked by any great demand for produce; much of the increase, therefore, must be attributed to the requirements of the war, and to the use made of the Railway by the Government. The cheapness of the carriage is remarkable, especially considering that there is no competition to keep the fares down. They are about $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ a mile for the first class, $1\frac{1}{8}d.$ for the second, and $\frac{3}{8}d.$ for the third, while goods are conveyed at less than $1d.$ per ton per mile.

The increase of traffic is accompanied by a rateable decrease of the cost of maintaining the permanent way and works. The working expenditure from March to October 1857 was not more than £$36\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on the receipts, and the cost of maintenance is a little more than four annas or about $6\frac{1}{4}d.$ a train per mile, for the half year ending June 30, 1857; the cost of the previous half year having been $10\frac{1}{4}d.$ In this respect, there is a considerable advantage in having an excellent material for sleepers supplied by the country. *Sal* timber is, we believe, found to be far better for the purpose than creosoted fir or iron.

The line has been remarkably free from accidents, and this is the more singular when we consider the number of native servants employed. Since the opening of the line, only one

passenger, an English officer, has met his death from an injury on the line, and that accident occurred through the common fault of passengers getting out before the stoppage of the train. It is not improbable that, if such accidents as attended the introduction of Railways into England and France had occurred here, the profits of the Railway would have been affected. The natives might have been afraid to avail themselves of it as they have done; for Railway travelling at first must have been decidedly contrary to their notions of *dustoor*, and it is well known how easily their suspicion or alarm are excited with reference to any thing that is so. Now we believe that the Railway is quite naturalized in the native mind.

In 1854 the Railway Company contracted with the East India Company, for the construction of a line to Delhi in extension of the experimental Railway, upon terms similar to those of their former agreement, and at the estimated cost of nine millions sterling. Starting from the seventy-fifth milestone of the old Railway, a little beyond Burdwan, the new line proceeds in a northerly direction, crossing the rivers Adjai and More, turns slightly to the east as far as Nulhattee, and after skirting the base of the hills, reaches Rajmahal; thus connecting itself with the Ganges, and passing through the valley of that river to the upper provinces. When the line is open to Rajmahal, which it will probably be about the end of 1860, a traffic may be expected which will probably indicate, in some degree, the future of the East Indian Railway.

"The Rajmahal Railway," says Colonel Baker in his report of the 9th February, 1852, writing apparently with reference to the branch to that place at one time contemplated, "would 'depend chiefly for its traffic on the Ganges, but it may be 'fairly expected that yearly increasing returns would be 'derived from the intermediate trade. The mineral resources 'of the country, which are considerable, in coal, iron, and 'other metals, would be rapidly developed by the increased 'facilities of transport." It is useless now to discuss the question of the comparative advantages of the Ganges valley line, and those of a direct line to Benares. When the Railway is open to Rajmahal a great portion of the river traffic must come on to the line, and the present state of the river, the great profits of the Steam Boat Companies, (whose half yearly dividends have recently been more than forty per cent,) and the high freights of country boats, give some idea of what the importance of this traffic from the Ganges will be; while the great amount of trade in exports and imports, carried on between this port and Mirzapore, and the fact that transit is the great difficulty of the country trade, lead to the necessary con-

clusion that the traffic will be permanent and increasing. And indeed, notwithstanding that water carriage for heavy goods may, in some cases, compete with that by Railway, it is difficult to suppose that, except at certain times of the year, the Railway will not be preferred for the greater part of the traffic, that now contends with the difficulties and uncertainties of the Ganges navigation, the shallows of the Nuddea rivers, and the windings of the Sunderbunds. The opening of the Railway to Rajmahal at the earliest possible moment, seems to be an object for which extraordinary efforts ought to be made.

In 1855 the completion of the line to the North-west seemed certain at no distant period, and, incredible as it appears now, the making of 649 miles of permanent way had been contracted for by several contractors, to be finished in the year 1857. The Railway Company undertook the construction of 200 miles by its own engineers, without the intervention of large contractors. It was soon, however, seen that the execution of the works would occupy a much longer time than had been contemplated. The various contractors had to apply for, and obtained an extension of, the terms within which they had agreed to finish what they had undertaken. And the Company's engineers did not find the portion of the line which was in their hands progress very rapidly. On the first division of the new works, called the South Beerbhoom district, in length about forty-five miles, which has always been in the hands of the Company's engineers the two most important works are the Adjai, and More bridges, —the first consisting of thirty-two arches of fifty feet span,— the second of twenty-five arches of the same span; and there are several smaller bridges also very troublesome. Great difficulty has been experienced in the construction of these works, which are necessarily of a very solid description, the rivers being liable to enlargement by floods, and erosion of their banks, and their beds consisting of fine gravel and sand. The foundations of the bridge over the Adjai were, at the end of August last, just secured, and the piers raised above low water level. At the More the foundations were also nearly fixed. The line for a distance of twenty-three miles from the Burdwan junction to the neighbourhood of the Adjai, is ready to be opened for traffic; and in many places beyond that river, the permanent way between the bridges is complete. There are no hopes however of the line through Rajmahal being open before 1860.

Next to the South Beerbhoom district, a length of 33½ miles was undertaken by contractors, who also took the adjoining distance of 100½ miles. They suffered considerable

losses in the Sonthal rebellion, and from other causes, and in the end have been unable to fulfil their original agreement. In 1856 these contracts were remodelled, but they were ultimately given up by the contractors, and that part of the line, as far as Rajmahal, is now in the hands of the Railway Company.

The Monghyr district of 76½ miles, and the Monghyr tunnel were also contracted for, but both have been given up by the contractor, and have been made over to the Railway Company. Of the Monghyr tunnel, which is 900 feet long, and runs through quartz rock, one-fourth of the cutting has been completed. The Patna district of 84½ miles, which comes next, was also taken under contract, but was surrendered into the Company's hands in 1857. Beyond that, the Soane district, of 78½ miles, contracted for by Messrs. Burn and Co. went on very well, till interrupted by the mutineers from Dinapore in July, 1857. The works were resumed in February 1858, but on the 21st April, Kooer Sing crossed the Ganges without opposition, and his followers spread themselves over the country, causing a second stoppage of the works. At the Kurrumnassa bridge the works were then in a very critical state; the piers enclosed by a strong dam were still below low water mark, and had it occurred to the rebels to cut the dam, the injury done would have been very great. However, although they burnt and destroyed bungalows, work-shops, and timber, it did not occur to them to interfere with the dam. After their departure the work was instantly resumed, at great hazard, by the Company's engineers; and the piers on the East side were carried safely above low water mark, before the floods which would have carried them away, had they been in a less advanced state, set in and stopped the works for the season. This saved, in all probability, a year's labour. The Soane bridge, a work difficult enough in itself, has been greatly thrown back by the insurrection. The Railway Company sent out an engineer expressly to superintend the construction of this bridge; and before the rebellion there was every probability that the foundations of a good many piers would have been laid, so as to have resisted the floods of 1857. The works, however, were stopped by the disturbed state of the country in the hot weather of that year, and were not sufficiently advanced to stand the effect of the rains. The Dinapore mutiny made great havoc in the month of July, and the damage is estimated, we believe, at not less than a lakh of rupees. The works were resumed in February, 1858, but were abandoned in April, on the occupation of the country by the rebels of Kooer Singh's force, and these in July last destroyed all the buildings and materials on the west side. Since this

last disaster the works have not been resumed, and up to the end of August, 1858, little more than the foundation of one pier was laid.

From the Burdwan junction up to the river Kurrumnassa, the limit of Bengal on the line of Railway, a distance of 416½ miles, the works will cost, it has been calculated on an average, Co.'s Rs. 87,654 a mile; the total amount being Co.'s Rs. 45,197,380. Colonel Baker's estimate in 1852, it may be noticed, for a Railway to Rajmahal, was Co.'s Rs. 70,000 a mile.

Entering the North-West Provinces, we next reach the Benares district, which is very near completion. The next, the Mirzapore district, originally taken under contract, was surrendered into the Company's hands at the end of 1856, and has since been carried on by one of the contractors, who recommenced the works under the auspices of the Company. After that we come to the Jumna district and the Jumna bridge, both of which are also in the Company's hands. Upon the next district, called the Futtehpore, the length from Allahabad to Cawnpore, a distance of 121 miles, is now opened for traffic. At this point the works were stopped in May, 1857; and north-ward from Agra, the future direction of the line was changed, by the order of the Government, from Delhi to Meerut; however, its direction is still uncertain.

The main difficulties encountered in the progress of the works, without considering the crossing of the rivers, arise out of the great want of means of conveying materials and fuel by land or water; in some places also, for instance in the Rajmahal district, labour is obtained with no little trouble and at great expense. In the present state of the line, and with regard to the unsettled condition of the country, and of the labouring people, it would be difficult to fix a time, with any approach to certainty, when the Railway will be actually finished to the North-West. The affairs of the line have thus been very far from fulfilling the promise of the year 1855, and the failure of most of the contracts has occasioned much delay and expense to the Railway Company.

Many facts arising out of the relation of the contractors to the Railway Company, serve to illustrate the practical effect of the system of Government superintendence and control, which we have already discussed; and they shew that there are great imperfections in the mode in which it is exercised. Without any attempt to trace the causes of the failure of the contracts, (a task which would require a perfect acquaintance with the markets for labor and materials for several years and at various places, and a full knowledge of the way in which the contracts were managed in their details,) it cannot escape

remark, that many things have pressed hardly on the contractors in their dealings with the Railway Company; while at the same time the latter have treated them on the whole with great liberality and fairness. The cause of this apparent contradiction is to be found in the fact, that the Railway Company have not been independent, and that in the disputes that have arisen between them and some of the contractors, the claims of the latter have been in respect of matters beyond the ultimate control of the Company. For example, when the contractor for the second distance between Howrah and Pundooah established a claim for extra work, in the Supreme Court, he also demanded compensation in respect of alterations made, by the direction of the Government, in the original places upon which he had contracted, and sought compensation for the delay in giving him a possession of the land. Although these claims were not made good, no doubt existed as to the fact of the alteration, and the delay was admitted. The contractors who subsequently undertook the Mirzapore district, also set up a claim in respect of a somewhat similar alteration of their original plans, it having been for a long time undecided in the Department of Public Works, whether the Touse and Jumna bridges should be of timber or of masonry. This formed the ground of an alleged mis-understanding, under which the contractors purchased timber for the purpose. Subsequently in contravention, as the contractors contended, of the agreement made by them, the Government ordered those bridges to be built of brick and stone, and the result was a great loss to them. They also set up a claim in respect of the delay in giving them the land. Although on a reference to arbitration, nothing was recovered by the contractors in respect of these claims, and the sum of Co.'s Rs. 1,60,000 was awarded to the Railway Company, large advances having been made by them, yet it clearly appeared that indecision and delay had occurred in the manner described, although they were held not to amount to a good cause of action against the Railway Company, or to entitle the contractors to any indemnity.

It is not the place here to dwell on the difficulties that beset the contractors, in the rise of prices and scarcity of labor induced partly by their own consumption, the failures they met with in brick-making, and other misfortunes; but we must observe that much was left undone, which might have been done by the Government, in assisting the contractors in procuring labor, and so lessening their expenditure. It would have been easy for the Government to impart to the labouring classes that confidence which the contractors, left to themselves, found it hard to establish. The local influence of the authori-

ties however was not exerted to the full extent, and this is the more to be regretted, because one of the causes of the difficulty which was experienced in procuring labour was, that the laborers' wages in some of the Government works had been so extensively appropriated by middlemen, that the prevailing notion among the workmen in many places was, that their chance of getting paid was very doubtful. The interests of the Railway from first to last,—from the first proposal through all the stages of its construction, would have been the object of greater care and attention with a Government fully alive to its own.

Probably the causes to which we have adverted as productive of delay in the affairs of the Railway, will have that effect in a still greater degree, now that the works are almost entirely in the hands of the Company. In order that the Public Works Department may sanction in writing "all the contracts, orders, directions, proceedings, works or undertakings of the Company," as is now requisite, with facility and despatch, there ought to be in that office a most complete knowledge of Railway engineering and Railway affairs. It would be, of course, competent to the Government to exercise its power to control, without entering into minute details, but if all the particular proceedings in the making and management of the line, however unimportant, are to be separately discussed and sanctioned, much time must necessarily be occupied, and without perfect knowledge of the subject in the officers at the head of the Department, much damage must be done. In fact, though the duties of the engineer to the Railway require a greater amount of ability, than the duties of him who has merely to sanction proposals, in both cases the knowledge requisite is much the same. And with reference to the daily increasing importance of getting the line completed as speedily as possible, the practical effect of a minute superintendence of details is open to much criticism, and there can be no doubt that it would be expedient and wise on the part of Government, to allow a very large discretion to the Railway engineers. Delay is clearly the weak point in this kind of "double Government," and necessary as is this Government control upon the theory of the Indian Railway system, and with all the advantages which it presents in many respects, the mode of carrying it out may render it a great hinderance to the progress and permanent good of the Railway. Such a mode of conducting the Government superintendence might easily be adopted, as that no serious delay would be incurred; though we cannot say that the past history of the Railway inspires us with much confidence that it ever will be so. Since the departure o

Colonel Baker in 1857, there have been three or four engineer officers successively at the head of the Railway Department of the Public Works; and however able these officers may be, they came from employments which have not given them experience in, or practical acquaintance with Railways. Such officers too, in the course of the Service, pass on to other appointments, as soon as they have acquired the information for the proper discharge of their very important duties, and their place is filled by those who have every thing to learn.

It would be difficult to estimate too highly the benefits that would have been derived during the early part of 1857, from a perfect Railway communication with Benares; even as it was, the effect of the rapid conveyance available on the experimental line was most important. Two days' additional delay in throwing troops into Allahabad in June, would have led to the most serious consequences, and about two days were saved by the Railway being opened as far as Raneegunge. Since then too, it has greatly facilitated the progress of troops going up-country; there being no difficulty in carrying two hundred men daily from Calcutta to Raneegunge, and much larger numbers being carried on special occasions when necessary. Many of the engineers along the line have been exposed to great personal dangers in the course of the Rebellion; and very many of them have done most excellent service to Government by their bravery and determination. The noble defence of Mr. Boyle's house at Arrah, (which, without the fore-thought and skill of the engineers, would have been impossible, notwithstanding the bravery of the other defenders) is familiar to all, and its importance in the work of quelling the insurrection gives it a place in Indian history rather than in an account of the Railway. The science no less than the gallantry displayed in that defence are remarkable, and there is no doubt that the preparations made by Mr. Boyle were the saving of the garrison.

In May 1857 when the Mutiny broke out, the works from Agra to Delhi, a distance of 250 miles, were being carried on with vigour. At the latter place, where the effects of the Rebellion were first felt, five of the Company's engineers succeeded in escaping, with great difficulty. Two were subsequently killed in attempting to leave the territory of the Bullubghur Rajah, where they had taken refuge; the rest made their way to Agra, where they served with the volunteers of that place. As early as the month of November last, the engineers were able to return and resume operations in the Delhi district, which had for about six months been overrun by the insurgents. They found that much damage had been done, and that nearly all

bungalows and offices, with their plans and papers, had been burnt or destroyed. Upon this district alone, we believe, the losses on the Railway exceeded a lac and a half of rupees. The engineers employed on the Agra district retired safely into Agra. Of those who were at Etawah three effected their escape, one to Allahabad, the other two to Agra. In the Cawnpore district the loss of life was very great, and for the space of ninety miles along the line, all the engineers of the Railway Company, as well as those in the contractors' employment, lost their lives, with the exception of two. From Futtehpore the engineers escaped to Allahabad. At a place about twenty-five miles distant from Allahabad, a party of engineers and contractors' assistants had a remarkable escape. Being threatened with an attack by the natives, they occupied a high water-tank which had been built for supplying the locomotives, and they managed to hold that place against a large crowd of assailants for two days. They were at last rescued and brought into the Fort of Allahabad, by a body of sowars sent out to their aid. There was a large muster of the Company's engineers in the latter place, and they, when the mutiny of the sepoys occurred on the 6th June, took their share of military duty, in guards and expeditions against the insurgents of the city, during the occupation of the Fort till the 19th. From the western division of the Mirzapore district the engineers escaped to Allahabad; from the eastern to Mirzapore, at which place the engineers were, as everywhere else, most active in the public defence. The mutiny at Dinapore obliged those in the Benares district to retire into Benares, where the district engineer has since constructed extensive entrenchments, at the request of the authorities. At Allahabad and Mirzapore the entrenchments were also superintended by the Company's engineers, and at Ferozepore one of them filled the post of Garrison engineer. Much credit is due to these gentlemen, as a body, for the good service done by them to the State, and for the patience and cheerfulness with which they have endured privation and suffering, and in many cases heavy loss also.

Many men well acquainted with India have expressed opinions that in a country like this, where the habits of the people are primitive, and where there are not even roads upon any extended scale, so rapid a transit for goods and passengers, as a Railway affords, if not unnecessary, is at all events less important than the extension of the means afforded by the country for slow traffic by land and water. If this were admitted, and we are not prepared to do so, it is clear that no money, means, or resources, are diverted by the construction of the Railway from being expended upon the improvement of the system of roads;

and this improvement the Railway will tend greatly to facilitate. Nor has Railway enterprize in this country fallen into any extravagance; the lavish expenditure of money, and the inconsiderate construction of lines,—the faults that have done serious injury to English Railways, have here been avoided. Indeed it is now clear that works of this nature have not exceeded, but rather fallen short of, the requirements of the country. The good, moreover, that must be effected by them, is not to be measured by the immediate profit that must result from the traffic now proved to be sufficient to make them pay. As respects the commerce of the country, increased facilities for supply will, here as elsewhere, be marked by an additional demand. On the line of the East Indian Railway, lie territories yielding far more produce than they can dispose of, not for want of a market, but for want of the means of transit, and the demand for European produce in the markets of India, in the remotest places, is yearly increasing. Again, the employment of labour, the increase of security of property, the incitement to industry, and we may say the enlightenment of the mind, that follow the establishment of a line of Railway, must lead to their necessary consequences in the improvement of the people. Nor is it too much to suppose, that the introduction of a system of Railways into India will cause in some degree the same results, that have followed their establishment in Europe.

After the events that have lately occurred in this country, it is impossible to avoid feeling, that the most important aspect presented by the Railway is as a rapid means of transporting troops,—as in short a military road. Upon this point nothing can be more just than the words of Lord Dalhousie in his celebrated minute of the 20th February, 1853—

"A single glance cast upon the map, recalling to mind the 'vast extent of the Empire we hold; the various classes and 'interests it includes; the wide distances which separate the 'several points at which hostile attack may at any time be ex-'pected; the perpetual risk of such hostility appearing in quar-'ters where it is the least expected; the expenditure of time, 'of treasure, and of life, that are involved in even the ordinary 'routine of military movements over such a tract, and the com-'parative handful of men scattered over its surface, who have 'been the conquerors of the country, and now hold it in subjec-'tion; a single glance upon these things will suffice to show how 'immeasurable are the political advantages to be derived from 'a system of internal communication, which would admit of full 'intelligence of every event being transmitted to the Govern-'ment under all circumstances, at a speed exceeding five-fold

'its present rate; and would enable the Government to bring 'the main bulk of its military strength to bear upon any given 'point, in as many days as it would now require months, and to 'an extent which at present is physically impossible."

The short length of Railway now open in Bengal has already proved the truth of these observations; and if, as we believe, the advance of the British power in the East is to be, as was said of the progress of the French in Algeria, "*ense et aratro*," —no more effectual means can be devised both for the consolidation of our military power, and for spreading the arts of peace, than the making of Railways.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1858.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of the Reign of Runjeet Sing.* By DEWAN UMMER NATH, LATE PAY-MASTER OF THE SEIKH ARMY. M.S. Lahore.

AN authentic contemporary history of a native court is an exceedingly rare literary article. We have high-flown eulogies on princes whose names even flattery will not preserve from oblivion; we have the most minute accounts of extinct families, who never had one interest in common with the public which posterity would care to know; we have even religious satires of which both the point and direction are now unintelligible; but we have very few authentic contemporary accounts of a native Government. The Memoirs before us favourably contrast with the general barrenness that characterises the contemporary literature of this country.

The greater part of this work was written under the Seikh rule, and we are assured by the author that it was not intended for publication. It would be ridiculous to affirm that the Dewan was led to such a resolution, from a consciousness of defects in his writings. The greatest ambition of an author in Europe is his greatest fear in India. If he does not write for *pay*, an Indian litterateur betrays the greatest solicitude in the preservation of his work in its original individuality. He regards its publication as a positive evil, he looks on it as almost a disgrace to suffer the labour of so many years to be in the unworthy hands of an illiterate public. The mischief is increased ten-fold on the death of the author; his heirs look upon the manuscripts with that veneration with which the ancient Romans regarded the mystic books of the Sybil, and if they are ignorant of the language in which the work is written, the pertinacity with which it is condemned to secrecy is incredible.

The chronicles of Boota Shah and Sohan Loll, which form the basis of Prinsep's and Murray's narratives of the court of Runjeet Sing, can hardly be compared with the Memoirs under review: men who are driven by necessity and direc-

tion to confine their observation to a limited sphere of actions, can hardly supply facts of general interest. We must remember, besides, that a news-writer in an Indian court occupied a post of doubtful honor, and of little or no influence. He was watched with the jealous attention, with which we view and guard against the appearance of a suspicious character in a camp. It is a notorious fact that he was almost the last man in a foreign court who was cognisant of political intrigues, and it is certainly a doubtful question whether he was invariably less traitor than dupe.

Of the literary merits of this work we cannot be fair judges. According to the canons of criticism acknowleged by Persian men of letters, the writings of Dewan Ummer Nath may rank next only to those of the famous Abul Fuzzel, and considering that a faithful imitation of the style of *Ulamee* has been the emulation of Persian scholars since the days of Akbar, the measure of praise that has been accorded to the works of the Dewan is certainly not contemptible. Judging from an English point of view, the very excellences which recommend this work to the Persian reader are serious obstacles in our way of epitomising it. We have the arduous task of culling facts from a bulky manuscript, written in an inflated style, full of far-fetched ideas, and tropes hardly intelligible, without a single attempt at generalisation, or even at political discussion, though almost every chapter opens with a questionable policy or a downright crime. As for the number of similes that this work contains, it is not indulging in exaggeration if we aver that almost every page, on a fair average, contains three forced similitudes; whatever might have been the object for which these figures were originally intended, they now only serve to add to the general confusion. But we are told that these are rare felicities in a Persian style, that it is the work of a master to clothe every common-place thought in learned obscurity. Yet the beauty of a style is not heightened, when the author is guilty of the literary indecorum of instituting analogies between the eyes of a woman, her gait, and her voice, and such homely subjects as the cheeks of a mangoe, the walk of a goose, and the shrill call of a heron. But we are still assured that these are rare beauties, and while we admit their rarity, we leave the enjoyment of the beauties themselves to the polished taste of a Persian critic.

The value of the Memoirs, as a depository of facts and a book of reference, is unquestionably great. It is written by the pay-master of the late *Khalsa Force*, a young man of acknowledged powers of observation, and of immense personal

tion to confine their observation to a limited sphere of actions, can hardly supply facts of general interest. We must remember, besides, that a news-writer in an Indian court occupied a post of doubtful honor, and of little or no influence. He was watched with the jealous attention, with which we view and guard against the appearance of a suspicious character in a camp. It is a notorious fact that he was almost the last man in a foreign court who was cognisant of political intrigues, and it is certainly a doubtful question whether he was invariably less traitor than dupe.

Of the literary merits of this work we cannot be fair judges. According to the canons of criticism acknowleged by Persian men of letters, the writings of Dewan Ummer Nath may rank next only to those of the famous Abul Fuzzel, and considering that a faithful imitation of the style of *Ulamee* has been the emulation of Persian scholars since the days of Akbar, the measure of praise that has been accorded to the works of the Dewan is certainly not contemptible. Judging from an English point of view, the very excellences which recommend this work to the Persian reader are serious obstacles in our way of epitomising it. We have the arduous task of culling facts from a bulky manuscript, written in an inflated style, full of far-fetched ideas, and tropes hardly intelligible, without a single attempt at generalisation, or even at political discussion, though almost every chapter opens with a questionable policy or a downright crime. As for the number of similes that this work contains, it is not indulging in exaggeration if we aver that almost every page, on a fair average, contains three forced similitudes; whatever might have been the object for which these figures were originally intended, they now only serve to add to the general confusion. But we are told that these are rare felicities in a Persian style, that it is the work of a master to clothe every common-place thought in learned obscurity. Yet the beauty of a style is not heightened, when the author is guilty of the literary indecorum of instituting analogies between the eyes of a woman, her gait, and her voice, and such homely subjects as the cheeks of a mangoe, the walk of a goose, and the shrill call of a heron. But we are still assured that these are rare beauties, and while we admit their rarity, we leave the enjoyment of the beauties themselves to the polished taste of a Persian critic.

The value of the Memoirs, as a depository of facts and a book of reference, is unquestionably great. It is written by the pay-master of the late *Khalsa Force*, a young man of acknowledged powers of observation, and of immense personal

influence in the late Durbar. He is one of a class of men who achieved power under the Seikh rule, and the large immunities they now enjoy attest their past influence. The undigested records that the Seikhs preserved in their archives, were placed under the superintendence of the author's father, the late Rajah Deno Nath, one of the most intelligent, and latterly the most influential member of the Seikh Government. Rajah Deno Nath succeeded in reducing the heterogeneous collections of the royal archives into order, and it is said that under the Rajah's surveillance these records were, for the first time, rendered useful for political purposes. The author himself was personally acquainted with the most considerable men of the Punjab; and where records did not exist, his personal experience stood him in good stead. In sooth we can generally place the most implicit reliance on the facts narrated in this work, the major part of which consists of extracts from the official documents we have spoken of before, or the records preserved by the Dewan's father. Indeed, the Dewan is seldom if ever guilty of an exaggeration, or a distortion of facts, or of any unfairness to which an author may be tempted. Even Runjeet Sing is not spared the censures of just criticism, and whatever we may say of the Dewan's loyalty to a family to whom he is indebted for his rank and fortune, we must hold him guiltless of any great partiality for either the men or the manners, he had so long viewed as a part and portion of the governing class. If Dewan Ummer Nath does not say in so many words, that the avarice of Runjeet Sing knew no other check than the feeble restraint imposed on it by a pliable conscience, he does not conceal facts which would directly lead to such an inference. He certainly does not charge his royal master with either infidelity or perfidy; he yet narrates the death of Nizoodeen of Bussoor, and the occupation of Kangra, without a word in palliation of the guilt which public opinion has attached to Runjeet Sing's conduct.

We believe we have said enough to secure some respect for the Dewan's impartiality as a historian, and if we are unable to applaud his style, let him console himself with our ignorance of the Persian language. Nor are we vain enough to believe for a moment, that all that we can say against his flowery diction, will in the slightest degree lower his reputation as an author, in the sight of those for whose special benefit the Dewan writes. Perhaps it would be more considerate if we assert that we are just as much entitled to give an opinion as to the literary merits of this work, as the Dewan would be in judging of the style of Grote or of Macaulay. What would a Persian scholar say of historians who have written volumes

without once comparing the eyes of their princesses to emeralds or dew-drops, the wealth of their kings to the hoards of Crœsus, or the wisdom of their statesmen to the light of a thousand flambeaus? Or what pleasure can a Persian student derive in perusing the most elaborate discussion of party-politics, or the most erudite dissertation on the poor-rates? In like manner we may account for our deficient powers of appreciation in judging of Dewan Ummer Nath's pretensions as a man of letters.

We have an appendix to this work which does not necessarily belong to it. In fact its connection with the Memoirs rests on nothing more or less than the convenience that suggested itself to the book-binder, to work the amalgamation of the two volumes into one. We call it an appendix inasmuch as it is appended to another work, and not forgetting that the matters it contains are of a supplementary character; they are rather elucidations of, and commentaries on, the Memoirs, than a continuation of the work itself. The subject matter of this appendix is an account of some of the most considerable Sirdars of the Punjab; it was contributed at the instance of the late lamented Sir Henry Lawrence, the then President of the Board of Administration. It is the work of more than one writer; some of the monographs are written in Urdu, others in pure Persian, and the whole forms the most interesting biography of the Sikh notables now extant. Here are recorded the lives of men justly famed for feats of valour, which even the brightest examples of western chivalry cannot surpass; of soldiers who, in their devotion to duty, have nothing to fear from a comparison with the most martial people that ever existed; of ministers, who, inferior to Metternich or Talleyrand in political sagacity, were yet able to steer the helm of state with safety, in times hardly less disturbed than the Hungarian revolution or the Hundred Days; and if at the end they succumbed under the growing influence of an infuriated soldiery, the history of Europe is not without examples to keep them in countenance. Here are also recorded the lives of faithful adherents, whose fidelity to the cause of Runjeet Sing was much more rigidly tested than that of Fairfax for Charles the First, or of Savary for Napoleon. How Hurree Sing fell at Jumrood; how the brave old Sham Sing devoted himself at Subraon; how the Khalsa fought at Pheero-Shahur and Chillianwallah; how Mokum Chund, Bhugwani Das, and Deno Nath guided the State Councils; or how hundreds perished with Shere Sing, whom Runjeet Sing had faithlessly impoverished, are subjects of history. We shall not omit mentioning here a circumstance, which reflects no slight honor on the modest for-

bearance of the Sirdars in the performance of such a delicate task. While the subjects did admit of eulogies, and even the most scrupulous would concede to them no small measure of praise, these autobiographies and family histories are yet written in a sober and modest style. When we come to consider the latitude that was allowed to the writers to give their feeling of egotism full swing, we wonder that there are so very few of Plutarch's heroes in these accounts.

There are some fatalists who aver, in contradiction to their expressed opinion, that there are certain acts of self-denial which can over-rule even the decree of fate. Such men declare that Runjeet Sing's fortune was the work of his grandfather Churruter Sing, whose sanctified death was accepted by the kind deities as a sacrifice, and for his grandson was reserved a kingdom. Churruter Sing, it is related, having a presentiment of his approaching dissolution, one fine morning left Lahore through the gate under which had been borne the corpses of the Chogutha Kings, and travelled on foot to a shrine, and there in Khorassan breathed his last in the service of the Gooroos.

We may here introduce an incident of recent occurrence, which may serve to dispel a belief, entertained by some men, that the Seikhs are defective in a spirit of adventure, and that even religious influence fails to incite them to it. The Seikhs have a shrine at Astrakhan, and another in some obscure place on the shores of the Red Sea, which the Khalsas view with the same veneration that the Christians of the middle ages viewed Jerusalem, and the Moslems of all ages have viewed Mecca and Medina. A visit to any of these places reduced the sins of years. One Roy, an Udassi Sad, or faqueer, having travelled from Umritser to Astrakhan, was led away by curiosity into the heart of the Czar's dominions. The Russian Empire, of which he had heard such romantic accounts, was now before him, and he ventured to visit the capital of that Government which rules over one-eighth part of the habitable globe. However, imagination soon faded in the face of stern reality, and at Moscow Roy made a halt, which, perhaps, with an opportunity might have been turned into a defeat, and the Udassi Sad might have traced his steps back to the quiet of Umritser and the Punjab. His good fortune led him on, and Roy reached St. Petersburgh; here he contracted a mysterious friendship with a Russian merchant, and was probably admitted as a partner, but it is a fact that, on the decease of the Russian, Roy succeeded to an immense fortune.

The Sad soon got tired of life in Russia; he was hard up for sympathy, and howsoever kind the treatment might have been

which Russian courtesy dictated towards foreigners, Roy had nothing in common with his new friends. He now bored his friends in the Punjab to join him at St. Petersburgh, and by repeated entreaties, and the offer of a share in his fortune, he prevailed on one Ramdas of Jhung to undertake a journey to the Russian capital. About four years ago Ramdas left the Punjaub for his new destination, passing through some of the most barbarous countries on the face of the earth. On his way Ramdas was robbed at Tiflis and at Astrakhan, and after suffering much privation, the charity of a Russian officer took him safe to St. Petersburgh. As ill-luck would have it, poor Roy died a few months before his friend's arrival, on the 19th of January, 1856; his entire property was attached and appropriated to the Russian treasury. A Russian captain of artillery pitied the condition of the bereaved foreigner, and had the means to afford only such assistance to Ramdas as to save him from starvation.

One day Alexander II. saw Ramdas in one of the public promenades, and was so struck with the Sad's appearance, that he summoned Ramdas to the imperial presence, and there the mendicant narrated his adventures since his departure from the Punjab. Alexander pitied the unhappy Sad's sufferings, put a small purse into his hands, and advised him to prove his relationship with the deceased Roy, with the view of succeeding to his estate. Ramdas, as a matter of course, sought his Russian friend, and was probably advised by him to consult the British consul, and to procure a certificate of his being a British subject, which document was immediately obtained. M. Micheli, the consul, was absent from St. Petersburgh, and his *locum tenens*, who was also the Danish Consul, referred to the Danish ambassador at Saint James'. On the 9th of July, 1856, General Oxholm wrote to Lord Clarendon on the subject of his consul's letter, and here the General's ignorance of Seikh nomenclature led him to a ludicrous error. According to the conventional rules observed by the Seikhs in their correspondence, the names of their gods find a promiscuous place with that of the author, and as punctuation is not observed, the two names may go together; hence Ramdas figures in General Oxholm's letter as "Ramsin-Bassino," which is very probably a compound of the names of two gods, Ram and Vishnu, or of Ramdas' own name with that of Vishnu; any how the General's letter is a subject for speculation to linguists. Meanwhile M. Micheli returned to his post, and corresponded on the subject with the Foreign Secretary at home; Lord Clarendon made a reference to the Court of Directors, and the Court of Directors to the Indian authorities. What was

the end of so many references we are unable to surmise, but if Ramdas' claim is supported by evidence, and if the Czar is willing to abide by the result of such an investigation as the local Indian authorities can make, the Udassi Sad may come to the possession of a fortune which, according to his own calculation, is above a crore of rupees.

This little episode, perhaps of some interest, will satisfactorily dispose of the charge of apathy so often brought forward against the natives of the Punjab. Perhaps there are few classes of men in India, who are found at greater distances from their homes, and in whom a spirit of adventure is so rife, as among the Punjabees. They have corresponding mercantile firms in France and England; they traffic largely in Egypt, Persia, Khorassan, and Thibet, not to speak of Hindustan proper, Bengal and Southern India.

But to return to the Memoirs. We are told that when the Chagutha Empire was on its decline, Nadir Shah ascended the throne of Iran; he named Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Dourani dynasty of Cabul, *Dourah Douran*, and after equipping him in a style becoming the representative of a great sovereign, he sent him against India. The accounts of the ravages committed by Ahmed Shah have exceeded even the measure of oriental exaggeration. It is related that he raised a pyramid of human skulls near the site of the famous temple of Umritser, after blowing up the shrine and levelling the buildings that surrounded it. But it is placed beyond a doubt, that of all the enemies that the Seikhs have ever known, Ahmed Shah Dourani was the most determined, hard-hearted and unscrupulous. Neither age, sex, nor quality had any recommendation in his sight; but persecution produced its natural effect, and instead of answering the sanguine expectations of the Dourani chief, it consolidated the power it was intended to destroy.

In November, 1780, to Maha Sing was born a son at Goojranwallah, afterwards well-known to fame as Runjeet Sing. Of the early life of the future ruler of Lahore little is known that is interesting, and less that is worth belief. He lived in obscurity, and if he gave any early indications of future eminence they are not recorded in history. The following were the most conspicuous of the contemporaries of Runjeet Sing in the Punjab, and the neighbouring territories; Seva Sing, Goojur Sing, and Sahab Sing of the Kuneah family, governed Lahore; Nizamoodeen ruled at Kussoor; the Bhangies at Umritser; Mozuffer Khan Saddozaie at Mooltan; Maioodeen Afghan at Dehrah Ishmail Khan; Munkera at Hotee Bunnee; Surwar Khan Gaitheekhali at Tak,

Daood Pathra at Dehrah Gazee Khan; the famous Futteh Khan Barrukzaie at Peshawur; his brother Azim Khan at Cashmere; Sheredil Khan at Candahar; Jehandad Khan at Attock; Sundsar Chund in Kohistan; Churruth Sing at Chumba; and the country between Hooshiarpoor and Kuppoorthula acknowledged the Government of Futteh Sing Alloowaliah. Runjeet Sing had scarcely completed his eighteenth year, when Punjab politics already felt the influence of the coming man. He had a personal insult to resent against a Chutta Sirdar named Husmud, and one day meeting him in the streets of Lahore, he took advantage of the accident to challenge him to single combat, and in the encounter succeeded in killing the Moslem chief. After this feat of valour which augured well for his future career, Runjeet Sing returned to Goojeranwallah.

In the year 1799, about the beginning of July, Runjeet Sing having leagued with the Kuneah family and the most influential men of Lahore,—among whom a common village Lumberdar, Kaimdeen, figures the most—and being fortified with an investiture of the capital from Shah Zeman, who still retained a nominal sway over the Punjab, entered the city of Lahore through the Lahore gate, and took possession of the place without firing a shot. He rode through the public thoroughfares, assuring the people that their rights, persons, and property were perfectly secure as long as they continued faithful to him. His next work was the establishment of a strong police in the city to suppress any general rising, and after setting on foot vast military preparations to anticipate any attack from the neighbouring powers, Runjeet Sing commenced his career as one of the ruling chiefs of the Punjab.

A. D. 1800. It was not long before the neighbouring chieftains took the alarm. Such of them as were immediately concerned in the fate of Lahore, disgusted and chagrined at the easy conquest of so valuable a prize by an obscure individual, a *parvenu* at the best, formed themselves into a cabal, to assassinate him during a friendly conference. Jessa Sing, Ramgurriah, Golab Sing, Bhunji of Umritser, and Nizamoodeen of Kussoor, sent overtures to Runjeet Sing for a meeting of congratulation, and for establishing perpetual friendship between the ruler of Lahore, and the allied chiefs. Runjeet Sing received timely notice of the treacherous intentions of the Sirdars, and yet unwilling to betray any signs of fear, accepted their invitation, thanked them for their civility, and appointed the little village of Pacene which stood on neutral ground, as the place of meeting. The day arrived, and Runjeet Sing repaired to Pacene with a strong body of retainers, that in

case an attempt was made on his life, the means of defence might not be wanting. Frustrated in their attempt to entrap the wary chieftain, the Sirdars changed their tactics, and welcomed Runjeet Sing with all the external demonstrations of joy, and though Runjeet Sing's suspicion could not have been disarmed by such a shallow artifice, he congratulated himself on the possibility of concluding the Pacene conference without bloodshed. For two long months, this insignificant village was the scene of endless festivities; satiety, however, soon closed the feasts, and the party broke up in the middle of winter, Runjeet Sing hurrying back to Lahore, and the Sirdars returning to Umritser.

On Runjeet Sing's return to Lahore he seriously discussed the conquest of Jummoo. His naturally keen powers of perception must have not a little flattered his ambition; round and about him, he beheld petty states ruled by men blessed with even less than mediocre ability, men who held their government by a sort of sufferance, and who, each in his turn, might be compelled to surrender his authority. Here and there certain villages or "tithings" had a patriarchal government of their own, and scorned to acknowledge any other supremacy, but that of their own elders, and with the conquest of this inconsiderable body of men, Runjeet Sing formed a scheme which ended in the complete subjection of the whole of the Punjab under his rule.

On his way to Jummoo, Runjeet Sing punished the villagers of Mirowal, and levied a fine of 8,000 rupees on those of Narowal for obstinate resistance; after a tedious march of some days, he besieged the mud fort of Chuprah. The celerity of Runjeet Sing's movements was something new in the history of Seikh warfare; his progress to Chuprah, though far removed from a remarkable military feat, filled the neighbouring chieftains with fear and suspicion. Though not naturally cruel, Runjeet Sing thought it expedient to give his enemy a foretaste of his power to revenge himself when he had an occasion for it: he was resolved to strike terror into the hearts of those who incurred his displeasure, perhaps to win a character for unflinching resolution, which might secure him against petty annoyances. The garrison of Chuprah refused to surrender, and prepared to resist to the last. Runjeet Sing was not disappointed at their resolution, and gladly embraced the opportunity for a severe example to the plotting chiefs of the Punjab. Chuprah was taken after a stout resistance, and the garrison was ordered to be massacred! The fate of this unfortunate city was spread far and wide, and wherever it

was heard the terror of Runjeet Sing's name worked the desired effect. Men who had once calculated on a bloody engagement near Jummoo, did not wonder to find the Rajah of that place craving mercy from the young Khalsa chief, and submitting as a feudatory with presents of elephants, valuable ornaments, and 20,000 rupees in cash. Runjeet Sing received the Rajah of Jummoo with a display which struck the royal visitor with awe, he was rewarded in return, a valuable *khelut* was presented to him, and his independent existence ceased from that day. On his way to Lahore, Runjeet Sing halted at Sealkote, and while there he received intelligence of a rebellion in one of his newly acquired territories. Dull Sing of Kakkoo, taking advantage of Runjeet Sing's absence, raised the standard of revolt, and it is supposed even contemplated a descent on Lahore. But before he could spread the spirit of rebellion among the other feudatories, Runjeet Sing engaged him with a superior force, defeated him completely, pursued him to his last retreat, took him prisoner, and plundered and destroyed his property, and only the entreaties of his friends could persuade him to set the rebel free, on receiving his brothers-in-law, Mokum Chund and Nedham Sing, as hostages for his future good conduct. Mokum Chund afterwards proved to be the staunchest adherent, the most consummate politician, and one of the most successful generals of Runjeet Sing. His services, and how they were requited, will be narrated in their proper place; suffice it to say that even to this day the name of Mokum Chund is deservedly revered by all classes of Punjabees.

It has been the fate of all attempts to govern with a standing army and without a constitution, to supersede the necessity of laws by the presence of the sword, to propitiate either overt rebellion or "secret societies for revolutionary 'purposes," instead of allaying anxieties or satisfying suspicions. In a country governed by laws, the whole community protects every individual member thereof, and every individual willingly sacrifices a part of his natural rights and liberties to the convenience of the community. But where the public peace is entrusted to a band of armed mercenaries, the public and the ruling power exist as two separate bodies, if not openly at variance, secretly acting against each other and the public peace. A rebel under such circumstances is a popular man; if the public do not make common cause with him, they are certainly never at pains to bring him to justice. The presence of a large army has sometimes conduced to temporary quiet, but the lasting influence of moral force is wanting in this material agency; under a mili-

tary despotism submission is the effect of an absence of motive and means to rebel, and not of a conviction of the necessity or utility of obedience to the cause of order. The obedience secured by just laws is a cheerful compliance with the dictates of an authority willingly acknowledged as the sovereign power in all matters ; it is then a duty, an obligation, and *a necessity.* Never was the despotic system of *the government of fear* so clearly condemned by its effects as during the early part of the reign of Runjeet Sing. Wherever the Khalsa stood, armed and ready to suppress insurrection, there a temporary column gave the appearance of stability, peace, and safety, or wherever large *jageerdars* had been partially attached to the ruling dynasty by grants in perpetuity, interest kept even the ill-disposed in submission. Beyond the sphere of such influences a general chaos prevailed ; the whole government of the Seikhs under Runjeet Sing might have been compared to a large camp, eleven months out of the twelve employed in quelling rebellion, suppressing sedition and conspiracy, extorting tribute and achieving fresh conquests. Some disaffected chiefs, some ill-disposed villagers, found employment for the Khalsa, eleven months out of the year, and though at the close of Runjeet Sing's reign, a faint approach to an equitable government was really made, to the last year of his wonderful life the Punjab hardly ever knew twelve months of profound peace. His half-measures to establish order were soon scattered away, like a handful of chaff before a tornado ; his insatiable avarice made all punitive measures so uncertain, so perfectly dependent on his whims and his state policy, so inconsistent and often contradictory, that people hardly knew any crime which would be so revolting to the Rajah's moral sense, as not to purchase for itself perfect absolution and forgiveness. The records of our courts in the Punjab, prove that the payment of a fine of a thousand rupees was considered a sufficient *amende* even for a murder! If there did exist some rules of action which either by command or prescription assumed the dignity of laws, the ease and impunity with which pardon was purchased were so notorious, that they ceased to check the evil-minded or protect the well-disposed. It is not to be wondered at therefore that almost every year, disappointed or disaffected chiefs rose in open rebellion, were hunted down and destroyed, or to the consternation of all loyal-minded subjects, won rank and honor.

Though we are told by the Dewan that Dull Sing was released after giving hostages for future good conduct, we still find him a prisoner at Lahore. Perhaps the Sirdar was secured for a second time, after a mock release, and as such artifices were pretty generally practised by Runjeet Sing, our

surmise might probably be a fact. To make the submission of Dull Sing's family complete, Runjeet Sing sent a body of horsemen in search of the prisoner's wife Saijo, who had absconded on learning the fate of her husband. This unfortunate woman was captured and detained in a separate prison. But the adherents of Dull Sing were busy in persuading the neighbouring chiefs to assert themselves against the *parvenu*, who had taken prisoner one of the foremost of their number; they succeeded in cementing an alliance between Sahah Sing Goojrathea, and the Bhangees of Umritser, who appeared at the head of a powerful army to fight the cause of their fallen peer. The wary Runjeet Sing, unable to cope with such a coalition—strong at once in numbers and public sympathy—persuaded Kasrah Sing Soree to intercede for Dull Sing, in order to convince his opponents that intimidation had no share in his conduct. The Soree did as he was asked, and after a well dissembled passion Runjeet Sing set free the prisoner who had grown too dangerous a subject for his conqueror. Dull Sing once released, the enemy disappeared, and Runjeet Sing, who had left Lahore to meet the allied force, returned to his capital and entrusted its civil administration to the hands of one Kurrum Sing, of whom we know nothing beyond this appointment.

About this time one Moonshee Eusuf Alli Khan reached Lahore with a message from the Governor General of British India, fortified with the usual load of valuable presents, and a large supply of European curiosities. The Moonshee was very well received; he produced his credentials, was permitted the honor of reading the message he bore, was assured of the friendship of the Durbar towards the English Government, and after a short stay at Lahore, Eusuf Alli Khan was sent back with presents for his masters, and a suit of honor for his own services.

1801. Runjeet Sing now resolved to assume the insignia of royalty, and to raise himself above the rank of a tributary Sirdar, as he had raised himself above his power, and territorial possessions. He convened a meeting of all his feudatories, Moulvies, Moonshees, and other men of consequence, and addressed them on the vanity of all earthly glories. He dilated on the dangers of ambition; spoke of royalty as a mere chimera; and after assuming a reverence for religion which his conduct in life never proved to have been sincere, he informed his audience that he was God's vicegerent, that he was His humble servant, and that hereafter he was to be called "Sircar" (Agent), and begged of his friends to remember that the respect paid to him was the respect which all

good men paid to the "Agent," that they may profit in the sight of Him whose "Agent" he was. The moral effects of this political move, howsoever questionable the sincerity of the motive, or howsoever frivolous the motive itself, were much more lasting than even the empire which they were intended to support. Though Runjeet Sing has been nineteen years in his grave, and no progeny left of him, but a reputed son cut off from Seikh sympathy by difference of religion and education, and though the short-lived sovereignty of the Khalsa has been for ever "entombed in the urns, and sepulchres 'of mortality," yet from one corner of the Punjab to the other, from the noble born to the peasant, all betray a feeling of attachment and reverence for the "Sircar," which ought to be the emulation of our government.

Shortly after the assumption of the title of Sircar, Runjeet Sing established a mint, and ordered the best coiners in the capital to furnish designs for a new silver coin. With his alacrity in the pursuit of a favorite object, Runjeet Sing made his selection, and ordered the Nanuck Shaie rupee, weighing eleven *massa* and two *ruthee*, to be struck in the royal mint, bearing on both the obverse and the reverse, the name of Gooroos Nanuck and Govind Sing, with the following legend:.

> "Food, sword, and certain victory
> Through Nanuck's grace were won by Gooroo Govind."

Kazee Nizamoodeen was nominated the religious *head* of all the Moslems who recognised the government of Runjeet Sing, and his power was final in all matters of religious importance between members of his faith. As a legal adviser to the Kazee, in matters relating to deeds of mortgages, sales, contracts and the like social transactions, Moufti Mahomed Shah was appointed; and the city police was placed under the authority of Kutwal Emambux. Thus it was proclaimed to the world, that in his choice of public officers, Runject Sing consulted efficiency and merit rather than the feeble claims of party. Every fifteen or twenty families were placed under a Lumberdar or Titheman, elected by the common consent of the said families, and the Lumberdar was held responsible for the conduct of his charge both in person and in property. But there was such a weak infusion of justice or equity in Runjeet Sing's legislation, that a rich man had to make amend for the guilt of all his neighbours, though he had not incurred the responsibility of their conduct, and one propertied community had to answer for the offence of another of less importance, though the former had not the smallest connexion or any obligation in common with the latter. But such acts of oppression became more and more frequent as the demand for money

increased; in course of time the Seikhs were so completely habituated to constitutional spoil and plunder, that Runjeet Sing condescended to assign reasons for every act of extortion. If Runjeet Sing was not invariably sole author of such, the enunciated rules of his policy were so notorious that his generals only too gladly made their acts accord with those rules.

The fort of Lahore was now repaired and garrisoned by levies; Moteeram, the son of Mokum Chund, received a lac of rupees to apply to the purposes of city conservancy; Hukeem Nooroodeen was appointed court physician, and the Durbar, under the guidance of Runjeet Sing, framed certain regulations for the army. What these regulations were we cannot surmise; they have not outlived their authors, nor is it probable that they were ever recorded; but judging from the discipline of the Khalsa we may be inclined to think favourably of them.

Amidst the busy occupations of framing military regulations, establishing a local police, and superintending the conservancy of his capital, Runjeet Sing received the tidings of the birth of a son to his Ranee Nuckyram. Astrology afforded its assistance in naming the prince, and astrologers predicted wonders of the infant, but the tragical end of Khurruck Sing did not justify the high hopes inspired by the soothsayers. The city was illuminated by command, a royal salute was fired, the priests and holy men were feasted; but amidst these demonstrations of joy, news reached Runjeet Sing of the surprise and sack of Goojeranwallah by Sahab Sing Goojrathea, and a vague rumour of his making a descent on Lahore. Instead of placing his capital in a state of defence, Runjeet Sing immediately marched out of Lahore in the company of Sudda Kour, whose influence in the neighbourhood of Goojeranwallah was great. After a skirmish the unfortunate rebel was taken prisoner; unwilling to make him an irreconcileable foe, and well aware that for political reasons his imprisonment could not be perpetual, Runjeet Sing, at the instance of Sahab Sing Baidee, set him free.

On his return to Lahore, Runjeet Sing demanded an account of the disbursements made by Moteeram, and for reasons not mentioned by our authorities, that honest and useful servant was placed under arrest. For some equally unknown reasons Hakeem Nooroodeen received a jagheer of twenty thousand rupees per annum for life. Sahab Sing had hardly been a month out of Runjeet Sing's clutches, when he was duped by the neighbouring Sirdars to try his luck another time by an appeal to arms. Among these ill-advisers of Sahab Sing was Nizamoodeen of Kussoor; Runjeet Sing was so convinced of his guilt that

without assigning any cause for an invasion of the territory of a friendly power, he marched into Kussoor, surprised and secured villages, and took and retained possession of them for good against all the threats and persuasion of the treacherous Puthan. An effectual and speedy chastisement of an offender might have impressed the necessity of a little prudence on the minds of men less heedless than Sahab Sing Goojrathea; but on him the benefits of experience were altogether lost, and a second attack was made on Goojeranwallah with as little forethought as the first. Runjeet Sing mustered his men, and, placing them under the command of Futteh Sing Kalianwallah, sent them with all speed towards his native town. The Seikh commander was well aware that if Nizamoodeen of Kussoor surprised him while he was engaged with the Goojrathee chief, total destruction would be inevitable, and as Nizamoodeen had lately suffered for a suspected alliance with Sahab Sing, it was only too probable that he would avenge himself on his enemy by assisting Sahab Sing in the hour of need. To conciliate the Puthan's anger, Futteh Sing had a private conference with him, and on a promise of returning to the Kussoor chief his lost possessions, exchanged turbans with him, and secured his invaluable allegiance and friendship. Futteh Sing then marched against Sahab Sing Goojrathee, and overcame him in a severely contested battle. Sahab Sing was driven back, and the country once more was restored to the Lahore chief. On his way to the capital, Futteh Sing brought with him Nizamoodeen's younger brother, Kuttuboodeen, and once more the inconsistent policy was carried out; and while a part of Kussoor was yet under the Seikh government for treachery, the ruler of that place was forgiven his crime, and amply rewarded. His brother Kuttuboodeen was detained at Lahore for a short time, and was a favorite with the Durbar. On the departure of the young man for Kussoor, two Vakeels Hadji and Wassel Khan were recognised as the representatives of the Kussoor chief at Lahore.

By degrees Runjeet Sing was involved in every political movement in the Punjab, and as it almost invariably ended fortunately for the interest of the Lahore chief, hardly an opportunity was permitted to pass without turning it to some account. The peasants of some parts of Kohistan having proved themselves troublesome to the neighbouring powers, Runjeet Sing moved out of Lahore to punish them. No sooner was the resolution formed than it was acted upon. The peasants of Gharutta against whom Runjeet Sing was so incensed owed no allegiance to him; they had, in fact, a

powerful ruler of their own, and perhaps they were accountable to their neighbours more than to Runjeet Sing; but neither party cared to hear or assign reasons. When Runjeet Sing reached Gharutta, the Rajah of Kohistan, Sundsor Chund, ventured out to meet him; an engagement ensued, Sundsor Chund was defeated, and thrown back, hotly pursued by the victorious Seiks. The defeated enemy never rallied again; the Khalsa, elated with success, followed him to his fortresses, and the humbled Sundsor Chund was only too glad to get rid of his dangerous visitor by a tribute in cash and kind. The defenceless state of Noorpoor suggested an attack, which ended in the total subjection of that territory; Runjeet Sing must have marvelled at his own success, still it did not satisfy his ambition. The village communities of Bhuthie were next attacked, the natives sought safety in flight, and Runjeet Sing captured the fort of that place. Upwards of 400 horses were taken by the victors from the Bhuthie stud, and the whole country, bearing that name, was placed under the orders of Futteh Sing Kulianwallah. Runjeet Sing then moved towards Patihar, and his good star was still on the ascendant, for even a skirmish is not recorded, though Patihar followed the fate of Bhuthie. Runjeet Sing now turned his attention to domestic policy, and hastened towards the capital of his growing empire. While he was conquering state after state, no systematic, well organised opposition was offered to check his aggressive policy; petty risings here and there served only to warn him against placing too great a confidence in the professions of his neighbours, otherwise they only consolidated his power by the suicidal policy of each frangible stick being in its turn smashed, while together they would have constituted strength. As an instance illustrative of our remarks, we have to record the rise of Oothum Sing Mussithea, immediately on the return of Runjeet Sing to Lahore. This incorrigible Sirdar had immense influence in his native town of Mussithea, but was unable to understand that beyond his own district his influence would not secure him safety. As if ashamed of an easy submission to a *parvenu*, Oothum Sing raised the standard of revolt in Seetahpoor, and occupied the fort of that ilk. Runjeet Sing moved out against him, and after some vain overtures to a reconciliation, he stormed the fort, and took Oothum Sing prisoner. But in accordance with the *trimming* policy of Seikh government, Oothum Sing was not only pardoned, but placed in command of the very fort he had occupied as a rebel.

The Bysackee fair had arrived with the usual concomitants. The religious, the speculative, as well as the pleasure-seeking

gathered in the city of Umritser in thousands; the trade of that part of the country received a stimulus that was desirable even if religion had no part in the fair. Runjeet Sing visited the temple of Umritser with a full court; he bathed in the sacred tank, but before the ablution had cleansed his sins away, he transacted one of those dark political businesses which are of frequent occurrence in that country. He was visited here by the Moulvies of the Kussoor chief, and received from them an offer of service; what that service was, though not expressed, could be easily divined. Runjeet Sing accepted their offer, and treated them with marked attention. The treacherous Moulvies returned to Kussoor to put their black design into execution. They treated Nizamoodeen with open contempt; returned evasive answers to his inquiries, but fortunately the ill-starred chief was not long permitted to regret his choice of servants; the Moulvies assassinated him while he was sleeping in his house, and with the blood of one master in their hands they offered their services to another. Runjeet Sing was not willing to give a colour to suspicions that were already rife against him; he mourned in a becoming manner the loss of an ally, and seemed vexed at the Moulvies. To keep up appearances the annexation of Kussoor was put off *sine die.*

Runjeet Sing now made overtures of friendship to Futteh Sing Alloawalliah, and granted him the privilege of being styled the "Sircar," or with the familiar title of *brother*, but we shall soon see the hollowness of all courtesies or professions of friendship which owe their existence to policy rather than to conviction.

1802. About this time Muzuffer Khan, the Nawab of Mooltan, became troublesome, and without actually attacking the Seikh territories, had kept the subjects of that power in a state of constant alarm. With his usual *sang froid* Runjeet Sing marched out to punish the independent rulers of Mooltan, and while yet at a distance of thirty miles from that place, Muzuffer Khan came out to meet him as a friendly power, and without entering into Runjeet Sing's motives, offered him a large bribe to return to Lahore. The terms offered were immediately accepted, and the rich bankers of the place stood security for the free actual payment, by instalments, of the amount promised by the Nawab. Runjeet Sing returned to Lahore in triumph. About this time Bhag Sing of Buggo dying accidentally, his estates were confiscated, and made over to Ranee Sudda Kour, with whom Runjeet Sing was soon to be connected by a matrimonial alliance.

Jiemul Singh Kuneah, Sudda Kour's husband, by sufferance,

sent a Vakeel to Runjeet Sing with overtures of an alliance between the two foremost families of that time, by a marriage between his daughter and the Lahore chief. Sudda Kour was in ecstasy; to win the powerful interest of Runjeet Sing was her ambition, and to perpetuate it by a matrimonial connexion was not to be despised. The day was fixed by the interested parties, and while the marriage feasts were progressing, while yet his vows were being plighted to the young bride, Runjeet Sing fell in love with a young dancing woman, by name *Morah*, and seeing no moral guilt in an attachment which, however commenced, might yet be rendered lawful by the aid of religion, he proposed that his marriage with the prostitute should be celebrated at the same time as that with Sudda Kour's daughter. The proposition, like all other propositions from such a source, was agreed to, and the beautiful Morah took her place among the Ranees of Lahore. Once for all the uxorious imbecility of this astute chief made him scorn the offers of ambition; he clandestinely left Lahore in the company of the famous courtezan, and repaired to the banks of the Ganges once more to absolve himself from the iniquities that weighed heavy on him. The author of the Memoirs relates that while at Hurdwar, Runjeet Sing met the European officials of that place, and that they expressed their admiration for the energy and intelligence of the Seikh chieftain.

During his residence at Hurdwar, Runjeet Sing mustered a large force, with the view of levying a compulsory tribute on the neighbouring powers. He followed the system which had so repeatedly secured success to him, and one after another overcame them without loss or trouble. Among these the chief of Phugwara was the first to submit. Hooshiarpore soon followed the example. Jie Sing Kuneah made his submission with a present of a gun which was received with thanks, and Runjeet Sing marched homeward.

The decline of the Bhangee ascendancy in Umritser had often suggested to Runjeet Sing the expediency of a demonstration in that quarter. Umritser, the seat of the Seikh religion, and the head quarters of the Gooroos of that faith, was an acquisition worth any cost; the crafty chief resolved to unite the religious and the political capitals under one rule, and though the Bhangees were not likely to give a cause for dissension, it was not consistent with Runjeet Sing's character to suppose that such a weak obstacle in his way was at all likely to baulk his ambitious projects. If the Bhangees would not offend Runjeet Sing, Runjeet Sing could offend the Bhangees, and as long as a good cause was given, it mattered little who the aggressor was. Unfortunately for

the Bhangees, the famous Dowrani gun, Zem Zem, was still in their possession; it had belonged to the famous Dowrani chief Ahmed Shah, and Runjeet Sing affected to be so much concerned in the fate of this precious trophy, that an overture was immediately made to the infant son of Gopal Sing to surrender the gun on the pain of being coerced to acquiescence. It was now clear that a collision was inevitable. Zem Zem had been the boast, the pride and glory of the Bhangees in their palmy days, even now it shed a faint ray of grandeur on that fast declining dynasty of Umritser. The Bhangees steadily refused complying with a request which would expose their already weak power to the scorn and contempt of the nation; but though they preserved intact all the hauteur and self-conceit, so natural to their once glorious rule, their real power and importance had long passed away. Runjeet Sing despised the vaunt of a power, once not unknown to conquest, but now the very shadow of what it was; he surprised Umritser with a small body of horsemen, killed the son of Golab Sing Bhangee, and sent the governor's wife out of her home without attendant, food or raiment, an exile from her own capital, and a pensioner on the charity of the neighbouring princes. What became of Golab Sing's widow is not known; perhaps, she failed to elicit any sympathy from her neighbours, and must have perished in obscurity. The bone of contention, the "wonder working Zem Zem," was removed to Lahore; there it still guards one of the city gates, having passed from the hands of Ahmed Shah Dowrani, through others less known to fame, to those of the Khalsa chief, and now submits to the victors of "Ferozshahur," "Sobraon" and "Goojrat."

We must not omit mentioning here the fact of the introduction of one of Runjeet Sing's favorite generals to his notice. While his marriage feasts were being celebrated, a body of fencers was summoned from different parts of the country to add to the diversions of the court. Elli Bux of Putiallah, a man of great repute in his calling, so completely won Runjeet Sing's admiration, that he was forthwith honoured with the title of *Khan*, and put in command of the guns attached to the fort of Lahore.

1803. This was a comparatively quiet year; we have to record only *one* rebellion, and that too of a chief who had been admitted as a feudatory the previous year. Two regiments of Nujeebs, with a formidable park of artillery, were ordered against Jhung, but the rebel succumbed under the power of the Khalsa, and as a mark of admiration for his devotion—and really such was the reason ascribed by Runjeet Sing—he

was not only pardoned, but munificently rewarded. If under such happy treatment the Sirdars did not rebel, it would have been a stigma on their forbearance.

Some Hindustani sepoys who had been drilled in our service, and were seeking foreign employ, came to Lahore about this time, and were gladly admitted into the Khalsa army. They were ordered to drill the Seikh soldiers after the fashion of the Bengal army, and inducements were held out to new-comers from the ranks of our native force. This is one of the many instances which bear testimony to Runjeet Sing's appreciation of European superiority in all matters of political importance; he ever endeavoured to assimilate his acts to that standard, and his best commentary on our growing influence is the oft quoted *sub lall ho jaegah—it will all be red,* in allusion to the red colour in the map of India designating the British possessions.

1804. We do not feel inclined to wonder at Runjeet Sing's profound ignorance of book learning. He could barely sign his name, was born among the illiterate Jat Sirdars of Goojeranwallah, and rose to eminence by sheer perseverance and the aid of a practical genius. Yet he had now and then associated with men of learning, and had picked up in such company some information which might have seemed a wonderful acquirement for a Seikh Jat. One day, while walking in the garden of Shalamar of Lahore, Runjeet Sing inquired of the Moonshees, then in his company, if they could explain the word *Shalamar,* and its application to the royal garden. Some were of opinion that in the Jhung dialect "Shala" meant *a god,* and "mar" *death.* But this explanation did not satisfy the Rajah, and on an attempt being made to explain it with the aid of Turkish etymology, Runjeet Sing replied that "in 'the history of Nadir Shah, this garden was styled *Shoalah-* 'mah, the fire of the moon," which was worse than ever, since the light shed by the moon is not hot; "but," added he, "it 'is my opinion that the garden should be called *Shoalah bag,* 'or the garden of narcissus." Perhaps this was the first and the last time that Runjeet Sing was guilty of the remotest approach to literary pedantry.

Early this year Runjeet Sing visited Umritser, and reviewed his whole army on the extensive fields to the north-west of the city. He addressed a part of the force and issued a court *Purwanah,* granting titles and commands to the most meritorious servants of the "Sircar." Among these the foremost were Hurrie Sing, the future conqueror of Peshawur; Hokma Sing Chininee; Gowsah Khan and Rowshau Khan: Futteh Sing Kullianwallah was degraded, and the low born

Dull Sing Neherna or barber, was named his successor; the Allaowalliah chief, Jessa Sing, and Doola Sing promised to attend Runjeet Sing with ten thousand horse; the Bhangees promised him five thousand horse and foot; and the Sirdars of the Jullunder Doab were to join the allied force with seven thousand horse and foot in a case of emergency.

Petty troubles beset Runjeet Sing from all sides; however, he was able to organise a large standing army in the face of a strong though secret coalition, and by degrees he augmented this force till it was powerful enough to overbear all obstacles. Although the feudatories were eager to shew their fidelity, when it was not much needed, the wary Runjeet knew full well that the stability of his empire depended solely on his own resources.

1805. Jeswunt Rai Holkar, overcome at last by the British under Lord Lake, sought protection in the court of Runjeet Sing. Dewan Ummer Nath states on good authority, that the Holkar crossed the Sutlej with an army of two hundred thousand men; this incredible number may safely be reduced to twenty thousand men, though it is not at all improbable that a smaller number may be the fact. Jeswunt Rai entreated of the Seikh chief to make common cause with him in driving the foreigners out of the land, but Runjeet Sing persisted in maintaining a provoking silence, and when he deigned a reply, it was to ask the Holkar's assistance in overcoming the Puthans of Kussoor, who were growing troublesome. Soon after Lord Lake appeared on the banks of the Beas with a large force, and summoned Runjeet Sing to give up the person of the Holkar, in remembrance of the friendship established between the Lahore Durbar and the British Government by Eusuff Alli Khan. Lord Lake concluded his summons with a threat, that if Runjeet Sing prevaricated in the matter, the Governor General would be applied to for instructions to coerce. Runjeet Sing replied with great suavity, beseeching of Lake to remember that he was the friend of the British Government, that he would have gladly given up Jeswunt Rai, but that he could not violate the rights of hospitality; that he did not offer shelter to a refugee to offend the British Government, but rather with the view of effecting a reconciliation between the fallen Holkar and that power. Lake received the overtures of Runjeet Sing to effect a reconciliation between him and Jeswunt Rai with great and sincere pleasure; the peaceably inclined parties soon came to an understanding, once more quiet was restored, and Lake retired to Hindustan Proper. With Lake had come young Malcolm, and his favorite Moonshee, Pundit Bukt Mull, the author's

grand-father. The pundit then compiled an account of the Seikhs, which Malcolm afterwards published.

1806. On Lake's return to the provinces, Runjeet Sing proceeded towards Jhung; at the instance of Futteh Sing Kulianwallah, he drove out the Governor of that place, and leased his entire dependencies to Futteh Sing for the sum of sixty thousand rupees a year. As if the load of iniquities again weighed heavy on him, Runjeet Sing set out on a pilgrimage to Kuttas, but he had scarcely reached the little town of Meanee, when he was taken ill, and his life was at one time despaired of. The child of destiny rallied after long suffering, and by slow marches reached the end of his pilgrimage. He had no inducement to make a prolonged stay here, and so he beat a hasty retreat to Lahore, where he arrived in no happy spirits. He took up his abode at the Shalamar with the beautiful Morah, and turned the course of the Royal or the Huslee canal through that garden. While thus enjoying a temporary recreation in the orange groves of Shalamar, Runjeet Sing received a letter from the intriguing wife of Sab Sing of Putiallah, beseeching him to assist her against her husband, and promising in return a lac of rupees for any assistance that he could render. Without pledging himself to any course Runjeet Sing moved out of Lahore at the head of a powerful army; he halted on his way at Loodianah, and after placing Bhag Sing in civil charge of that station, he advanced towards Putiallah. When Sab Sing heard of his approach, he immediately compromised all disputes with his wife, and expressed a wish to come to some understanding with the Rajah of Lahore Runjeet Sing informed him that he was not unwilling to live in a good understanding with the Putiallah family, but if these professions of amity meant to exclude his demand of the promised lac of rupees, Sab Sing was never more mistaken. Runjeet Sing ordered a small body of horsemen to Putiallah to demand the money of Sab Sing's wife; this intelligent woman knew enough of Runjeet Sing not to hesitate any longer in complying with his request. A casket containing ornaments valued at seventy thousand rupees, and thirty thousand rupees in cash, were despatched to the Rajah's camp, to avoid an unwelcome visit. Runjeet Sing was pleased to honor Sab Sing Putiallah, with a *khelut*, and vowed friendship for him and his family, which the ill-treated chieftain received with much coolness. He had hardly moved out of the Putiallah territory, when a message reached him from Sudder Kour, intimating the approaching accouchment of his wife, Ranee Mietab, and requesting of him to return to Lahore in haste. This message was immediately followed by

another informing him of the birth of twins; the soothsayers were consulted, and Shere Sing and Pertab Sing were the names given to the new born princes.

After Nizamoodeen's assassination, his son Kuttuboodeen succeeded to the government of Kussoor. Presuming rather too much on Runjeet Sing's seeming partiality for him, he hoisted the flag of independence. Futteh Sing was sent against him with a large force, and the humbled Puthan of Kussoor purchased safety by the payment of a lac of rupees. Runjeet Sing then marched out for the conquest of the territories of Muzuffer Khan, Nawab of Mooltan. On his way he reduced the fort of Dupalpore, and made it over to one Khurruck Sing. Muzuffer Khan advanced to meet Runjeet Sing with a *nuzzer* of seventy thousand rupees; the Seikh chief received the bribe, thanked the Nawab for his loyalty, honored him with *kheluts* of great value, and then returned to Lahore. He then marched against the Rajputs of Jugraon, and after reducing them to submission, leased their country to Futteh Sing Alloawalliah, for forty thousand rupees a year.

The Rajah of Nuraingur rising in rebellion against his liege lord, Futteh Sing Kulianwallah was ordered to march against him without loss of time. The fort was besieged by the Seikhs, but an unfortunate night sortie by a portion of the garrison was so far successful, that the Seikhs were obliged to send for an auxiliary force. The ditch round the fort was deep and broad, the walls were built of stone, and the besieged were determined to die game; the anxious Runjeet Sing immediately ordered Futteh Sing Alloawalliah to proceed against Naraingur, and after a short but heroic defence, the fort was stormed, and the garrison massacred by the orders of the general leading the assault. Nowshera was next conquered and annexed, and placed under the Naibship of one Gunda Sing.

This year was equally fortunate for Runjeet Sing's well-drained exchequer. From every corner of his dominions, tributary Rajas and Sirdars brought treasure to Lahore, yet seldom was the Khalsa chief more crippled in his pecuniary resources. The expences incurred in punishing and rewarding criminals, in attending to the whims of Morah, and in celebrating with becoming state the births of royal princes, drove Runjeet Sing to the brink of bankruptcy.

1807. The Lahore chief was not less favored by accident in the choice of his generals than by his strong powers of perception. From among the lowest of the low he had picked out men who had successfully led his army against his enemies, and materially assisted in consolidating his empire; while accidental family

dissensions would send some "erring spirits" in his way, whom confidence matured into faithful adherents, and experience into great generals. About this time Mokum Chund, "the fighting Kuthree," having quarrelled with Sahab Sing, offered his services to the ruler of Lahore. Runjeet Sing who appreciated the talents of the Kuthree, placed him at once at the head of the government of the Jullunder Doab, and fixed his head quarters at Phillour. Mokum Chund had not long been in charge of his new office, when he was summoned by Runjeet Sing to accompany the Seikh army marching towards Puttankote. The fort of that place was stormed, and the Khalsa entered Kohistan by forced marches. The Rajah of Kussowlie submitted at discretion, and was fortunate enough to save himself by the prompt payment of eight thousand rupees: while the bargain with the Rajah was being closed, Kohistan was threatened with a foreign yoke. Sundsar Chund, the once powerful ruler of that fruitful province, was now bearded in his own den; the ambitious Goorkha chief, Ameer Sing of Chappa, had entered the country, and neither the feeble policy of Sundsar, nor his fair arguments, were able to satisfy the ambitious views of that chief. While neither side was willing to yield, all attempts at conciliation must have inevitably proved abortive. Both sides, alarmed at the approach of Runjeet Sing, made their respective offers to him. Sundsar Chund promised five lacs of rupees for assistance, and Ameer Sing an equal amount for neutrality. Expediency being the essence of Punjab morality, Runjeet Sing did not scruple to avow that he was ready to abide by the best offer, and agreed to relieve Kohistan from the hands of the Goorkhas, if Sundsar Chund gave up the fort of Kangra to the Seikhs. The Rajah preferred fighting the Goorkhas single-handed to any such ignoble surrender, and Runjeet Sing felt himself justified in accepting the offer of the Goorkhas, and in forsaking Sundsar Chund. Ameer Sing sent the money to the Seikh camp and recommenced hostilities against the Rajah of Kohistan.

Sahab Sing once more betraying a spirit of insubordination, Sealkote was again besieged by Runjeet Sing. The genius of Mokum Chund triumphed; for one week the fight continued with loss to the rebels, and on the eighth day Sahab Sing surrendered. Mokum Chund brought him before Runjeet Sing, who after his own fashion lectured the rebel and then rewarded him. Mokum Chund's confiscated lands were restored to him, and all the favor of a grateful court was lavished on this faithful general. Dull Sing, notwithstanding the strong indications he betrayed of approaching mental

infirmities, was placed in charge of the government of the large tract of land lying between Sealkote and Attock. Mokum Chund was ordered back to the government of the Doab; his popular administration was at the same time the most lucrative source of revenue to the Lahore government. A month's stay at Phillour had been sufficient for him to remit to the capital fifty thousand rupees in cash and a larger sum in goods. Runjeet Sing valued a servant according to his capacity to recruit the Lahore exchequer, and it may be said of Mokum Chund, that though his efficiency was successfully tested even by this questionable criterion, there is nothing recorded in this work which would bring his honor into question. Mokum Chund had now the painful duty of confiscating the landed property of Jumul Sing Kuneah, whose daughter had only recently been married to the unscrupulous Runjeet Sing. But he redeemed public favor soon after, by the conquest of Kusulpore, Dhurumkote, and Maree, and by threatening the fertile province of Sirhind with subjugation.

1808. Domestic troubles arrested the victorious career of Mokum Chund; he returned to the Doab and restored tranquillity. Shikarpore was next conquered and made over to Prince Khurruck Sing. Our Vakeels made their appearance in Lahore once again, and were received with all the marks of cordial friendship. On their return they inspected the fort of Govindghur, and called it the second Bhurtpore from the strength of its position. The dearth of money in the Lahore treasury suggested the necessity of a call for tribute from the subject states. Vaj Sing and Jessa Sing were sent to Mooltan at the head of six thousand horsemen, and after a stay of three months they returned with fifty thousand rupees. Mokum Chund sent in six lacs, and the rest of the Sirdars soon followed one another. Shujah Ul Mulk was again in troubles, his immoralities were too revolting for even Puthan ethics, and men, whose fidelity never stood a severe test, considered him hopelessly treacherous. His chief agent, Bhowani Das, persecuted at home by the powers whose connexion with him made him so unpopular abroad, was threatened with imminent danger. While he was out, collecting revenue for the ill-starred Shujah, an opportunity offered itself for an escape, and disguised as a faqueer, the Dewan sought shelter at Lahore. His fortunate escape was soon as successfully imitated by his countryman, Moonshee Kurrum Chund, who received charge of the privy seal on his arrival at Lahore, and Nanuck Chund and Salamuth Rai were placed in charge of the royal record office.

Ameer Sing Muzzethea, having rebelled and plundered Muzzethea, was severely punished; he had to replace the

plunder, paid a fine, and incurred the high displeasure of the Lahore Durbar. While this petty chief was suffering the punishment he so richly deserved, some other unknown power was being threatened with ruin. Mokum Chund was now collecting a considerable force near Kussoor. Charles Metcalfe crossed the Sutlej to inquire into the future destination of this army under the Dewan; what transpired between Metcalfe and Runjeet Sing our author does not mention, but he assures us that the British emissary was sent back to Hindustan with appropriate honors. Runjeet Sing now conquered Furreedkote, and after levying a tribute of twenty-two thousand rupees on that place, made it over to his mother-in-law, Ranee Sudda Kour. The Afghans of Kotah, who had long enjoyed independence under a patriarchal government of their own, were compelled to pay a lac of rupees to save themselves from a foreign yoke. But the Puthans refused any longer to submit to such degradation, and on a second attempt at extortion being made, they rose *en masse* against the Seikhs. Our author is silent as to their fate.

Gunda Sing, a cruel unscrupulous man, having won Runjeet Sing's good will by the very qualities which nature condemns in a governor, was appointed military ruler of what might have then been called the Trans-Sutlej division of the Punjab. But unfortunately for Gunda Sing; even for the evil purposes of tyranny he could have hardly been sent to a worse place. The Sirdars of the Trans-Sutlej Territories were notorious for a turbulent, unruly spirit, which had often severely taxed the political sagacity of their liege lords; and on such men the effete Gunda Sing commenced to try his new *regime* of ruling by fear. It was not long before the Sirdars rose in a body, the efforts of Gunda Sing were of no avail; and it is suspected that the refractory chieftains offered their submission to the British authority if protection was held out to them. While the Sirdars were in arms, the Lahore Court was paralysed to learn, from its news-writers on the frontier, of the advance of Metcalfe on Sirhind, and of General Ochterlony on Ferozepore. The worst was imagined; the English had interfered in the domestic troubles of the Seikhs, and the country was to be lost! The English army now occupied the country to the east of the Sutlej, and the humbled Runjeet Sing was obliged to submit to a policy he had successfully carried on against his neighbours; once for all he yielded to the command of a foreign power, and the Sutlej was fixed on as the eastern boundary of the Seikh empire. Runjeet Sing appointed Anund Sing his special news-writer at Ferozepore, and received Khosmukt Rai in the same capacity from the

British camp. The Rajah was unable to disguise his feelings on the loss of a frontier, which he had intended to extend to the neighbourhood of Delhi. But there still remained the whole of Cashmere and Peshawur to be conquered, and what had been lost in the east might be recovered in the west. It was a consolatory reflection, but yet the reality of the present defeat stood between him and his prospects grimly enough to damp his ardour.

1809. Though Ameer Sing had purchased Runjeet Sing's neutrality at a high cost, it still remains to be seen how long such a man can abide by any obligation which he can violate with impunity. Ameer Sing was advised by Runjeet Sing to occupy the fort of Kangra without delay; the Goorkhas had just entered the hills when Sundsar Chund sent a message to Lahore, imploring of the Mahara ah to accept his own terms, and to occupy the fort of Kangra, after driving the Goorkhas from his country. The other rajahs of Kohistan accompanied this message with private letters, recommending Sundsar Chund's prayer to the attention of the Lahore chief. The unscrupulous Runjeet Sing forgot his obligations to Ameer Sing, and, placing himself at the head of a large army, entered Kohistan to drive the Goorkhas out of it. On reaching Pathankote he immediately beat a hasty retreat to Umritser, to offer prayers to the willing gods, and to win their potent help for the enterprise. At Umritser Runjeet Sing devoted his time to the observance of such religious rites as would propitiate the good-will of the kind deities, and being assured of their providence, he hastened towards Kohistan. Ameer Sing was surprised to behold the Seikhs progressing through Kohistan towards his camp, and being taken unaware, he fell back on Malgur, loudly complaining of the treachery of the Lahore chief. Runjeet Sing now demanded from the Rajah of Kohistan the surrender of Kangra; once freed from the hands of the Goorkhas, Sundsar Chund forgot or pretended to forget his promise to his ally; he pleaded that such a surrender would be tantamount to a defeat, and that his prestige would be completely lost with his subjects. This might have been very fair reasoning for the *defence*, but the *prosecution* side was not at all willing to acquiesce in the plea; Runjeet Sing still pressed on the surrender and Sundsar Chund still shirked his promise. Without another attempt to maintain a friendly understanding, Runjeet Sing took possession of Kangra by force, and left Sundsar Chund to maintain his prestige as he best could. Runjeet Sing was not willing to have a powerful enemy in his neighbourhood, who, in his absence might be induced to retaliate for the insult and

treachery he had so recently suffered. He marched on Malgur with the bulk of his army, and after extorting another lac of rupees from the Goorkhas, he drove them out of the fort, and threatened them with all the might of his vengeance if they dared to trouble him again. Ameer Sing, the Goorkha chief, must have been at some pains to understand the logic of his *quondam* ally, Runjeet Sing, but whatever might be said of either the logic or ethics of Runjeet Sing, their practical utility was perfectly palatable to the Seikhs. Mokum Chund and Desa Sing were appointed civil and military governors of Kangra, and Runjeet Sing returned to celebrate his victories in his capital.

Sahab Sing Goojrathea was, for the last time, driven out of his possessions, and was succeeded by Nooroodeen, the friend and confidant of Runjeet Sing. The new incumbent had not long been in Goojrat when a charge of bribery and corruption was preferred against him, and after a trial, as fair and equitable as a Seikh court of justice could afford, he was acquitted. The governor of Jhung, who still held his own by sufferance, was taken prisoner, and his property confiscated. The crime alleged against him was a remissness in answering calls for money from Lahore.

About this time the Vakeels of Shujah-ul-Mulk and Shah Zeman appeared before the Lahore Durbar, and complained of the bitter cruelties which the princes suffered at the hands of Mahomed Shah, and Futteh Khan, his Vizeer. Runjeet Sing was never more favoured by his happy star. Peshawur, Cashmere, and Mooltan on the one side, and the famous *Koh-i-Noor* on the other side, alternately dazzled his sight. He advised the Vakeels to return to the frontier with all speed, and to bring over the princes to Attock, where a body of horsemen—5,000 strong—would escort them to the Punjab. On receiving intelligence of the successful flight of the princes, Runjeet Sing moved on towards the frontier with a full court, and received his royal refugees at Saheewal, with all the honors becoming the members of the famous house of Dourani. The mutiny made an unfavourable impression on Runjeet Sing's mind as regards the intellectual pretensions of the princes. Of Shujah-ul-Mulk he used to say, "when I saw 'him for the first time, I felt assured that a crown was not 'intended for his brow."

In the company of the princes who had some absolute claim to the Nawabship of Mooltan, Runjeet Sing marched towards that place. The fort was besieged, but the Mooltan chiefs having resolved to resist to the last, the operations against that place promised to have a longer duration than Runjeet Sing had either

the means or the will to submit to. A successful attack by the besiegers was soon succeeded by a successful sortie from the besieged. Runjeet Sing was only too glad to return to Lahore, after extorting upwards of a lac and a half of rupees from Mozuffer Khan. Shortly after his return from Mooltan, Runjeet Sing lost Ranee Mietab Kour; he pretended to lament deeply the loss of a faithful partner, and as an attempt to console her bereaved mother, the education of Prince Shere Sing was confided to Sudda Kour.

One day while reviewing commandant Dhowkul Sing's regiment, Runjeet Sing was so struck with the personal appearance of a Hindustani private, that he immediately called him out of the ranks, and conferred on him the title of *Jemadar*, made him an aide-de-camp, and gave him permission to entertain Hindustanis for the Seikh service. The newly created *Jemadar* was Kooshal Sing, afterwards the terror of the Seikh nobles, and one of the best treated generals of Runjeet Sing. Kooshal Sing took the *Powl* and espoused the faith of Nanuck; Runjeet Sing rewarded this strong indication of loyalty by new honours. His nephew Teja Sing—now Rajah Teja Sing—was created *Sirdar*. It is popularly known that Kooshal Sing refused the rank of a *Sirdar*, alleging that he was perfectly content with the honorable distinction which Runjeet Sing had conferred on him in the sight of a multitude.

1810. Dull Sing, whose sanity was long questioned, now died raving mad; his nephew rebelled against Runjeet Sing, but was taken prisoner, and nothing further is known of him besides the appointment of Bahadur Sing as his successor. Mokum Chund was summoned from Phillour, and ordered to proceed against the Rajahs of Beembur and Kohistan; after sundry skirmishes Mokum Chund returned to Lahore with forty thousand rupees only. Runjeet then moved out of Lahore in person to a pilgrimage to Kutas; while there he heard of the unfortunate fate of his former guest, prince Shah Zeman. This ill-starred Dourani had taken shelter at Jellalabad from the ruthless tyranny of Mahmood Shah; here he was captured by his indefatigable persecutor, and blinded by his orders. This was certainly news for Runjeet, but it influenced his circumstances or temper but little; however it was not long before Mahmood's march on Peshawur rendered it necessary for the Seikh ruler, to adopt immediate measures to save his own country from the curse of a foreign invasion. The cowardly Shujah, awed by the fate of Shah Zeman, precipitately retreated on Rawul Pindee, and left Peshawur defenceless to the mercy of the invading force.

Runjeet Sing, apprehending an invasion of the Punjab, marched forward towards Peshawur, to meet the force under Mahmood Shah. Mahmood, unwilling to hazard an engagement, fell back upon Cabul, and once more with the return of calm, Shujah-ul-Mulk returned to Peshawur; but as if haunted by a sad presentiment of coming events, or by a natural sense of his own imbecility, he adopted the precaution of leaving his family at Rawul Pindee. It was fortunate that his discretion did place the helpless Begums in safety, for it was not long before Shujah-ul-Mulk found himself again in danger, and unfortunately for the cunning instinct of the prince, Jehandad Khan of Attock surprised him in his own house and took him prisoner. Runjeet Sing was so little concerned in Shujah's fate, that he considered the Dourani policy of re-conquest solved on his imprisonment, and he marched back to Lahore. Runjeet now ordered the standing army of the Punjab to be drilled after the European principles of military training, now so popular from the victories of the Bengal army. Prince Khurruck Sing's marriage with the daughter of Sirdar Jiemul Sing was now fixed upon with the consent of Runjeet, and the betrothal was celebrated with the honor becoming the occasion.

1811. In the beginning of this year the people of Kukka Bumba rose *en masse* against their faqueers and saints, and in a short time made a root and branch work with the families of most of these worthies. It is popularly believed that the natives of this part of the Punjab are the descendants of a portion of the Greek army under Alexander the Great, who mutinied and settled in the country. The absurdity of such a belief has been satisfactorily disposed of by history and common sense, and there is no record of any Greek settlement in the Punjab; the natives of Kukka Bumba can be hardly distinguished from any other mountaineers of Northern Punjab. The "two sisters" in "The Timely Retreat" have revived this question, but without entering into such a discussion, we may assert that even if the natives of Kukka Bumba are the lineal descendants of the Greek soldiers of Alexander, they certainly have suffered from deterioration more than any other foreign settlers in the Punjab. Mokum Chund conquered them with a handful of men, and annexed the country to the empire of Runjeet Sing. Sab Sing Badee, of whose administrative powers we have no record, was considered the fittest man for the Government of the newly acquired territory, and as a proof of his sagacity, he treacherously took prisoner one of the saints of the country

who was proving himself obnoxious, and without much fear of a reprimand from the head of the Government, hanged him as a traitor.

The Sirdars of the Jullunder Doab betraying signs of disaffection, Mokum Chund was immediately ordered back to Phillour to check any contemplated rise. The whole of the Doab was again quiet, and Mokum Chund returned to Lahore to receive the congratulations of his royal master. He was received with marked attention. *Kheluts* were conferred on him, and the title of Dewan ennobled "the fighting Kuthree." Sirdar Nedhan Sing Kuneah rising in open rebellion was allowed a short respite; he was pursued from place to place, till he was treacherously secured and imprisoned in a fort. His property was confiscated, and a small pension for life was granted in lieu of it. Prince Khurruck Sing's marriage was consummated this year; feasts succeeded feasts, and the whole of the city of Lahore was lighted over and over again; all the well disposed were rewarded, and Runjeet Sing marched out with a large retinue to bring home his daughter-in-law from Kuneah. Jiemul Sing marched out to receive him and his intended son-in-law. Fifty thousand rupees were presented to the young prince, and fifteen thousand a day was allowed to the retainers of Runjeet Sing. The Lahore chief returned to his capital after a stay of four days at Kuneah, bringing home with him a young princess, of whose beauty the famous Naenehal Sing was not an unworthy type.

1812. The Rajah of Kooloo having oppressed his subjects, Runjeet Sing with his usual coolness assumed the character of a general vindicator of the rights of the poor, sent an army under Dewan Mokum Chund to chastise the ruler of that place, and commanded the Rajahs of Kohistan to aid the Dewan in case of necessity. On his arrival near the stronghold of Kooloo, Mokum Chund summoned the Rajah to surrender at discretion. The Rajah spurned the idea of a surrender, the fort was bombarded for several days, and at last the brave garrison marched out under their gallant chief to try the chance of a battle. Mokum Chund, ever ready to abide by the issue of a fair fight, marched out at the head of the Khalsas to meet the enemy; for two days the battle raged with varied success, and on the evening of the third the Rajah submitted with his whole army. Dewan Mokum Chund received two lacs of rupees from the Kooloo chief, and after a short stay on the hills marched down to Lahore. Runjeet Sing received him with unfeigned pleasure, and lavished still greater honors on the general.

Runjeet Sing had long wistfully eyed the province of Cash-

mere; his governing influence suggested to him the expediency of an attempt on that fair country. But there were more considerations than one to counsel him to the use of more than ordinary discretion in undertaking an enterprise beset with such perils; the country itself offered natural difficulties which ought to enter into the calculation of an invading general; the Rajahs of Kohistan had been so recently subjected to the Seikh rule by treachery and a gross breach of international law, that, in case of a reverse, Runjeet Sing was certain of being placed between two enemies from whom no mercy could be expected; the ruler of Cashmere had powerful connexions at Cabul, and though Mahomed Shah had once refrained from attacking the Punjab in the face of a Seikh force, it was not safe to encroach too far even on Afghan forbearance; and lastly there was the want of even an excuse to invade the territories of a friendly power during a period of profound peace. However, to try the temper of the Cashmerians, and to learn by experience how far a powerful neighbour may interfere with their domestic policy, Runjeet Sing sent an expeditionary force under the auspices of his son, Khurruck Sing, and under the immediate command of Bhiah Ram Sing, the prince's favorite attendant, for the conquest of Cashmere. The Seikhs besieged Mumkotiah and carried the place by an assault; even in a successful enterpise, Bhiah Ram Sing betrayed more of discretion than valour, and lost the confidence of his men, without which the greatest military genius may in vain struggle for victory. It was remarked that the Bhiah kept himself aloof till success was beyond a doubt, and even then his face was pale with fear, amidst a scene of carnage on which a soldier is habituated to look with perfect indifference. Sultan Khan was surprised to learn the fall of Mumkotiah; he immediately mustered a small body of men, and marched down the hills to offer battle to the Seikhs. As ill-luck would have it, the Bhiah was completely defeated and thrown back on the plains. Sultan Khan then loudly complained of Runjeet Sing's treachery, in attacking a friendly power without even the shadow of an excuse. Runjeet Sing was sadly in want of arguments to justify himself, he denounced the conduct of Bhiah Ram Sing, rebuked him severely and publicly, and ordered Mokum Chund to Cashmere to apologise for Ram Sing's rashness, and to oppose the wrath of the incensed Nawab.

While Mokum Chund was on a visit to Cashmere, Runjeet Sing heard of the advance of Mahmood Shah towards the Punjab. While yet doubtful of Mahmood's destination, Runjeet received a message from the Begums of Shujah-ul-

Mulk, informing the Lahore chief of the designs of Mahmood against the unfortunate Shujah, who was then in Cashmere, and imploring him to procure a safe retreat for that prince, with the promise of the peerless *Koh-i-Noor* as a return for his service. Runjeet Sing saw at once the importance of the occasion; he immediately ordered his best generals to proceed post haste to Attock, and set on foot preparations to meet the invading force under Mahmood Shah. When the Afghans reached Peshawur, they found it impossible to advance in the face of a large Seikh army occupying strong positions all over the north-western frontiers of the Punjab. Mahmood Shah sent Dewan Gooder Mull to the Seikh general with overtures of peace, and to negociate a passage to Cashmere, with the promise of perpetual friendship with the Seikh ruler. The Dewan was sent back with honors; Runjeet Sing's Vakeel soon after made his appearance in the Afghan camp, and presented his *ultimatum* to Mahmood Shah. If he agreed to yield up Shujah-ul-Mulk on the fall of Cashmere, the Seikhs promised him a free, unmolested passage through their dominions; if, on the contrary, Mahmood Shah meant to possess himself of the person of Shujah and carry away that prince in bondage to Cabul, Runjeet Sing was resolved to contest his right to Shujah's person, and would back his rights by force of arms. Mahmood Shah agreed to give up Shujah to the Seikhs, provided Runjeet assisted him in the conquest of Cashmere. Mokum Chund was ordered to wait on the Shah's pleasure with a small force, ostensibly with the view of assisting the Afghans, but the Dewan had secret orders to receive charge of Shujah-ul-Mulk on the fall of Cashmere. Mahmood, considering himself safe in the hands of his new ally, marched from Peshawur in the company of Mokum Chund, and reached Cashmere without the loss of a single man. He found the whole country defenceless; Attah Mahomed, the Governor of the place, finding his chief ally arrayed with the Seikhs against him, forsook his kingdom and sought refuge in Attock, of which place his brother was Governor. He advised his brother Jehandad to yield up the fort of Attock to the Seikhs, and on his counsel being despised, he travelled as a solitary hermit to the Court of the Kamran Prince of Candahar, where he was hospitably received. While he was safe at Candahar, the unfortunate Shujah was taken prisoner by the Afghans, and given over to the Seikhs under Mokum Chund. He was immediately sent down to Lahore, and was detained there a state prisoner, despite the demonstrations of joy with which his advent was

greeted. He was placed under the immediate surveillance of Sadi Khan, Kutwal of Lahore, and was asked to yield up the diamond which his Begums had pledged for his safety. Shujah-ul-Mulk refused to satisfy a contract entered into by the ladies of his seraglio, but the reason of the strongest proved the strongest reason, and the historical *Koh-i-Noor* became the property of the Seikh ruler.

Mahmood Shah appointed Azim Khan, the brother of his Vizeer Futteh Mahomed, Governor of Cashmere, and thus the only powerful Moslem ruler in the Punjab who had enjoyed native sympathy, was undone by foreign Moslem interference, eventually laying the foundation of Seikh supremacy in Cashmere.

On Mahmood's return to Peshawur he summoned Jehandad to surrender the fort of Attock. Jehandad recollected his brother's advice, and made overtures of surrender to Runjeet Sing; the Seikh chief immediately promised him protection against the Afghans, invited him to Wuzzeerabad, and occupied the fort of Attock with a strong garrison of Seikhs. The importance of the place was such, that Runjeet Sing made up his mind to hold it against the Afghans at any cost. Futteh Khan complained of the conduct of Jehandad Khan, and begged of Runjeet Sing to give up the fort of Attock to its liege lord the ruler of Cabul. Runjeet Sing replied, that the Afghans had conquered Cashmere through his assistance, and it was hard that they should complain of the occupation of Attock by the Seikhs; he and his friends—meaning the Afghans—were one, and he held the fort for his friends, and not for personal aggrandisement; if this explanation, unfortunately for him, did not suffice for Futteh Khan and his master Mahmood Shah, Runjeet Sing was willing to appeal to arms and stand or fall by his rights. The Vizeer appeared, at first, inclined to listen to the arguments advanced by his friends, and ready to forsake the Afghan cause in its claim to Attock, but flattered and elated by the easy conquest of Cashmere, he accepted the challenge and fought a battle near the fort. A body of picked men under Futteh Khan in person charged and silenced the Seikh guns, threw a wing of the Khalsas into confusion, and were pursuing their success, when Mokum Chund rallied the scattered force, and once more turned round to receive the charge of his victorious enemy. A desperate encounter was the consequence, and it was not till two thousand Afghans had been killed or wounded, that Futteh Khan was driven out of Khairabad, and his camp occupied by the Seikhs under Mokum Chund. Attock was garrisoned by the Seikhs, and the tidings of victory

were sent by an express to Lahore. Futteh Khan left Yar Mahomed with an army of observation on the frontiers of the Punjab, and hastened back to Cabul to recover his lost prestige by the conquest of Herat.

Before proclaiming war against the King of Persia, Futteh Khan made up his mind to chastise the Prince of Kamran for sheltering Attah Mahomed, the ex-ruler of Cashmere. He mustered a strong force and advanced against Candahar; the cowardice of the Kamran prince saved Futteh Khan the loss of life which is incident even on the most complete and decisive victory. The flight of the prince to Herat became generally known, and thus a decent excuse for a Persian war was furnished by accident. Futteh Khan now proclaimed to the world the treachery of the Shah of Ispahan; he charged the Persian King with harbouring the enemies of Cabul, and thus encouraging the ill-affected to disturb the peace of that country with impunity. He then reviewed his men on the plains of Chukullie, and by forced marches reached the village of Sheke-Khari near Herat. Here he made preparations for a siege, and dreamt of the conquest of one of the most ancient monarchies of the world, even of the dominions of the once famous Caliphs. The Shah of Persia was unnerved at the sight of a powerful enemy under the walls of Herat; he in vain begged of the Sublime Porte to assist him against the host of Futteh Khan; nor was his prayer more successful when addressed to the other Moslem powers, including the Pasha of Egypt. They refused him assistance, and as if willing to add insult to injury, counselled him to make his peace with Futteh Khan. The haughty Shah at first scorned the idea of submitting to the terms of a General who had sprung from the people, and was carried away by a mad spirit of enterprise. But despair soon succeeded the little hauteur that pride of ancestry could inspire, and presents were directly despatched to the Afghan camp, with overtures of peace. Futteh Khan received the presents, but spurned the friendly overtures; his mission was conquest, and that mission was to be fulfilled at any cost. The Shah made another attempt at conciliation and another attempt for succour, but both failing, he was ready to try the chance of an encounter that might at all events save him from the humility of courting the favor of an Afghan general. Prince Abbas Kooli Khan, with the flower of the Persian army, advanced to the relief of Herat; the self-sufficient Vizeer marched out with all the confidence of his race, and engaged the enemy near the fortress he had so long thought of besieging. The Afghans were totally defeated and repulsed with immense

slaughter; Futteh Khan's military predilections were completely exhausted, and so he hastened back to the fastnesses of Cabul recognising, at the dictation of the Shah, the Hindu Koh as the western boundary of the Afghan empire.

Futteh Khan returned to his country in a humanised mood, being convinced that an appeal to arms was not necessarily to succeed, if backed by unflinching audacity. As if still haunted by the defeat near Attock, he feigned an attempt on that place; Runjeet Sing, immediately marching a large army on to the frontier ready to check any encroachment from Cabul, effectually stopped any attack which the disappointed Vizeer might have contemplated. About this time Prince Shere Sing was married, and Runjeet Sing undertook anew the organisation of his army. Dewan Gungaram Pundit, one of General Ochterlony's ministerial officers, reached Lahore at the close of this year, and was placed in charge of the royal archives.

1813. Futteh Khan, having recruited his army, and by promises and persuasion won the confidence of his men, crossed the Indus near Attock, and threatened the fort of that place with a *coup de main*. Mokum Chund hastened to the relief of Attock, and taking Futteh Khan unawares, drove him back on Cabul, and compelled Yar Mahomed to purchase safety by submission and the payment of a large *nuzzer*. Runjeet Sing moved out of Lahore, and by slow marches reached Kangra; and Mokum Chund was ordered to demand tribute from the Rajahs of Kohistan. The *octroi* levied at Umritser was farmed to Sookdial for thirteen lacs of rupees. The governor of Cashmere sent overtures of friendship to Runjeet Sing, and he was assured that the feelings of friendship he entertained for the Khalsa chief were mutual. After twelve months spent in "knocking about," Mokum Chund returned to Lahore with a large treasure.

1814. Emboldened by the repeated defeats of Futteh Khan, and confident of the fidelity of the Kohistan chiefs, Runjeet Sing resolved to overcome the natural difficulties, and carry out his long contemplated conquest of Cashmere. He paid up his men at Sealkote, promised them rewards, and flattered them with an easy conquest of the fairest province in India. The faithful Mokum Chund predicted disasters to the Seikh army; he in vain persuaded Runjeet Sing to delay the execution of his plan till a more propitious season set in, and then in vain begged permission to share the privations, and the difficulties which he was certain would befal the Seikhs. Runjeet Sing admired the conduct of the aged Dewan, and pressed on him to return to Lahore and recruit his shattered constitution. Mokum Chund reluctantly retraced

his steps to the capital, leaving his grandson, Ramdial, in command of one of the divisions of the Seikh army.

On reaching Rajbarri, Runjeet Sing ordered the heavy guns to be limbered and left behind under a strong guard, and the cavalry to dismount, and lead their horses. The Rajah of Rajbarri, Ugger Khan, came out to pay his respects to Runjeet Sing, and so completely won the confidence of the wary Khalsa, as to dupe him in his plan of entering the defiles of Cashmere. With Ugger Khan's advice, Runjeet Sing was led to arrange his army in two divisions; the first under himself entering the country through Poonuch or Pooung Pass, and the second under the Sirdars through Bieramgulla Pass. After a tedious, harassing march, Runjeet Sing reached the city of Poonuch; the governor of that place bolting precipitately towards Cashmere, the Seikhs took possession of it unmolested. The Sirdars after greater sufferings reached the city of Bieramgulla and occupied that place, establishing a Seikh police who were to hold the place as the army advanced. Runjeet summoned his Sirdars at Poonuch, and proposed marching into the interior of the country after the junction of the two divisions. The rendezvous was soon after effected at Poonuch, the whole Seikh army marched forward, and the capital of Nizamoodeen was growing daily less and less secure. The governor of Cashmere, despite his many failings, was not deficient in physical courage; he knew the importance of the occasion, almost every hour brought the enemy nearer, and Runjeet Sing, it was notorious, would listen to no terms of peace. Mahomed Azimoodeen Khan now summoned his picked men together, and resolutely advanced to meet the enemy before it was too late. No sooner had the Afghans come within sight, than Jewan Khan, at the head of a small body of horsemen, dashed against them with all the energy of the Khalsa Ghorechurras; a fierce encounter took place, and Jewan Khan was thrown back in disorder; the victorious Afghans next fell on the Seikhs under Ramdial. The men were perfectly unaware of Jewan Khan's movements, and thus the Afghan charge produced a complete surprise; the Seikhs were thrown into confusion, and would have been totally annihilated, had it not been for the presence of mind and the cool courage of Ramdial, who rallied his men and repulsed the victorious Afghans with loss. For, led in their attempt to drive back Ramdial, the Afghans fell on the Seikhs under Bhiah Ram Sing, and drove them back in confusion. The Bhiah was a man of a very different stamp from the energetic Ramdial; careless and indifferent to the interest at stake, and anxious to save a life that was not worth saving, he fled in all haste to

Rajbarri, after in vain trying to persuade Ramdial to follow his example. The retreat of Bhiah Ram Sing with his men spread consternation all over the Seikh camp; Runjeet Sing in extreme dejection ordered a retreat; he suspected the Rajbarri chief of treachery, and promised to avenge himself before long. He gathered his men together, and harangued them before turning his back on Cashmere. He told them that victory was never obtained without the help of Providence, and that the best soldiers have experienced defeats. He regretted that the death of Muth Sing had deprived him of the pleasure of rewarding the conspicuous gallantry of that good soldier, but he felt a great pleasure in rewarding the father's virtues in his son, and Muth Sing's son succeeded him as a commandant. Runjeet Sing then returned to Lahore, leaving Ramdial with his division in Cashmere. Mahomed Azim, unable to drive out of his country this doughty young general at the head of a band of determined men, was obliged to come to terms with him. Ramdial agreed to return back to his country, if Mahomed Azim admitted in writing the nominal supremacy of the Lahore Durbar. The crafty Afghan, well aware that the recognition of a chimerical superiority entailed no disgrace on him, readily acquiesced in the proposition, and Ramdial returned to Lahore with the dearly purchased document. Bhiah Ram Sing was now in disgrace; his courage had been twice tried and was found wanting, in fact his only recommendation was a childish affection which prince Khurruck Sing had retained for the attendant of his infancy. Khurruck Sing interceded for the Bhiah, and obtained the Maharajah's pardon for his past offences.

Runjeet Sing attended this year to the conservancy of his capital, and improved its sanitary condition by a system of drainage which still exists, though far from being equal to the wants of the city. He had now the mortification to learn the death of Dewan Mokum Chund at Phillour. On his return from Cashmere this venerable soldier and statesman might have husbanded the remainder of his life in ease and quiet, amidst the luxuries of the Seikh capital; but his sense of honor was such, that, though overcome with age, he yet resolved to stand or fall in the discharge of his duties; and so, rich in years and honors, he breathed his last in his viceregal capital. Runjeet Sing deplored the loss of such a valuable coadjutor, and out of respect for his memory and the talents of his son, Moteeram, raised that equally renowned general to the rank of *Vizeer*, and his son, the intrepid Ramdial, was appointed his secretary. Never did Runjeet Sing confer honors on more meritorious individuals.

Phoola Sing Nahung having raised the standard of revolt at Macund-Shahur, Moteeram, who was on his way to Phillour, hastened towards the head quarters of the rebel, took him prisoner, and sent him down to Lahore under a guard. Moteeram took charge of the government of Phillour under auspicious circumstances; his son, Ramdial, virtually appointed a sub-governor, was now ordered to leave his father at Phillour, and march down to the Kurrul country to demand the unpaid tribute. Futteh Khan once more crossed the Indus, ravaged the country round Mooltan, received a *nuzzer* of three lacs of rupees, and encamped on the banks of the Timmoo. Runjeet Sing was surprised at the unexpected appearance of his old enemy, and without any loss of time ordered Dull Sing Neherna to march against him with two thousand horse, at the same time sending instructions to Ramdial, who was fortunately close at hand, to co-operate with Dull Sing in driving Futteh Khan from the banks of the Timmoo. Futteh Khan was driven back without much loss; he was now convinced without a doubt, that howsoever successful his arms had proved against the Cashmere serfs, the Khalsas were more than a match for the hosts of Cabul. Ever since, the Seikhs have considered an Afghan invasion as an opportunity to win distinction, the safety of the country being no wise jeopardised by the presence of such an enemy. Runjeet Sing all along suspected the Kurruls and the Bhawulpore chief, of complicity in the late Afghan incursion, and to strike terror into the hearts of the faithless feudatories, he summoned Moteeram from Phillour, and sent him against the Moslem chiefs with two regiments of Nujeebs, fifty pieces of Tumboor, and a splendid park of artillery under Elli Bux. While Runjeet Sing was contemplating vengeance against the Kurruls, Yar Mahomed, with the aid of the natives of Khairabad, drove the Seikh garrison out of Attock. The Afghans were pursuing their success, when Hakma Sing Chimnee, and Sham Sing Bundaree, arrived with two thousand Ghorechurras, and gave Yar Mahomed chase across the Attock; the Afghan chief had to leave the major part of his plunder behind him and to seek safety in flight. Attock was occupied by the Seikhs, and the Khairabdees severely punished. Runjeet Sing paid a visit to Noorpoor, and returned to his capital on receiving the tidings of the success of his generals against the Afghans.

1815. Futteh Khan, offended at his brother Mahomed Azimoodeen for his obsequious conduct towards the Seikhs, sent a message to Dewan Gooder Mull for permission to pass through the Seikh country on his way to Cashmere. Runjeet Sing, rather pleased to see the Moslem rulers fall out among

themselves, allowed Futteh Khan a free passage through his country, and the Afghans entered Cashmere through Beembur. Azimoodeen had an interview with his brother, and was successful in conciliating the wrath of the unforgiving Futteh Khan.

Moteeram and Azeezoodeen returned to Lahore with six thousand rupees, after sacking the fort of Puttee, and establishing a Seikh police in that district under Kuttuboodeen of Kussoor. Runjeet Sing himself had been out on a tribute-hunt to Mooltan, and had returned to Lahore with two lacs of rupees. The Rajah of Noorpoor who was a prisoner at Lahore, taking advantage of Runjeet Sing's absence from his capital, effected his escape to Jumbal. Shujah-ul-Mulk, as if encouraged by the Rajah's example, addressed a letter to Runjeet Sing, in which hypocrisy and imbecility were found in equal proportions. He thanked Runjeet Sing for past kindness; and considering the acknowledged weakness of this prince, perhaps it was a kindness to keep him out of harm's way even if by imprisonment; or perhaps the thanks were offered in a spirit of irony, any how it was necessary to keep up the appearance of friendship, and the expression of a sense of obligation was a necessary part of the address. After thanks and prayers, the usual prologues of oriental correspondence, Shujah begged that one of his three requests should be complied with: firstly, that he should be permitted to reconquer his kingdom from Futteh Khan; secondly, that he should be set free for good; thirdly, that the guard of Sadi Khan should be removed from his quarters. Never was dissimulation so successfully met by low cunning. Runjeet Sing replied that he admired Shujah's ambition to reconquer the country of his ancestors from the treacherous Futteh Khan, but that Runjeet Sing had just concluded peace with the Vizeer which he would not willingly disturb. The Rajah was well aware of Futteh Khan's faithlessness, of his treachery, and of the extent of his guilt, but his punishment would soon come, and the unresisting hands of Providence would bring it on. He deeply regretted that Shujah-ul-Mulk should for a moment consider himself a prisoner in the Seikh capital, and by leaving Lahore wish to asperse the hospitality of the Seikh court. As for the guard of honor under Sadi Khan, the Rajah begged of Shujah to consider it a private establishment, instituted with the sole motive of honouring his royal guest, for where, said Runjeet Sing, would be the difference between a beggar and a prince, if the pomp of royalty was dispensed with. If Shujah could be duped by such professions of good feeling, he certainly must have fallen below even the opinion the world had formed of him. If he could have enjoyed

the silent humour of the epistle, he would certainly have shewn more sense than the world gave him credit for. Runjeet Sing, however, seemed to have enjoyed amazingly the idle vaunt contained in Shujah's letter, and the "casuistry" of his own reply. He made his correspondence with Shujah the subject of conversation in the Durbar, and often repeated his opinion of the prince's future career, that "his forehead was not destined to support a crown." When Shujah-ul-Mulk despaired of liberty he gave himself up entirely to his evil instincts, and not few were the charges of rape and unnatural crime brought home to the royal debauchee. He then made up his mind to try the chance of an escape, and to effect it with impunity he considered it absolutely necessary to send his Begums away. He procured some old harridans from the city of Lahore, and their infamous privilege under oriental despotism facilitated Shujah's projects. The Begums disguised as slaves were successful in eluding the vigilance of the guard, and left the city through the Texall gate; they passed the night at the Mausoleum of Datha Gunjhux, and next morning disguised as Hindustani sowars, they travelled to Phillour. After a short halt there they proceeded to Loodianah, where they gave themselves up to Captain Wade, the British Resident. When Runjeet Sing heard of the flight of the Begums to Loodianah, he in vain tried to learn the cause of their sudden disappearance from the capital of a friendly power. Shujah was silent on the subject; if oriental courtesy had permitted him to thank the Lahore Durbar in behalf of his wives, perhaps Runjeet Sing's "past kindness" might have been acknowledged. Be that as it may, Shujah's energies were once for all in his whole career exerted with complete success. Dewan Ummer Nath, our author, is inclined to believe that Shujah-ul-Mulk effected his escape through the agency of the famous wizard, Kakka Shab of Sealkote, who disguised the prince as a faqueer, and carried him first to Sealkote, thence to Bheembur, and lastly to Kustwar. His evil genius predominated as usual, and Shujah gladly entered into a matrimonial alliance with the tributary Rajah of that place. At the instance of his father-in-law he resolved to form a Dourani empire at Cashmere, and with this object in view, he mustered a small force of hill men, and flattered himself once more with the dream of dominion and conquest. It would be difficult to find another name in the whole range of modern history, so intimately associated with disaster, merit, and misfortune as that of Shujah-ul-Mulk. Ill-luck had attended him in his cradle, and had faithfully followed him through every phase of existence, involving those who were interested in him in equal ruin, and closing a life of unparallelled misfortune

in assassination. The Rajah of Kustwar could not afford two armies, and the one he had was unfortunately placed under Shujah's command. After a short delay, the ill-starred Dourani left Kustwar for Cashmere, and entered that country in the middle of winter. No sooner had Shujah reached Peer Pungul than it commenced snowing hard; in three days the bulk of his army, even before he had seen an enemy, was destroyed. In dismay the unfortunate prince joined his Begums at Loodianah, leaving the Kustwar chief to moralise on the alliance with the representative of the Dourani family. Runjeet Sing in vain tried to learn the mystery of Shujah's escape, perhaps Kakka's augury furnished a satisfactory explanation of this puzzle.

About this time two Cashmere robbers, by name Bhow and Chub, proving themselves obnoxious to the Khalsa subjects on the borders of the hills, Runjeet Sing marched out against them in person. The disturbers of the public peace were punished, and were compelled to give hostages for future good conduct. Runjeet Sing's camp being pitched near the confines of Rajbarri, he was painfully put in mind of the treacherous conduct of Ugger Khan in his last attempt on Cashmere. He ordered Ramdial and Hurree Sing to sack the capital of the Rajbarri chief, and to drive him out of his country. Runjeet Sing then returned to Beembur, and there awaited the intelligence of the fall of Rajbarri. Ugger Khan had not forgotten his own treachery, and had long expected the day when retributive justice would light on his head with awful severity: that day had come, and the traitor's fortitude failed him in the hour of danger. On the arrival of Ramdial near Rajbarri, Ugger Khan offered him terms of peace; they were rejected without a hearing, and Ramdial, who must have borne in mind the disastrous march from Cashmere, had a personal interest in the punishment of the wretch Ugger. In dismay the Rajah fell back on his capital, but Ramdial followed him in haste, sacked Rajbarri, levelled the fort, and left behind him a terrible example of royal revenge. Runjeet Sing received the news of Ramdial's success with great satisfaction, and ordered his army to follow him to Lahore.

On his return to his capital Runjeet Sing addressed a letter to Captain Wade at Loodianah, advising him to have a careful watch over Shujah-ul-Mulk, as he was a slippery person, and had successfully eluded the vigilance of the Seikh guard. He was informed in reply, that the English, in offering an asylum to Shujah, did not mean to offer insult to the Seikh government, but to testify their respect for the memory of the

great Ahmed Shah. The Maharajah about this time inspected the royal archives, and was so well satisfied with the method displayed by Dewan Gungaram in the assortment of the state papers, that he rewarded the Dewan, and permitted him to send for a secretary to Delhi from among the educated Cashmere Pundits of that city. It was under such happy auspices that Dewan Gungaram secured the services of Pundit Denonath, well-known as Dewan Denonath under the Khalsas, and subsequently created a Rajah under Lord Dalhousie's administration, and still better recommended to the reader's attention as the father of the author of the Memoirs under review.

At the close of the present year certain Mooltanee chiefs came over to Lahore to pay their respects to Runjeet Sing. It is not improbable that they furnished the Maharajah with the news of the secret doings of Mahomed Khan and Saduck Khan of Bhawulpore, and the favorable temper of the people as regarded the transfer of the government to the Seikhs.

1816. Early the next year Runjeet Sing sent his bodyguard with a strong detachment of cavalry against Bhawulpore, and the expedition returned with eighty thousand rupees. While the force was yet encamped on the banks of the Timmoo, Mozuffer Khan was summoned from Mooltan to pay the amount of tribute due by him; the Nawab seemed inclined to dispute the call, but to all altercations on the subject, a sudden stop was put by a mad, though a successful, attack on the out-works of Mooltan, by Phoola Sing Nahung, who had taken the precaution to prime himself with *bhang*. The indignant Nawab, to avoid greater misfortune, agreed to the payment of one lac and thirty thousand rupees. The Seikhs then marched on Munkera, and while concluding terms of surrender with Mahomed, the governor of the place, that unfortunate man breathed his last, and was succeeded by his nephew Moinoodowlah. The Nawab regnant being a minor, his father assumed the reins of government, and paid a *nuzzer* of 50,000 rupees.

Hokma Sing Chimnee sent intelligence by express to Lahore, of the rebellious tone assumed by the peasants of Goldhari, and begged of the Maharajah to send help without delay, to obviate the dangers of a rising *en masse*. Ramdial immediately set out for the frontiers, and his appearance seemed to have restored tranquillity for a time. But no sooner had the auxiliary force turned its back on Goldhari, than the people rose with one mind to destroy the Seikh army. After considerable loss, Ramdial succeeded in cutting his way through the enemy. News reached Runjeet Sing that the peasants

of Goldhari were acting under the instigation of Futteh Khan, and that the Vizeer himself might make a descent from Cashmere on the unprotected cities of Northern Punjab. The whole Seikh army was ordered to fall back on Lahore; the capital was in danger, the safety of the empire was threatened. Bhiah Ram Sing proved himself unfit to hold even the civil governorship of Jummoo; he was fined five lacs of rupees and imprisoned at pleasure. The storm that for a while threatened the safety of the Khalsa empire passed away. Veer Sing of Noorpoor rose in arms, and appealed to the dissatisfied chiefs to come to his assistance; his call was not answered, and Runjeet Sing drove him across the Sutlej. The country that acknowledged the sovereignty of Omed Sing was considered escheat on the demise of that chief, and forthwith annexed to the Khalsa dominions. The fort of Rajpoora and the country that bears that name were next conquered and annexed. Runjeet Sing then reviewed his army at Kangra, and the Rajahs of Kohistan were summoned to present themselves with tribute. The Mandiallah chief paid a *nuzzer* of a lac of rupees, and on his demise his son paid another half lac to succeed to his estates.

Dewan Sing Ramgoriah and Veer Sing, having taken offence at each other, resolved to try their respective causes by an appeal to arms. Veer Sing imprisoned Dewan Sing's sister and defied her husband Jode Sing to rescue her from captivity. Jode Sing appealed to Runjeet Sing, and the Maharajah promised him justice, marched against them, took both of them prisoners, and confiscated their property. Jode Sing's wife was released, and considering his connexion with Runjeet Sing's family, the service was gratuitous. Runjeet Sing then cleared all the petty fortifications near Secundra and returned to Lahore. As if overcome with the stings of conscience—a weakness seldom remarked in him—he allowed Veer Sing a jageer of thirty-thousand rupees per annum, and bestowed another of equal value on the wife of Jode Sing. Dewan Sing, who was denied this bounty, seriously thought of a pilgrimage, and on second consideration, absconded to Putiallah. The devotee might have found even this neutral ground too hot for him, if it had not been for more important matters weighing on Runjeet Sing's mind. Dewan Gungaram was ordered to settle affairs at Ramguriah, and Moteeram in the company of his son was marching down towards Mooltan.

It is curious to remark in the history of oriental despots, with what little consideration the law of nations is set aside, and with what perfect impunity might makes every thing right, and sacrifices all moral obligations to expediency. What

is hardly less curious is the fact that the conquered, under such circumstances, never condescends to appeal to his neighbours in behalf of the justice of his cause; it is admitted as an axiom that he who cannot hold his own must yield it to his superior. When Runjeet Sing marched an army against a friendly power, his neighbours did not marvel at the absence of a pretext for disturbing the public peace; his growing ambition was considered a satisfactory explanation of his conduct. Thus, the Mooltanees, on hearing of the advance of the Seikhs, did not trouble themselves with an inquiry into the cause of this hostile movement, but aware of Runjeet Sing's motives they prepared for the worst. The fort was put in a state of defence, the ramparts were covered with guns, the walls were defended by Ghazees, and the store-rooms were replenished and provisioned for six months.

At the close of this year Hurree Sing, who was guarding the Chenab, sent a lac of rupees to Lahore, and he himself soon after followed the treasure. Misser Dewan Chund, who had gone against the Towanas with Gowsa Khan's battery, returned to Lahore, and after receiving honors from the Durbar, was ordered to proceed to Munkera to levy tribute, and to quell a spirit of discontent that was spreading among the peasants of that place.

1817. Ramdial, whose courage was above suspicion as his character was above reproach, well aware of the devotion which would characterise the Ghazee's defence in a religious war against an unoffending Moslem power, and justified in explaining Runjeet Sing's ambition by his avarice, concluded a treaty with the governor of Mooltan, and returned to Lahore with a *nuzzer* of sixty-one thousand rupees. Ramdial was not a little surprised to find himself superseded by Dewan Chund, and that that officer was instructed to accept no terms nor any offer, but to capture the fort of Mooltan. Dewan Chund surrounded the fort, and after a siege of eight days, a shell accidentally blew up the Nawab's magazine with the loss of two thousand lives, at the same time making a breach in the wall large enough to admit an assaulting column. The Khalsas were ready to storm the fort, when Mozuffer Khan submitted with the thousand rupees, and Dewan Chund returned to Lahore.

There is another version of the history of the Mooltan expedition which has not generally obtained among the Seikhs, owing to reasons the reader can readily divine. It is related that after the breach had been made, the Khalsas rushed to the assault; the Puthans sword in hand guarded the breach. The Seikhs cheered; thrice they invoked the Gooroos, and met the

besieged in a desperate hand to hand struggle. Dewan Chund, having failed in his attempt, agreed to raise the siege. and return to Lahore, if the Nawab paid a nominal submission to the Seikh commander, and a *nuzzer* of ten thousand rupees to the Lahore Durbar. Considering the express order of Runjeet Sing that the fort was to be taken at any cost, considering also the heavy outlays incident on the expedition, and the trifling terms on which peace was concluded, we are inclined to believe, of the two accounts, that of the Moslem the most probable.

While Dewan Chund was on his way to Lahore, an imperative order from Runjeet Sing crossed him near Cheetawutnee; the Rajah begged of the Dewan not to give in to Mozuffer Khan's entreaties, but to conquer and cement the Mooltan territories to the Khalsa empire with his sanction. However Dewan Chund reached Lahore, and in vain tried to appease the wrath of his incensed master. Dewan Bhugwani Das incurred the high displeasure of the court, for paralysing the efforts of Ramdial by timid counsels in his first treaty with Mozuffer Khan. Bhugwani Das' house was surrounded, and his life threatened, and it was only at the intercession of the Prince Khurruck Sing that he was received into favor again. Runjeet Sing then removed his court to Umritser and slowly marched up to Buttala; he turned his course towards the Huslee, and lay encamped on the banks of that canal for some days. While here the Maharajah asked of Jemadar Koshal Sing's brother to embrace the faith of Nanuck, and receive the *Powl* as the Jemadar had done before him; the high caste Poorbea, apprehending a forced conversion, absconded from the Seikh camp in disguise. Runjeet Sing considered Ram Lall's conduct as a tacit condemnation of the Khalsa faith; he was hunted out by Ramdial, brought to the Rajah and was severely punished. Runjeet Sing then sailed down the Ravee and reached Lahore; being threatened with a return of his old malady, he consulted his physicians and unwillingly submitted to a course of medical treatment which confined him to his Zenana. One of Metcalfe's Vakeels had come to Lahore about this time, and owing to Runjeet Sing's indisposition he had to leave his credentials and letters with the court Dewan, and return back to the provinces.

Having passed an ordeal which sensualists abhor more than any trial of patience, courage or fortitude, Runjeet Sing received the congratulations of his court, and prepared anew for the conquest of Mooltan. He mustered a large force, mostly comprising veterans, and under the immediate command of Dewan Chund and Prince Khurruck Sing they

marched against the fort of Mooltan. The plucky Kuthree pledged himself to conquer or die, and on his way to Mooltan he reduced the forts of Khangurh and Mozuffergurh, and in due time besieged the capital of Nawab Mozuffer Khan. About this time Dhyan Sing reached Lahore and offered his services to Runjeet Sing. The Maharajah was struck with the martial appearance of the adventurer and made him his favorite chamberlain. The history of this remarkable man is yet to be told.

1818. When Mooltan was completely besieged, a summons was sent to the Nawab to surrender himself at discretion within ten days. The treacherous Puthans, the would-be defenders of Mooltan, were eager for submission; Mozuffer Khan treated the idea of a surrender with contempt, made up his mind to devote himself and his family to destruction, and gave up all hopes of co-operation from the mercenaries in the fort. After the expiry of ten days the besieged were driven to extremity for want of provisions; the Seikhs on the contrary were daily receiving reinforcements; every day some news of success were carried to Lahore. Runjeet Sing was so well pleased with the operations conducted against Mooltan, that he honored the general-in-chief with the title of Zuffer Jung. A council of war met in the Seikh camp, and Dewan Chund Zuffer Jung asked the advice of the assembled generals as to the day and hour when the assault should take place. The council unanimously fixed upon the next day, and the whole army was apprized of the resolution. The besieged—with the exception of the Puthans—fought with desperation; the Seikhs stormed the out-works with considerable loss, but the citadel still held out. Some of the most renowned Seikh generals had already perished: commandants Nuthoo Sing and Futteh Sing with their brother, and several other Sirdars of less note, were no more; the number of wounded was immense, and every hour added to it. While the combatants were, by mutual consent, enjoying a short rest, Saddoo Sing Nahung, with a party of his own class under the influence of intoxicating drugs, attacked the last retreat of Mozuffer Khan. The Seikhs followed them pell-mell, and the citadel was immediately occupied. The venerable Mozuffer Khan, with a son on each side, was leaving his stronghold for the Seikh camp, when he was overtaken on his way and cut down with his sons. Prince Khurruck Sing, never conspicuous for bravery, and by nature wild but revengeful, ordered a general massacre of the garrison. Nawabs Surfuraz Khan and Zulfakar Khan, two leaders of eminence, surrendered their swords to Dewan Moteeram; that brave man, ever foremost in danger, was averse to a wholesale

murder of the weak and defenceless. He went over to the tent of the general-in-chief, and persuaded him to countermand the order for a massacre; but Dewan Chund had once been rebuked for leniency, and he was resolved never to be guilty of that offence again. The noise and confusion of that day the ancient residents of Mooltan have not yet forgotten; they yet relate deeds of horror the recollection of which shall outlive many generations.

We are now pretty certain that the rashness of Saddoo Sing had a good deal of method in it; and we have hardly a doubt that the fall of Mooltan is to be attributed to the treachery of the Puthans, who were averse to defend the master whose charity had so long secured to them ease and affluence. It is hardly conceivable that, in a general massacre in which the sick and the infirm were so unceremoniously included, a body of six-hundred Puthans, "well-fed and able-bodied men," as our author calls them, could have by any chance succeeded in eluding the vigilance or disarming the vengeance of their determined enemy, unless indeed their safety was guaranteed before-hand. The fact is that they purchased their lives by a treacherous desertion of their leader—certainly not an extraordinary fact for habitual traitors, but rather calculated to surprise by the adroitness with which it was executed.

The Maharajah's share of Mooltan plunder amounted to two lacs of rupees only; the fort of Shujabad was searched, and about 8,000 rupees worth of silk goods and five pieces of ordnance were all that repaid the trouble of the victors. The famous Bhangee gun, Zem Zem, which made the first breach in the walls of Mooltan, was now placed on the ramparts of that fort. The shattered walls were rebuilt; the fort was provisioned, and the natives of the city encouraged to return to their homes, and live under the protection of the Khalsas. In the month of June the Seikh army returned to Lahore, after leaving a garrison of six hundred men at Mooltan, and two regiments of Nujeebs at Shujabad, the former under the command of Dull Sing Neherna, Jode Sing Kulsea, and Dova Sing Doobea.

On the return of the Mooltan force to the capital, Runjeet Sing was informed that the soldiers had brought home loads of plunder, and that the Maharajah's own share was but a trifle in comparison. The great patron of public morality now took the cause of military discipline under his protection, and issued an order that if any officer or private of the Mooltan force was found with spoil, after the date of the proclamation, he was to forfeit his life without any hopes of pardon or mitigation of the penalty; alleging also that the discipline of

the army would come to an end if soldiers were avaricious. The *loot*, surrendered after the proclamation by the commandants, adjutants, and soobadars alone, amounted to five lacs of rupees. The Maharajah then ordered the expenditure of three hundred rupees a day for the repairs of the fortifications of Mooltan, and Sookdial was appointed to the civil government of that place. The Sirdars in command of the Seikhs in Mooltan died of fever, and their sons succeeded them by special order.

Dehsa Sing Muzzethea and Nanuck Chund Chaprah were ordered to collect tribute from the Rajahs of Kohistan. Anund Sing reached Lahore with credentials from Lord Lake, complaining of the Maharajah's silence, and congratulating him on his success against the Mooltanies. Anund Sing was received with marked honors, and after rewarding his service with *kheluts*, Runjeet Sing took leave of him to review his army at Shahadia. The Maharajah was well pleased with the general appearance of the men, and marched at their head towards Attock. On arriving there he heard of the tragical end of Vizeer Futteh Khan. Runjeet Sing who bore him a deep-rooted spite, ordered a *feu de joie* to be fired in every principal station in the Punjab.

On Runjeet Sing's arrival at Attock, a body of Afghans appeared on the opposite side of the river, as if willing to beard the "Lion of Lahore" in his own den. The intruders were commanded to retire unmolested, and were threatened with condign punishment in case they persisted in their hostile intentions against the Seikhs. The Puthans, with their usual dash, killed the Baidee who bore the message, and were actually fording the river, when Runjeet Sing anticipated their movements, and drove them back with immense slaughter. He followed them up to Peshawur, and such as were taken prisoners were ransomed by the payment of a fine of six thousand rupees. Jehandad Khan was appointed governor of Peshawur; his fidelity in giving up Attock to the Seikhs strongly backed his pretensions to a place of importance. The Bala Hissar of Peshawur was pulled down, and fourteen guns were sent to the city for defence. Hokma Sing was imprisoned on a frivolous charge, and released directly on the payment of 1,30,000 rupees. Runjeet Sing now levied a new tax on the country surrounding Attock, and such of the Sirdars as were slow in fording the river in the late encounter with the Puthans, were fined a lac of rupees. No sooner had the Seikhs turned their back on Peshawur, than the governor of that place, whose fidelity to Runjeet Sing was not a little alloyed with cowardice, abandoned the city on receiving news of the approach of Dost

Mahomed. Jehandad Khan fled to Herat, but the safety of Peshawur was not compromised. Elli Bux was appointed to the command of Mooltan, for his presence there was calculated to restore order and confidence. Dewan Chund returned to Lahore with tribute, and congratulated the Maharajah on his recent success.

At the close of this year Futteh Sing Alloawalliah came down to Lahore to pay his respects to Runjeet Sing. Ramdial was ordered to Bhawulpore for tribute, and on his arrival there the young general was informed by his spies that Shujah ul-Mulk had just returned to Loodianah, after suffering a severe defeat at the Khyber from the Affghans under Dost Mahomed. He was also informed that Azim Khan the governor of Cashmere had just left his capital, with upwards of four millions of pounds sterling in goods and bullion, to meet his brother Dost Mahomed at Cabul. Ramdial immediately informed Runjeet Sing of the defenceless state of Cashmere, and pressed for an expedition against that country. Runject Sing acted on Ramdial's suggestion with alacrity, and sent a large force under Dewan Chund to conquer Cashmere, while he moved out of Lahore to Wuzzeerabad, to wait there for the tidings of the fall of that place.

1819. Ramdial arrived at Lahore with treasure worth two lacs and sixteen thousand rupees; he hastened to join Runjeet Sing, and was ordered to overtake Dewan Chund's force on its way to Rajbarri; Ramdial's march was unfortunately impeded by the inclemency of the weather; Dewan Chund entered Rajbarri, and single-handed drove Ugger Khan out of it. Runjeet Sing himself slowly advanced towards Cashmere, and met Ugger Khan's brother, Rulleemoollah, at Rajbarri; the refugee was offered shelter and protection, though a studied silence was preserved regarding the fate of his country. Dewan Chund forced his way to Ruthun Punjab, and as the natives of that place had long practised open robbery, they were severely punished and plundered of all their valuables. Dewan Chund then advanced on the capital of Cashmere; he was joined by a body of ten thousand Seikhs when within a day's march from his destination, and with the consent of his able advisers he halted there for a couple of days. Runjeet Sing again moved onward on Dewan Chund's track, and on his arrival at Rajwan he ordered the arrest of Ugger Khan; and recommended Dewan Chund to advance on Cashmere without loss of time. While Dewan Chund was fording a river on his way to Azim Khan's capital, Zubber Khan, who then governed Cashmere for Azim, attacked him with a body of four thousand Afghan horsemen,

and for a moment threw the Khalsas into disorder. Dewan Chund's appearance immediately restored confidence in his men; they invoked the Gooroos' aid, and fell on the Afghans sword in hand. After a severe conflict, Zubber Khan gave way, and the victorious Seikhs took possession of their camp. Had Dewan Chund pursued his enemy, instead of confining himself to the plunder of his camp, perhaps the fate of Cashmere would have been decided without another fight. As it was the Seikhs had to disperse more than one body of Afghans, who at different times appeared to contest their passage. The unhappy Zubber Khan sought refuge in the fort of Mozufferabad, but the governor of that place refused him admittance, and the defeated general retreated on Peshawur and thence to Candahar. Thus the fairest province of India was, after two signal failures, annexed to the dominions of Runjeet Sing, and the last independent Mussulman ruler in the Punjab was overcome. The Seikh supremacy was now established from the snow capt Solimans to the sterile plains of Mooltan. The court music played night and day; the camp of the victor was the scene of continued festivities; the Seikh kettle-drum beat loud the *io pœan* over the fallen government of the Barriekzie. Runjeet Sing gave himself up to pleasure for a time, but the calls of state soon sobered the Maharajah; he immediately commenced legislating for the newly acquired province, establishing Seikh Police all over the country, appointing Dewan Moteeram to the government of Cashmere, and confiding the details of that work to the tried sagacity of the Dewan.

Ramdial was ordered to march on the fort of Marsade, and to bring Zubber Khan's son a hostage to Lahore. Motecram was at the same time ordered to levy a fine of eleven thousand rupees on the regiments under the command of Hurree Sing and Dull Sing. This ticklish duty was performed with much adroitness, but not without some misgiving. Dewan Chund was now ordered to farm the revenue of Cashmere to Pundit Beerbar Dur for fifty-three lacs a year, and the duties on Cashmere shawls to Jowhar Mull for ten lacs per annum. When these arrangements were perfected, Dewan Chund returned to Lahore. Surrounded by his generals, and in the presence of a full court, Runjeet Sing celebrated the *Dusserah* festival; that day, says the historian, shall ever be remembered as the proudest of Runjeet Sing's life. When the festival was over, Runjeet Sing ordered Dewan Chund to Peshawur; the Dewan petitioned for two month's leave to recruit his health, which had suffered from the fatigues of a campaign in the snows of Cashmere. The prayer was granted, and Dewan Chund retired from public life to enjoy this short recreation.

About this time twins were born to Runjeet Sing, and they were named Mooltana Sing and Cashmera Sing after the new conquests.

Dull Sing, Hurree Sing, and Bhowani Das returned from Cashmere *via* Pukbee, attacking and relieving the fort of Durbund from the hands of Sirdar Painda Khan, on their way to Lahore. Kurram Sing Rungulmingliah dying about this time, his son succeeded him in the command of Khairabad. Runjeet Sing visited the temple of Umritser, bathed in the tank, and with a full court attended the reading of Garruntho at the Durbar Sab. While at Umritser Runjeet Sing purchased a valuable *Hookah* from a Hindustani merchant of Delhi, and though the Gooroos strongly deprecate the use of tobacco, to mark his sense of the high esteem in which he held Dewan Chund, this article of luxury was presented to him by the Maharajah, with permission to use it. Such a favor would have caused a rebellion, if it were lavished on any individual less distinguished than Dewan Chund Zuffer Jung. To give the reader some idea of the importance of this attention, let him but for a moment conceive the idea of any such condescension as the Sublime Porte's presenting Admiral Lyons with a golden apparatus for curing ham and bacon.

Dewan Gungaram, with the sanction of the Maharajah, sent Elli Bux with a battery of guns to collect revenue from the Rajahs of Kohistan. The Rajah himself then moved towards the Chenab, after despatching the most unfortunate expedition the Khalsas ever undertook. For the first time since the conquest of Lahore, did the Khalsa acknowledge being beaten in a fair fight, by an enemy numerically inferior and comparatively strangers to discipline. This unfortunate expedition was placed under the immediate command of Ramdial, assisted by a council of war, consisting of Futteh Sing Allaowalliah, Sam Sing, Gunda Sing, Sava Sing, and Ranee Sudda Kour, all under the auspices of Prince Shere Sing, and directed against the natives of Bar and the rebellious tribes on the frontier. Fortunately for Dewan Chund's prestige he was not included in the council of war under Ramdial. His leave expiring about this time, Dewan Chund hastened towards Peshawur, and Runjeet Sing marched down towards Mooltan to watch the movements of the Bar expedition. On reaching Mooltan, Runjeet Sing investigated a charge of neglect of duty preferred against Sham Sing Pesharah; the Sirdar was found guilty, imprisoned and fined, and the famous Dewan Sawun Mull, the father of Moolraj, was named his successor.

Ranee Chund Kour being in a delicate situation, Runjeet

Sing ordered prince Khurruck Sing to remove his wife Umritser, that the heir to the Khalsa empire might be born under the happy influence of the Gooroos.

Nanuck Chund, after punishing the Rajah of Kukka Bumba, rebuilt the fort of Pukhee, and was on his way to Lahore, when he was suddenly taken ill. He rallied after a short though severe indisposition, and returned to Lahore in a delicate state of health. Ramdial having levied tribute on the natives of Bar was on his way to Lahore, when intelligence reached him of the difficulties into which Elli Bux had got himself by undue severity of conduct. Ramdial marched out to Elli Bux's relief, extricated him from the danger, and inflicted such punishment on the rebels, that it was long before they were able again to rise against lawful authority. Jemadar Kooshal Sing having conquered the Dehrah Gazee Khan territory, the whole of the newly acquired province, with that of Mooltan, was leased for twenty-five lacs of rupees to Saduck Khan Daoodpothra.

1820. In the beginning of this year, Dewan Chund received from Nawab Shanemaz Khan two lacs of rupees for his holdings; the other feudatories followed the Nawab's example, and the Lahore exchequer, it is related, was never known to have been richer.

Every part of the Punjab was at peace; once for all the country enjoyed universal quiet, nor did there appear any thing in the political horizon to disturb this calm, unless indeed the sovereign authority resolved to presume too much on human endurance. Runjeet Sing's policy excluded all unnecessary acts of oppression, nor was it in keeping with his usual sagacity to be taken unawares by any political storm. But as ill-luck would have it, his mother-in-law, Ranee Sudda Kour, whose presence in the camp was neither expedient nor political, resolved to try human nature beyond human endurance, and by actual experience to learn the extent to which fortune may be trifled with. Up to this time uniform success had attended all the operations of the Sirdars under Ramdial; they were respected and obeyed by men who were not notorious for their fidelity or submission to lawful authority. While Ramdial was meditating a triumphal entry into Lahore, he was surprised by a rumour that Ranee Sudda Kour had demanded of the natives of Bar, the bodies of all the Sirdars who had fallen since the Seikhs had entered their country. He was not a little surprised to find that such a demand had been made, and that the natives were already betraying signs of disaffection. No order could be more preposterous. Its absurdity was so obvious, so revoltingly irrational, that though the etiquette of oriental

despotism does not even tolerate an explanation from those who have nothing else to offer but implicit obedience, the natives of Bar presented a remonstrance to the self-willed Ranee. She was impervious to all arguments, and resolved to carry out her suicidal policy; she stuck to her resolution with the pertinacity so common to her sex. As if influenced by a sad presentiment of coming events, Ramdial visited the Ranee and persuaded her to retract her order, but even his powerful influence failed in its attempt to shake her resolution. Nothing could succeed against the temper of this imperious woman, and it is quite a mystery why, with the full confidence of Runjeet Sing's approbation, Ramdial did not take it upon himself to countermand the order. Unfortunately for the Seikh, and more so for Ramdial himself, the general-in-chief gave in, and prepared for the resistance to the Ranee's entreaties which was now inevitable. The Sirdars were simultaneously attacked by the irritated Belochees; the Seikhs suffered dreadfully at different places, and the state of affairs assumed a most melancholy aspect. One day, at about four in the afternoon, while Ramdial was sitting in his tent, a messenger, who even our author believes was an angel, walked up to him and beseeched him to go to the relief of the Khalsas, who were being driven back by the enemy. The plucky young general, unable to bear it any longer, jumped into his saddle, and with a handful of horsemen sallied out against the enemy. At night fall, Ramdial was surrounded by a party of Belochees, and a fierce engagement took place; for almost one full hour the Seikhs fought hand to hand with the enemy, but fresh men coming up continually, the odds against the Seikhs increased. On that day the Khalsa steel told with wonderful effect, but there is a line which even heroes cannot pass, and the day closed on the complete overthrow of the Seikhs. Out of the handful of men whom Ramdial led out, only three or four escaped, and among those who fell was the brave commander-in-chief himself! Thus perished one of the bravest, ablest, and most successful generals that Runjeet Sing ever had. The news of his death travelled like wild-fire. The Seikh camp was at once struck; preparations were immediately set on foot for an ignominious retreat! Runjeet Sing sincerely deplored the loss of his favorite general. "It is a misfortune," said he, "to lose a 'hero, but to lose one in a petty skirmish is sad indeed. 'Had he fallen in a great battle the regret would have been 'less." Dewan Moteeram was overcome with grief; if Runjeet Sing had lost a faithful supporter, the Dewan had lost a promising son; he gave himself up to despair, and against all the persuasions of the Maharajah, he made up his mind

to leave the Punjab, and to husband his last days in the holy city of Benares. Thus ended the unfortunate expedition against Bar, and the Seikh army returned to Lahore in shame and sorrow. It is not known whether Sudda Kour regretted the conduct which heaped such obloquy and disgrace on the Khalsa army, but the most sincere repentance could hardly redeem the effects of one rash act which put a nation in mourning.

The Seikhs returned from Bar, but the infuriated Belochees still continued in open rebellion. They had submitted without much resistance, because they were willing and able to check oppression; the conquerors had presumed too far on their acquiescing temper, and they were ready at any cost to throw off the forced allegiance. Mahomed Khan, the Jemadar of Goldhari, who had some influence among the frontier tribes, volunteered to pacify the justly incensed Belochees, and if possible to bring them back to their allegiance. The offer was gladly received, and Mahomed Khan was asked to intercede without delay. The Jemadar cut his way through them, convened a meeting of their leaders, and nothing else is mentioned of his endeavours in the cause of the Seikhs, besides his success in reducing this people to submission by persuasion and entreaties. Nanuck Chund, who was for a second time ordered against the natives of Kukka Bumba, and the fort of the Durbund, successfully operated against them, and, for future safety, built the fort of Gazhi. Bulloo Sing was first in command of the newly-built stronghold, and Nanuck Chund returned to Lahore. The frontier forts were placed under the command of Nund Sing, a general of little experience but of tried fidelity.

Runjeet Sing marched out of Lahore on a pleasure excursion; he visited Buttala, and passed a few days in the gardens of Shamshere Khan. After celebrating the *Dusserqh* at Buttala, Runjeet Sing marched towards Sealkote, and was delighted with the twin princes Mooltana and Cashmera Sing, who were residing in that city with a small court of their own. The *octroi* of Umritser was farmed to Ramanund for eighty-five thousand rupees over and above the amount of the last lease. One Moulvie Muzzer Hussain, who possessed a smattering of English, offered his services to Runjeet Sing; the Maharajah appreciated the Moulvie's talents, and put him in charge of the government of Kullanare, where he acquitted himself with general satisfaction.

Moteeram, still suffering from domestic afflictions, resigned the government of Cashmere, and was succeeded by Hurree Sing the future conqueror of Peshawur. Pundit Burbar

Dur visited the new viceroy's camp with presents and tribute, and after receiving *kheluts* returned back to Cashmere. News having reached Runjeet Sing of a disturbance near the Chenab, the Maharajah marched out in person against the insurgents. The Jageerdars, of the disturbed districts not being ready with their retainers, Runjeet Sing fined them a lac of rupees. Tranquillity was soon restored and Runjeet Sing returned to Lahore. Nund Sing, proving himself incapable of holding the frontier, that important command was made over to Nanuck Chund.

The brother of Dewan Bhowani Das was ordered to Kooloo for the collection of revenue, and Golab Sing—the late protected ruler of Cashmere—was sent against Dadoo Rajputh, a man of considerable genius and immense local influence. Golab Sing engaged him near his head quarters, and after a most desperate fight of some hours, the Rajput and his two sons were left on the field of battle, but his devotion and courage elicited the warmest applause even from his enemies. The youngest son of Dadoo Rajput was taken to Lahore, and his education was entrusted to one of the Sirdars. Golab Sing, after a deal of trouble, succeeded in taking Ugger Khan prisoner to Lahore; he was imprisoned for life, and his son received a small Jageer. On the 24th of Phagun, Prince Naenehal Sing, son of the heir apparent, Prince Khurruck Sing, was born in Umritser. Runjeet Sing celebrated the birth of a grandson with unusual splendour.

The natives of Kukka Bumba again proving turbulent, Dewan Chund Zuffer Jung was sent against them. An Attaree Sirdar, who was appointed his secretary with strict injunctions to obey the general-in-chief in all measures connected with the expedition, took umbrage at the Dewan, and refused to follow the camp beyond Noopoor. Dewan Chund reported the Attaree chief's conduct, and the refractory Sirdar was summoned to Lahore and publicly reprimanded for wilful disobedience; still further to soothe the general's wounded dignity, Runjeet Sing appointed Hurree Sing, the governor of Cashmere, his second in command.

We may again return to the subject of our present article. We shall then close the reign of Runjeet Sing, and for the first time lay before the public a Seikh account of the Sutlej and the Punjab campaigns. The readers of Wade and Prinsep will at once have discovered the marked superiority of Dewan Ummer Nath's narrative over those of our own writers.

ART. II.—1. *First, Second, Third, and Fourth Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Colonization and Settlement in India; with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.* London, 1858.

2. *Papers relating to the Settlement of Europeans in India.* Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co., 1854.

3. *A Further Inquiry into the Expediency of applying the Principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India, and of effecting an essential change in its Landed Tenures and in the character of its inhabitants.* By the AUTHOR OF THE ORIGINAL INQUIRY. London, J. M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill, 1828.

INTERLOPER.—The word in its Anglo-Indian sense has always suggested a sense of wrong on the part of one, and a feeling of undue assumption on the part of the other, of the two great classes, official and non-official, into which British-born subjects in India are divided. It suggested likewise a feeling of special antagonism to the East India Company. We confess to having been an Interloper ourselves, and to having strong interloping feelings, but we shall do our best to keep them under, and it will be the more easy to do so, because on the 1st of September we entered upon an era in Anglo-Indian history, wherein the term Interloper will soon be unmeaning and obsolete. Though we cannot at once realise the position, and it is quite possible that at least ten years will elapse before we shall be able to do so; still the fact is consolatory, and will help us in subduing those feelings, to the possession of which we have confessed. In reviewing the career of the Interloper, in tracing him through the transition state, from that of an interloping adventurer to that of an unwelcome, though more independent, settler; in defining his present position, and in speculating on his future, we shall be as little controversial as possible. We propose rather to be narrative and suggestive. The heading of our article may be objected to, as being in itself, by our own confession, of a pugnacious tendency, but as the term Interloper best expresses our meaning, we must use it. Dr. Johnson defines the word "one who runs into business to which he has no right." Now this is exactly what the late "Company" has considered the private trader or settler in India. He was equally disliked when the Company's agents cringed to Nawabs and Subadars, craving their permission to trade, as when its puny settlements were swallowed up in provinces, and when its sway expanded from the boun-

daries of a factory to the limits of an empire. So long as the Company had the monopoly of trade, and its operations were confined to profitable commerce, it would naturally be jealous of Interlopers; but when its commercial rights became absorbed in political duties, when millions acknowledged its rule; one would have supposed that its first aim would have been to encourage emigration from Great Britain, with the two-fold purpose of securing our sovereignty, and benefiting its subjects. The fact however is that from the first the "Company" imbibed the instinct which has guided all Eastern rulers. The Chinese, Burmese, Japanese, have always acted on the idea, that contact with Europeans would result in loss of nationality. Intercourse with a being who would leave his home, brave the dangers of the ocean, and wander across the globe in search of riches and knowledge, was feared. It shocked the conservative tendencies of the East, and it was thought safest altogether to interdict the admission to citizenship of the outside barbarian. What the outside barbarian was to the celestial emperor, the independent British trader was to the East India Company. In fact Interloper and outside barbarian were synonymous terms. The analogy extended further. The two succeeded against almost equal obstacles *pari passu*, in securing admission into the celestial and Company's empires. The former however has fairly got the start; the Company having fallen before the force of circumstances which open a bright career to the Interloper. The latter has not been far behind; the treaty signed on the 27th June at least theoretically opens China to western civilization, but here the analogy rests. The Interloper commences his new career with the certainty of the speedy introduction of British enterprise throughout the length and breadth of the land. The outside barbarian will for years have to contend against the exclusive prejudices of rulers and ruled.

It has of late become the fashion to deprecate the use of the term Interloper. But it is a time-honored word, and was used alike in the stormy days when monopolist and Interloper battled at the close of the seventeenth century, and later at a period when an Interloper's position in India was too marked and too severely felt, to make him ready to assume a name which was then but a badge of social degradation. It was the favorite term of the Company's civilian, and freely used in official documents. In 1829 we find a Sudder Judge, in a paper on Indigo Planters' contracts with ryots, saying: "The above process 'too is equally conclusive against Interlopers, who wish to 'tamper with people who have entered into contracts; the 'summary award shuts the Interloper out." Here the word

occurs twice in as many lines; again a Secretary to Government, writing on the same subject, says, "I see also nothing 'inequitable in making an Interloper, who has induced a 'ryot to fail in his contract, answerable jointly and severally 'with him for the penalty; nor in making proof of the 'clandestine receipt of the article contracted for to another, 'by the Interloper, sufficient evidence of his being the in-'ducing party to warrant decree against him." The word is a legitimate word, and we must hold by it. We own that since the 1st of September it is not strictly applicable, inasmuch as the Interloper has passed through his transition state; he is just emancipated from his chrysalis garb, and will soon we hope find the full use of his wings.

The birth of the Interloper dates back full two hundred and fifty years. His history would be both amusing and instructive. It would comprise many a daring exploit against the organised strength of the old Company. We should find him at one time successful, at another baffled; we should read of hair-breadth escapes by sea and land, of dangerous intrigues carried on in the native courts of India, of temporary triumphs and ignominious defeats, and all against odds which would have deterred any but a Briton from the contest. The peculiar national characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon, as a daring adventurer and enterprising colonist, would be brought out in strong relief in such a history, and we have no doubt ample materials exist for its compilation. We will now give a hasty glance at the early history of the Interloper, dwelling somewhat longer on the most interesting period—the few years before the junction of the two Companies in 1698.

The Portuguese were the first European nation who traded with India *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope; subsequently the Dutch to a large extent, and the English and French more or less, entered the field. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted the first charter to the London Company. For sometime previous the bulk of the trade had been in the hands of the Dutch, who probably made no objection to British adventurers picking up the golden crumbs which fell in their way, owing to the support against the house of Austria which the Dutch Republic received in Europe from Elizabeth. But the Interloper was not to receive the same consideration from his own countrymen. No sooner was the English corporation formed than its rights were jealously guarded. We read "some Inter-'lopers there had always been, and as early as the year 1600, 'the Court of Directors had ordered that they should be seized 'and treated as smugglers, or in some cases, as *pirates*." The first interloping success against the Company's chartered pri-

vileges was in 1604, when a license to trade was granted to Sir Edward Michelborne and others, but in 1609 James I. renewed the London Company's charter, annulling all existing licenses. The Company's affairs flourished on the whole till the great civil war. All charters under the royal seal were then in abeyance, and for some years the trade was practically open. About 1658, Oliver Cromwell however confirmed the old charter, and in 1661 Charles II. granted a new one. It was in his reign that the Interlopers began to be most troublesome. They took advantage of the reaction in favor of royalty after the Restoration, and joined the side of the court against the popular party to which the India Company belonged. Macaulay says, "the Interlopers therefore determined to affect the 'character of loyal men, who were determined to stand by the 'throne against the insolent tribunes of the city." They spread reports in India that civil war had broken out at home, the Company being foremost in the ranks of the King's enemies. Many of the discontented servants of the Company joined the Interlopers, who at one period acquired such power that they seized Bombay, and held it for a time, as they said, on behalf of the King. Matters assumed such an aspect that the Court of Directors were constrained to take high measures abroad, and to watch carefully over their interests at home. From this time till 1698, a series of contests took place between the Interlopers and the Company with varied success.

It was well for the latter that its affairs were then managed by Sir Josiah Child, a man of singular ability, unflinching boldness, and undaunted perseverance. He was a staunch whig in politics, and had amassed amazing wealth by his connection with the great monopoly. Macaulay says of him, "One great man was pointed out on the Royal 'Exchange as having, by judicious or lucky purchases of 'stock, created in no long time an estate of twenty thousand 'a year. This commercial grandee who, in wealth and in the 'influence which attends wealth, vied with the greatest nobles 'of his time, was Sir Josiah Child. There were those who still 'remembered him an apprentice sweeping one of the counting-'houses of the city, but from a humble position his abilities had 'raised him rapidly to opulence, power, and fame; at the time 'of the Restoration, he was highly considered in the mercantile 'world; soon after that event he published his thoughts on the 'philosophy of trade; his speculations were not always sound, 'but they were the speculations of an ingenious and reflecting 'man. Into whatever errors he may occasionally have fallen 'as a theorist, it is certain that as a practical man of business, 'he had few equals. Almost as soon as he became a member

'of the Committee which directed the affairs of the Company, 'his ascendancy was felt. Soon many of the most important 'posts both in Leadenhall Street, and in the factories of Bombay 'and Bengal, were filled by his kinsmen and creatures. His 'riches, though expended with ostentatious profusion, continued 'to increase and multiply. He obtained a baronetcy, he pur-'chased a stately seat at Wanstead, and there he laid out im-'mense sums in excavating fish ponds, and in planting whole 'square miles of barren land with walnut trees. He married 'his daughter to the eldest son of the Duke of Beaufort, and 'paid down with her a portion of fifty thousand pounds."

Such was the man who at this time wielded the power, and managed the affairs, of the India Company. The period of his connection with it is certainly the most interesting of its domestic annals. Under his able management the monopoly triumphed over all opposition. Enormous fortunes were made under his auspices; great consequently was the jealousy aroused, and it was the more bitter from the exclusive system on which the trade was conducted. Had new stock been offered for sale on Change at par, other merchants would have shared in the golden harvests; profits would have been more equally distributed; and the Company's most powerful enemies, by being allowed to share in the gains, would have been disarmed. As it was, the stock was kept in a few hands, money was borrowed at six per cent. put into the trade, and realised twenty-five to thirty. From 1670 to 1690 seem to have been the most palmy days of the Company. The price of £100 stock rose so high as £500. Dividends varied from twenty to thirty per cent. So enormous were the profits in consequence of the borrowing plan, that "in 1676 every proprietor received as a bonus a 'quantity of stock equal to that which he held. On the capital 'thus doubled were paid during five years, dividends amounting 'on an average to twenty per cent. annually." Verily the Company prospered. It was like one of its own ships richly freighted, sailing under a clear sky before the wind, and certainly Sir Josiah Child stered the vessel with consummate skill. It was not long however before he discerned clouds on his horizon. In politics a whig, he had always sided with the people against the throne; the Interlopers, on the other hand, as we have seen, taking the court side. A decided reaction had taken place in favour of the throne. The question of the day was the exclusion bill, James' right to the succession being strenuously supported by the opponents of the Company. Child watched the contest. The defeat of the exclusionists brought a still farther accession of strength to the Crown, appearing to Sir Josiah to promise a long lease of power to the

prerogative. A storm was evidently brewing, which would probably lay his ship on her beam ends. He had kept his eye carefully on the political barometer, and at last thought there was no chance of safety but in veering round. Accordingly, when the mercury seemed to stand at set fair for royalty, and the popular breeze to blow steadily towards the throne, Sir Josiah threw overboard his old whig associates, put ship about, hoisted royals, and fairly distancing his adversaries, gained the royal haven. By a judicious paying out of golden cable, 10,000 links to Charles and as many to his brother James, and by the lavish distribution of shawls, diamonds and other India treasures among the court parasites, he gained a good anchorage ground. Shortly after James' accession he finally moored his barque, securing under the king's seal a new charter, which confirmed old and created new privileges. It is possible that the connection he formed, by marrying his daughter to the son of the Duke of Beaufort, may have given him a tory bias, and that his feelings as well as his interest prompted his change of politics. Sir Josiah now felt secure, and like a careful captain took advantage of being in port to repair damages, especially to plug up the holes that had been made by "special service" money in the good ship's hull. Nor, we may be sure, did he forget our friends the Interlopers, out of whose sails he had so cleverly taken the wind. He made the most of his position, taking care to have his full share of patronage and influence abroad. His brother Sir John Child was made Governor of Bombay, and other relatives and friends were appointed to the most important and lucrative posts. Sir Josiah, in fact, was now in the zenith of his glory.

But while he had brought matters to so satisfactory a conclusion at home, fresh troubles sprung up abroad. News arrived that his agents in India were involved in serious differences with the native powers. Mutual recriminations at once commenced between the Interlopers and monopolists; the former declaring that their accounts from India proved that the quarrel was caused solely by the folly and pride of Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay. Sir Josiah on the other side persisted that it was all the work of those accursed Interlopers, who by their machinations had brought the English name into disrepute with the Mogul, and by their cruelty and rapacity had alienated his subjects. The truth seems to be that Sir John Child took advantage of the influence of his brother at home, to interfere, alike with his interloping countrymen, with the Company's own servants, and with the native traders, thus becoming detested by all parties. "Mr. Child's pride and oppressions

'grew so intolerable, that even the gentlemen in the Com-
'pany's service had not the free exercise of trade, and
'much less private merchants; and he, trampling on the esta-
'blished laws of England, by advice of his namesake, who
'governed the Company in Europe, by imprisoning and
'murdering their fellow subjects, grew hateful to all." It was at this time that John Child was made a baronet. The same chronicler says, "Mr. Child being honored with the title of 'baronet, by the powerful motive of the Company's money 'to the King, he, at the same time, got the commission of 'General, which puffed him up so, that he contemned all laws 'human and divine." This civil and military promotion together seems to have turned his head. Interloping ships were seized with every circumstance of brutality wherever they could be found; one unfortunate man, Captain Wren, being murdered in his cabin, because he would not willingly surrender his vessel. Among the Company's servants, two of his own Council, Messrs. Petit and Boucher, became obnoxious, because they refused to share with him the commission they received on the purchase of diamonds for their patrons at home. Though by his representations they were dismissed the service, he did not even then let them rest. Petit, having taken to trading on his own account, fell into the hands of pirates, and, by Child's interference, was left in their hands to die a prisoner. Boucher worried by Child's machinations sought the protection of the Mogul, obtaining a firman, which made him a subject of the Emperor Aurungzebe. On this was founded the accusation that the Interlopers were traitors, and had brought down the wrath of the Mogul and his viceroys on the Company which represented Great Britain. Sir John Child acted in the same spirit towards the emperor's subjects. He borrowed money from the native merchants, then picked quarrels with them, and, with the connivance of the native Governor of Surat, stopped their trade. He at one time seized fourteen Surat ships, confiscating their cargoes. Petitions against him poured in to the Mogul, by whom they were referred to the Governor of Surat, with orders to see justice done. The viceroy was at last compelled to remonstrate, whereupon Child had the insolence to retort by giving in a formal statement of grievances, containing thirty-five counts of complaints, and indignantly demanding redress. One count was devoted to his old friends Petit and Boucher. He demands the instant delivery to him of Boucher, his wife, and children, "as for Mr. Petit," he says, "he is dead, and gone to the devil." Had Child been contented with injuring the Interlopers, the Mogul might have remained neutral; but it was

unreasonable to suppose that he would quietly submit to his own subjects being oppressed, as Hamilton, whom we have already quoted, says, "or by what rule in policy could Sir 'Josiah or Sir John Child think to rob, murder and destroy the 'Mogul's subjects in one part of his dominions, and the Com-'pany to enjoy free trade in the other parts? Or how they could 'expect that he would stand neuter,—let politicians answer." These disputes at last came to a crisis; thus Sir John Child on his way from Bombay to Surat seized a fleet of fourteen vessels laden with supplies for the Mogul's army, which was encamped about fifty miles south of Bombay. The captains of the vessels remonstrated with Child on the folly of this proceeding, which resulted in a disastrous war with the Mogul. The trade which had so lately yielded fabulous returns collapsed; ships under the Company's flag, freighted with eastern treasures, no longer sailed up the Thames; actual profits disappeared, and it required all Sir Josiah's skill to keep up appearances in London by the declaration of fictitious dividends.

At last despatches arrived which enabled Sir Josiah to announce what he called the honorable settlement of all disputes. We may be sure he took occasion to laud his own skill, and that of his agents abroad, and to set forth the absolute necessity of curbing the Interlopers, who had, by his account, caused all the mischief. They however impugned the correctness of his news, and publishing a translation of Aurungzebe's firman, proved that at least in *his* opinion Sir John Child had been the cause of the quarrel. The Mogul probably found reason to regret the cessation of the European trade, or rather the golden streams which had hitherto flowed into his treasury as a result of that trade; and was therefore graciously pleased to withdraw the veil which had for a season deprived the white men of the light of his countenance, and to permit them to resume trade, by a firman which runs thus:

"The occasion of your writing to me was your being in 'fault of all these troubles, that you have repented of what 'you have done, that you made several complaints against 'former Governors, all which I have heard from several of my 'Ombra, and the several abuses received from them and their 'officers, all which you should have acquainted me with, be-'fore you proceeded so violently. Having acknowledged 'your error, and desired pardon, I do not only grant you the 'same, pardoning what is past, but granting you a Phirmaund 'according to your desire, and have ordered Affit Cawn to for-'ward it to the Governor of Surat, with such particulars as 'he will acquaint you with.

"At the arrival of my Phirmaund receive it with great res-

'pect, acknowledging the great glory you have got in obtain-
'ing the same that you may trade as formerly at your pleasure
'and as customary. That you deliver the merchants, that
'have complained against you, their ships with their effects.
'That, for the future, you do not commit the like error, in
'doing as you have done, and proceed according to my will
'and pleasure, and be not forgetful of the same. If you
'receive any affronts from my Governors, or their officers, or
'any of my subjects, be not negligent of acquainting me of
'the same. I have ordered Affit Cawn to write accordingly.

"What you write concerning former Governors protecting
'Mr. Boucher, that you have several demands of him, that
'you cannot call him to an account, desiring that he may be
'delivered to you; my order is that you prove your demand
'according to law, that justice may be done accordingly."

Sir Josiah thought it wisest to drop the subject, resting satisfied with the admitted and welcome fact that trade was resumed. He now applied himself diligently to uphold the credit of the Company, on which his fortune and fame depended, and indeed the Company was fortunate in having such a man to manage its affairs at this stormy period of its career. Child was unquestionably one of the cleverest merchants that London ever produced, and he possessed qualities which, in a larger sphere, would have gained him a world-wide reputation.

While these troubles abroad were occupying Sir Josiah, and monopolists and Interlopers were fighting amongst themselves at home, another cloud was darkening the political horizon. While the Company and its enemies were contending for the right of trade to India, a fiercer battle was raging between the king and the nation. James at last tired out his people—their forbearance being exhausted, the storm of revolution burst, and one fine morning Sir Josiah Child awoke to find the king a fugitive and royal prerogative a myth.

Monopolies and corporations under royal patent were now in imminent danger of being entirely swept away. The effects of the tact and skill employed after the Restoration were lost; the wealth that had been expended was thrown away. The foreign disputes causing temporary suspension of trade, just when rich cargoes were required to fill up the breaches made by lavish distribution of bribes, was bad enough, but this revolution threatened utter extinction to the Company; now indeed a hurricane had assailed the ship which would try the metal of her commander.

The old whig friends, whom Sir Josiah had thrown overboard, would not be idle; of Interlopers' activity he had long had ex-

perience. So soon as William and Mary occupied the throne, former friends and old enemies accordingly combined, and a furious onslaught was made before Parliament against the East India Company in general, and against Sir Josiah Child in particular. He was denounced as a public robber, a corrupter of the morals of the nation, unfit for the direction of any public commercial company. The abolition of the Company was prayed for, and a new charter sought for another body of merchants; though there were not wanting men who declared that the trade with India ought not to be vested in any company. These boldly advocated the principles of free trade. They proposed that the existing settlements, forts, and factories should be taken possession of by the Crown; the trade thrown entirely open, and taxed for the support of the establishments. This plan however fell to the ground, and it was generally allowed that the India trade, at present at least, should be in the hands of a corporation; but it was urged that if this must be, Child at least should be debarred by act of Parliament from any voice in its management. The most wealthy and powerful of the old Interlopers now organised a society, popularly known as "the new Company," and brought their golden artillery and political influence to bear on the old Company, which they contended was virtually extinct, and only wanted the fiat of Parliament to make it actually so. Perhaps our interloping readers are congratulating themselves on Child's defeat, and sympathising with him as over a fallen but worthy foe. His was not a spirit to quail under misfortune, but one which rose rather under difficulties. Strong in his innate courage, leaning on what seemed but a broken reed—his royal patent—and confiding in the moderation of King William, he nailed his colors to themast and prepared to fight to the death. The Interlopers certainly carried on a trade, but Child had the advantage of his position abroad. In spite of all misfortunes, he managed to keep stock at a premium, and continued to be the life and soul of the old Company. At last the House of Commons suggested a compromise between the rivals, but Child scorned the proposal. Satisfied of his right, and trusting in the King's justice, he would not give way an inch. The House, annoyed at his stubbornness, petitioned the King to dissolve the old charter, and to confer a new one on whom he pleased, and on such terms as he chose. This William declined to do, and Child again remained master of the situation. In 1693 the contest was renewed.

In the meantime Child, not from cowardice or exhaustion, but as a politic move on account of his personal

unpopularity, had nominally withdrawn from the direction of the Company's affairs. Sir Thomas Cook, a relative of his own, became governor; but though the hand of the clock was changed, the same mainspring worked it. Child was still, and long continued to be, the life of the direction, and we shall continue to use his name as though he were the nominal governor. At this time, owing to the non-payment on due date of a certain tax on stock, the charter became legally forfeited. Fearing that advantage would be taken of this, the Company submitted to certain conditions, and received a new charter under the royal seal. This however was not obtained without a large expenditure of "special service" money. The accounts on this head became a few years later the subject of parliamentary enquiry, but Sir Thomas Cook could give no satisfactory explanation of them. Regarding this new charter, it may be observed that the question of right to grant trading charters under the royal seal was, on this occasion, waived by William's parliament in his favor—a well-merited compliment to the king's wisdom and moderation; but after-events proved that parliament knew how to advance their right if necessitated to do so. Child had now apparently surmounted all his difficulties, and had fairly weathered the revolution storm, and seemed more secure than ever. It must be remembered that Parliament, by asking the king to grant a new charter, had yielded to him the right to do so. Child's confidence therefore was not unreasonable. The flaw in the old charter was removed; he held the new one under the seal of the people's choice, and carried himself proudly in consequence. Now he thought was the time to wreak his vengeance on his enemies, and to place the rights of the Company on a firmer basis than ever. Flushed with success, enraged at the trouble, expense, and humiliation, he had endured at the hands of the detested Interlopers, he determined to strike at the root of the abuse which had so injured the Company's prestige, and affected its prosperity. In the worst of times he had been able to check private trade in the Indian seas, but he would now prevent the sailing of ships from English ports. Strong again in his royal charter, but blind, under the influence of his new tory sentiments, to the spirit of the times, which instinctively looked to parliament as the source of every right social and political, he prepared to carry out in the most stringent way the provisions of his charter. He obtained by the usual means "special service" money, an order on the Admiralty to seize a large ship, the "Redbridge," that was then fitting out in the Thames for the East. Child had reason to suppose that she was bound for Calcutta. She belonged to

some of the wealthiest merchants in London, and her seizure caused great consternation in the city. Stormy meetings took place. Her owners and their friends remonstrating and threatening, Child was resolute and scornful. Did they think he had endured so much anxiety for nothing? Were all his efforts to be fruitless? Had the Company or had it not an exclusive right to the India trade? He had submitted to much ignominy, but his turn was now come, and so long as he had any influence in the direction of the Company's affairs, he would defend its rights and oppose to the utmost the impudent and clandestine attempts of Interlopers to usurp its privileges. The scene of contest was soon transferred from the offices at Leadenhall and Downing Street, to the floor of the House of Commons. The Company stood on its charter. The Interlopers did not mince matters; they declared the charter to be so much waste paper, without the sanction of parliament. If trading monopolies were to be conferred by the mere royal patent; if the representatives of the people were not to have a voice in such matters; then, as far as the commercial interests of the nation were concerned, the revolution was futile, and commerce was as fast bound as ever by the chain of royal prerogative.

Petitions were presented from both sides to parliament, and the matter was referred to a Committee. Gilbert Heathcote, one of the owners of the "Redbridge," when questioned by a member, owned that the ship was intended for the India trade, and boldly added, "It is no sin, that I 'know of, to trade with India; and I shall trade with India 'till I am restrained by act of Parliament." The matter was eagerly debated, but the Interlopers had now fairly got Child on the hip. The question was bound up in the principles for which the English had been fighting for the past sixty years. The prejudices and passions of the violent Whigs, and the more quiet but deeper current of popular feeling, were alike enlisted against the Company. It was a battle fought under the colors of Royal Prerogative on the one hand, and under those of Parliament on the other. In spite of talent, energy, and perseverance, backed by the wealth of the Company (in the year 1693 upwards of £80,000 were expended in bribes) the monopolists were beaten. Strength and wealth fell before the *vox populi*. Considering the disadvantage he labored under, from the representative of the prerogative himself being indifferent to the result, if not indeed inclined to support the majesty of parliament from which he derived all his regal rights, we cannot but admire the unswerving courage and consummate ability with which Child fought. But he was vanquished; the committee reported the detention of the

"Redbridge" illegal; the House acquiesced in the report, and followed up its vote by declaring the India trade open to all. "Thus," as Macaulay says, "this memorable vote 'settled the most important of the constitutional ques-'tions which had been left unsettled by the bill of 'Rights. It has ever since been held to be the sound doctrine, 'that no power but that of the whole legislature, can give to 'any person or to any society an exclusive privilege of trading 'to any part of the world." The charter was void. The India trade was free, and the "Redbridge" started on her voyage the symbol of interloping success. This grand victory was won under the banners of a great constitutional principle; the honor, the very safety of the nation, being involved in the result. Had monopoly triumphed, it would have been a triumph of prerogative over parliament, a retrograde step in the march of civil liberty. But this was not to be. The East India Company was, to use the monopolist phrase of the present day, sacrificed to the imperial interests; it was made subservient to the power of the British parliament, to the freedom of the British nation.

The battle was undoubtedly lost, but Child was not even now disheartened. Instead of sinking under defeat, he used all his influence to prevent his rivals gaining what he had lost. No new charter was granted, and the India trade was nominally free. But the Company had its forts and factories abroad, and Child knew how to make the most of them—he knew how to apply the maxim, "possession is nine points of the law." The bulk of the India trade remained in his hands; he scorned his enemies at home, and held his own abroad. To show the spirit which animated him, we will give a sample of the style of the instructions sent by him to India, in the midst of misfortune and defeat at home. A protégé of Sir Josiah, one Mr. Vaux who had served him in England as a book-keeper, was sent to India, and various appointments were bestowed on him, including one called "judge of civil affairs" which yielded a large income. Sir Josiah in the letter in which he gave Vaux this post, reminds him of the favors he had received, and bids him be faithful, and remember that he had the "power of 'condemning the Company's enemies, or such as should be 'deemed so, particularly those who should dare to question the 'Company's power over all the British subjects in India, and 'that he expected his orders from time to time should be ob-'served and obeyed as statute laws" Vaux gratefully acknowledged Sir Josiah's kindness, promising to discharge his duties to the best of his ability, and assuring his patron that he would

be guided in his judicial proceedings by the laws of his country. Sir Josiah was indignant at this reply, "and wrote 'roundly to Mr. Vaux that he expected his orders were to 'be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were an 'heap of nonsense compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own private families, much less for the 'regulating of companies and foreign commerce." Captain Hamilton, from whose work we quote the above, goes on to say, "I am the more particular in this account, because I saw and 'copied both those letters in Anno 1696, while Mr. Vaux 'and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain 'Evory's robbing the Mogul's great ship called the *Gunsway*." We hardly know which to admire most, the *zid* displayed against the Interlopers, or the contempt evinced for the British House of Commons. Would that modern Interlopers had had a Child to battle for them, as did Josiah for the monopolists of old. Though we cannot class Sir Josiah Child among the actual founders of our Indian empire, he certainly ranks at the head of those who, from 1600 to 1858, have had control over the Company's affairs at home. He had a clear head and iron will, ruled despotically, and was well obeyed. He never shirked responsibility, he governed on the very reverse of the principle which our modern Directors have adopted, to use their own words—"to be copious and minute in ins-'tructions and observations, but very sparing in orders and 'rules." A milk and water policy, which however they knew how to deviate from, when their own peculiar traditional exclusive policy was concerned!

We have perhaps dwelt too long on the period of Child's connection with the Company, but it is certainly the most interesting in its earlier annals, as regards contests on any thing like equal terms with Interlopers. These contests closed in 1698. The triumph in 1693, when the trade with India was thrown open, was but temporary. In 1698 the old Company obtained a confirmation or renewal of its charter, and the "English East India Company" was likewise legally constituted; two Companies thus actually co-existing with exclusive privilege of trade to the East Indies. All connected with the two bodies were however tired of the struggle; they saw they were but enriching politicians and courtiers, and impoverishing themselves. They therefore united their stock, and became one society, designated "The United Company of merchants 'of England trading to the East Indies," and this Company has existed to the 1st September 1858; when the British

Indian empire came under the direct sway of Queen Victoria, whom may God save, and long preserve to reign over her Indian possessions!

The East India Company was unfettered by Parliament in its political capacity till 1772, when pecuniary difficulties obliged the Company to seek the help of Government. Assisttance was granted, but at the expense of the regulating act which came into operation on 1st October 1773 in England, and 1st August 1774 in India. In 1784 Pitt's India bill was passed. By it the Board of Control was instituted, which theoretically placed the political affairs of India under the control of the British Government. The trading monopoly remained intact. A clause was inserted in the new bill permitting offences against the Company's exclusive right of trade to be tried in India, and the power which had always been exercised, of deporting unlicensed persons, and seizing unlicensed ships, was legalised.

A severer, because more permanent, blow was to be struck against English settlement in India within the next ten years. The assessment of the land revenue had long been a subject of deep concern to the Company. Under Warren Hastings' administration, Mr Shore, than whom the company never had a more conscientious and indefatigable servant, gave this matter his earnest attention. His minutes on the land revenue question, especially after Lord Cornwallis became Governor General, evince diligence of research and great knowledge of the subject. They displayed the powers of his mind, and his intimate knowledge of Indian affairs to such a degree, that Mr. Pitt, after their perusal, resolved that he should succeed Lord Cornwallis. The Court of Directors were keenly alive to the inconvenience of having a constantly fluctuating revenue, and one peculiarly subject to peculation and fraud. But they could not see that, however desirable it might be to remove the occasion of dishonest and oppressive practices, it was impossible under the circumstances, without injustice to themselves, to have a *fixed* land revenue. Lord Cornwallis being determined to settle the question, proclaimed, with the sanction of the Directors, and in spite of Mr. Shore's opinion in favour of periodical settlements, that the *jumma* assessed in 1789-90 was to be permanent. This proclamation was made in March 1793. The then existing zemindars became proprietors of their estates, subject to the Hindu law of inheritance. The English were not allowed to hold land, and this permanent settlement shut them out from any future opportunity of obtaining direct proprietary rights from Government. No doubt much may be said in favor of a

fixed and permanent settlement. It may be argued, for instance, that it has created a body of native landholders, whose stake in the country, derived from and dependent on British sovereignty, is too great to allow them to rebel against our authority. It must however, we think, be allowed, that our rule was not sufficiently consolidated; that we had not a sufficient knowledge of the principles on which the land tenures existed from ancient times, nor sufficient data on which to found a permanent assessment; nor above all, had the country sufficiently recovered from the effects of native misgovernment, as shown by the scant population and want of cultivation, to warrant this important step.

When the subject was first mooted, a principal question was, *with whom* the settlement should be made. It was evident that under the Mohammedan rule, the ryot was looked upon as the actual proprietor of the soil, that the revenue fluctuated according to the extent of cultivation, and that the parties who stood between the ryots and the sovereign were not feudal lords, but tax-collectors. It was likewise an ascertained fact, that from one-half to two-thirds of the plains of India were waste. The land revenue moreover was in former times assessed in kind, or estimated in money. The E. I. Company's secretary and historian, Peter Auber, says: "The produce of the lands, 'whether taken in kind or estimated in money, was understood to be shared in distinct proportions, between 'the cultivator and the Government. The shares varied 'when the land was recently cleared, and required extra-'ordinary labor; but where it was fully settled and productive, the cultivator had two-fifths, and the Government the 'remainder. The Government share was again divided with 'the zemindar and the village officers, in such proportion that 'the zemindar retained no more than one-tenth of this share, 'or little more than three-fifth parts of the whole." Thus Government was entitled by traditionary custom to about one-third of the *produce* of *the land.* Under these circumstances the middlemen had no reason to expect a permanent hereditary right to be vested in them, moreover it was certainly not politic to settle a *jumma* for whole provinces, when large tracts embraced in the settlement were waste lands. The settlement was unjust to the ryots whose claim to the proprietorship of the soil had always been allowed; it was unjust to the Government; and it was unjust and impolitic in the highest degree to shut out, by a deliberate and solemn act, the possibility of Englishmen becoming proprietors of land by direct settlement with the Government. We do not advocate the ryotwar system, far from it; that system has been

proved, however good it may be, in theory to be impracticable. We are looking at the subject from an interloping point of view, and from this view we think it appears that the perpetual settlement was a suicidal error. The possession of a direct interest in the soil by Englishmen, would have been followed speedily by the introduction of British capital and enterprise, agricultural improvements, and the cultivation of various products suited to the soil; the result of which would, long ere this, have been a revenue from customs, &c., far exceeding in amount the present land tax. Moreover from the insufficient data on which the settlement was made, a further evil sprung, an unequal application of the revenue screw; some estates soon yielding 1,000 per cent. profit, some thirty or forty. In the districts of Bengal the general laxness of the settlement soon became apparent; under every disadvantage, opposed both by Government and zemindar, wherever the British Interloper settled, the desert wilderness became a fertile plain, and the estate of the Bengali zemindar became tripled and quadrupled in value. His profits were so large and realised so easily, that efforts still further to improve his property were not thought of. In short this settlement, which deadened energy and industry on the part of the ryot, enterprise on that of the zemindar, and perpetuated the policy which shut out the European from a direct interest in the soil, in the words of Mr. Shore, was likely to "produce little if any advantage, whilst it might be attended with great inconvenience." The justness of this opinion has been amply proved by experience. One result of the perpetual settlement has been the endeavour on the part of the Company's Government to repair the mischief, by petty and tyrannical resumptions of rent-free tenures, a proceeding unworthy the government of an empire, and one which has brought upon it immense discredit and bitter hatred. We do not hold a retaining fee for the Company, and will therefore waive the complaint that estates are profitable, but we say that pearls have been thrown before swine. Had Europeans participated in the settlement, or subsequently, as their numbers increased, been allowed to acquire land, such property might have been even ten times more profitable. The profits, instead of being squandered on superstitious ceremonies, nautches, and other follies, would have been expended in the improvement of estates, in means of communication, &c., which while enriching individuals would have brought great gain to the public revenue. The question now is how to repair the mischief done, and at the same time equalise the assessment; this is a point we will touch upon when we consider the Interloper's future.

In 1793 the charter was renewed for twenty years, 3,000 tons of freight being set apart for private trade. The exorbitance however of the terms on which the tonnage was granted, and other abuses connected with the system almost neutralised the privilege. By this time the merchants resident in India were sufficiently numerous to form a community capable of urging and agitating their grievances. They complained especially of the Company's shipping system. They argued that if this branch of the Company's monopoly were broken down, a large and profitable business would be opened in India, where there was every facility for ship-building, and that the measure, as the merchants stated to Lord Wellesley on his arrival in Calcutta in 1798, would secure "permanent benefit to the East 'India Company, the British nation, and the nations and coun-'tries in Asia, under the sovereignty of Great Britain." The subject engaged Lord Wellesley's serious attention, and to him the Interlopers were indebted for the removal of the injustice. In January 1799, the Company's shipping interest received a severe blow to the advantage however of its own trade, by Lord Wellesley sanctioning the hiring in Calcutta of shipping to convey cargoes to England. Lord Wellesley abroad, and Mr. Dundas President of the Board of Control at home, took a wide view of the subject, and agreed that "it is to the in-'creased exports from India to Europe that we are to look for 'the increase of Indian prosperity, industry, population, and re-'venue. The increase on the export of our manufactures from 'this country is the most desirable source for supplying means 'for returns from thence, and the export of such manufac-'tures ought to have no limits, except what are prescribed 'by the power of selling them in India or China."

In 1813 the Company's charter was again renewed. The Interlopers were of course on the look out to benefit by the new arrangements. Efforts to deprive the Company of its charter had long since ceased. The territorial possessions were so large that no other body would have dared, for the sake of a monopoly of the trade, to undertake their management. Nor was the Government prepared to accept the charge. The Company at every renewal of its charter played its trump card well—Commercial monopoly a necessary instrument for the performence of its political duties. This, as usual, was the burden of its prayer, and was embodied in a petition presented to Parliament on the 22nd February 1813. But free trade opinions were gaining ground, and the absurdity of our Indian empire bringing so little advantage to Great Britain, was more and more manifest. The Company itself also saw that the retention of its commercial privileges was incom-

patible with the discharge of its political duties, and that it was quite impossible to retain both intact. The result was that the trade with India was in part thrown open in ships of a given tonnage to be licensed by the Court of Directors. Emigration to India was still however checked by the old licensing system, and the power of deportation remained. Perhaps the most important clause in the Act of 1813 was that which reserved to parliament the right to legislate further, as it might deem meet, regarding trade with places comprised in the Company's charter. By virtue of this reservation, various acts still further opening the trade were passed, and discussions, especially regarding the China trade, continually took place. These discussions in parliament, assisted by agitation out of doors through the Press, prepared the public for a final onslaught on the commercial monopoly at the next period for renewal of the charter in 1833, when the commercial privileges of the East India Company became extinct. The charter was renewed for a further twenty years, but it provided that the China trade was to cease, and to be thrown entirely open; that all the Company's factories and other commercial establishments in India should be closed and sold; that British subjects should have free access to India, and that they should be allowed to purchase land. This charter expired in 1854. The discussions and changes during the past forty years had prepared the public mind to acknowledge the anomaly of our Indian empire being administered in the name of a Company of merchants. The power of the East India Company was not therefore again extended for a definite period; but was held during the pleasure of parliament, and confessedly on account of the difficulties surrounding the question of administrating the empire directly by the Crown, and not from a doubt of the propriety of so administering it. The mutiny and rebellion of 1857 has forced this important question on parliament, and has resulted in the bill lately become law, providing for the Government of India in the name of the Queen.

The above historical sketch shows that an exclusive policy has been steadily carried out by the East India Company. We have seen how, in the earliest days of its connection with India, the Interloper, when caught, was to be hung as a pirate; how the Interlopers and monopolists contended from the reign of Charles II. to the junction of the rival Companies in 1698; how the plea of commercial privileges being necessary to the proper execution of political duties saved the monopoly till 1833; how the organised resistance of the mercantile interest of Great Britain at last destroyed it in that year; how the

anomaly of India being leased for certain periods to a Company of merchants was acknowledged: and lastly we have seen the final extinction of the Company.

It is easy to prove from public records that till 1833, every effort was made directly to exclude European settlers. After that time the same policy was pursued; by what means, the evidence given before the House of Commons in April, May, and June of the present year, amply points out. The restriction of the Press had always been a grand weapon for the carrying out of the exclusive policy. Discussion on public measures and the conduct of public men, had always been checked or altogether interdicted. To Sir Charles Metcalfe we are indebted for the freedom of the Press. This boon was the greater because at the time it was granted, shortly after the abolition of the commercial monopoly, it gave the Interlopers an immense advantage over the Company, enabling them to expose errors and to denounce abuses at a moment when the Company needed every help to maintain its old policy. The Government always had a wholesome dread of the Press, and a sense of its inability to cope successfully with it. The Directors confess this humiliating fact in their despatch to the President of the Board of Control, dated 17th January, 1823. They say "what must the natives think of themselves 'and of us, when they behold that power, which has overthrown 'mighty empires and subjugated great nations, descending to 'measure its strength with the editor of a newspaper, and 'forced to retire baffled and beaten from the conflict." This despatch, comprising twenty-three pages of the parliamentary Blue Book on the East India Press, urged the necessity of additional powers from parliament to control the Press. It is replied to in a letter of seven lines, declining to submit the question to parliament. Within little more than ten years of this time, instead of new fetters being forged, those existing were struck off. In acknowledgment of this Act, the Court of Directors sent Sir C. Metcalfe as vituperative a despatch as ever a Governor General received from his "affectionate friends." He is told that the measure was the more unjustifiable, because his Government was only provisional; that his arguments amounted only to "dogmatical assertion" which was "mere idle declamation;" that he was prompted "rather by an unwise 'desire for temporary praise, than a fear of just and lasting 'blame;" that his conduct was "wholly indefensible in taking 'a step of such importance, without previous reference to the 'home authorities." He was rated in fact like a naughty school boy, but the Directors dared not revoke his act.

Before 1833 the policy of the Court of Directors was con-

stantly displayed in its despatches. It confessedly looked with extreme jealousy for applications for licenses from commercial speculators, "because a general compliance with them 'would afford a wide opening for the indiscriminate resort of 'Europeans to India, contrary to the principles upon which 'the administration of that country has hitherto been conducted.' They declare that "not only has India never been consi-'dered and administered as a British colony, but the system ap-'plicable to this species of dependency, has always and justly 'been regarded as singularly ill adapted to a country rich, po-'pulous, and powerful in itself; and the inhabitants of which 'are so dissimilar from Europeans, in their customs and manners, 'in their social institutions and religious belief, that any general 'and strict amalgamation of their respective opinions and habits 'can never be expected." They defended their opinion that an unrestrained ingress of Englishmen would be hurtful, on the ground of the violence and immorality of Europeans; of the Interloper and the judge who would try him speaking the same language and being dressed in the same fashion, which would generate an idea of partiality in the mind of the native; of the punishment of Europeans being impolitic, because it would lower the national character in the eyes of the native; of the fact that the Interlopers would be sure to lean towards one another, and that they would be inclined "to assert what they conceive to be their constitutional 'and indefeasible rights." They maintained that the influx of Europeans "would be productive of the most baneful effects 'upon the comfort of the inhabitants, and the peace of society, 'and would be fatally injurious to the British name and inter-'ests," and that it would in short, "by gradually lessening the 'deference and respect in which Europeans are held, tend to 'shake the opinion entertained by the natives of the superi-'ority of our character, and might excite them to an effort for 'the subversion and utter extinction of our power." Another reason against the settlement of Europeans was that "the half-'caste will increase in numbers more rapidly in proportion as 'facilities are extended to Europeans to settle in India." The worthy Directors quaked and trembled when they thought of the rebellious spirit which would be sure to animate this class. Their imaginations pictured the fall of the Anglo-Indian empire under the irresistible charge of legions of the mixed race,—a race they had themselves created and increased by their opposition to general emigration to India from Great Britain; the Directors quailed under the fancied existence of a spirit among the half-caste which "might soon give birth to events 'which cannot be contemplated without alarm." Other reasons as-

signed were, that Europeans could not understand "the arts of 'cultivation in this soil and climate so well as the natives," "that 'Europeans will be thinly scattered over the face of the country, and the native inhabitants will desert it." Against the acquirement of land it was urged that "if British subjects were 'permitted to rent farms" **** "the revenues could not be 'realised, the collections would universally fail; and in the end 'our possession of the country would be very precarious." One wiseacre solemnly declares, in answer to the question, "whether it is for the interest of Great Britain to colonise in East 'India," that "the emigration to countries believed to be 'the regions of wealth would be so considerable, that the 'mother-country would soon feel the dire consequence of 'them;" another Solon says, speaking of European settlers, that as they increase in number, "we load our government 'with useless weights, and add to its embarrassment without 'adding to its strength." In 1813, the Directors express their fear "that the opening of the out-ports to imports from India 'might increase the resort of European adventurers to India." "It has been advanced," they say, "in return, that the 'police of India is so excellent as to obviate every danger 'of this kind." They naively add, "your committee are 'sorry to observe, that they find in the records of the Bengal 'Government, informations concerning the police which do 'not warrant them to conclude quite so favourably of it; 'for in fact, with all the progressive improvements in the 'system of the Government there, they have not yet been able 'to bring the police into a state of perfect efficiency." This in 1813. In what state is the police in 1858? In 1813, the Chairs again write deprecating the opening of the India trade. "A large influx of Europeans into our Indian territories, '(an influx which will unavoidably follow the permission of an 'open and general trade) must prove dangerous to the peace and 'security of those invaluable possessions, now so highly improved under the Company's administrations." Mr. Halliday's minute on the state of the police and of criminal justice in the lower provinces of Bengal will go down to posterity, as a fair account of the judicial and police administration of the East India Company in its earliest acquired provinces, at the final close of its long lease of power. But were all these fears and prognostications of ills the fruits of experience, or were they prompted by the desire to retain at all costs the exclusive right to trade? Was the number of interloping residents in India sufficient to have yielded data on which to found such opinions? In earlier times the number was exceedingly small; and from 1814 to 1831, a period of seventeen years, only 1253

licenses were granted. When we remember the number of Interlopers who resided in the Presidency towns, very few could have settled in the mofussil. It is evident that there were really no data from which to argue, that the conduct of independent settlers warranted the opinions quoted above; but we are constrained to confess that the Company had at least some grounds for them, if they reasoned from the conduct of their own servants, whose rapacity and obliquity of moral vision were proverbial from the earliest times, and who were such thorns in the sides of Clive, Warren Hastings and others. No—we think we are right in concluding, that those fears were prompted by a desire to retain exclusive possession of the trade, and that at the bottom of the whole was a dread of colonization, and an anticipation of the certain effect of it, the loss of the monopoly; that the E.I. Company were sagacious enough to foresee a national ascendency in India, and ultimately even the foundation of an independent Anglo-Saxon empire! Nor are these merely the fanciful creations of a prejudiced interloping brain. These very ideas are expressed in a despatch from the Chairs to the Board in 1809. They say, "but a more serious consequence than all these would 'still remain: a free trade to India would unavoidably draw 'after it the residence of numerous and continually increasing 'Europeans there, whatever prohibitions might at first be opposed to their settling in the country. When all restraint to the 'importation of ships and goods is taken off, men must be allowed to follow their property, and to remain at the place 'where they land it, till they have disposed of it; they must be 'allowed to navigate the Indian seas, and to return to the same 'place when their business calls them; they will thus insensibly 'and with hardly reasonable grounds for opposition, domiciliate 'themselves, nor would an unsuccessful trade prevent them, but 'many would seek to indemnify themselves on shore for their 'losses by the voyage. The instances of such settlements will 'be numerous, and it will be impossible for any police to follow 'up the cases of individuals, and continually to exercise a rigorous system of exclusion. This has not hitherto been done, 'though attended with comparatively little difficulty, and the 'attempt would soon, under the new order of things, be abandoned as hopeless. Colonization must in such case follow. 'Large communities of Europeans will struggle for popular 'rights. New feelings with respect to the mother country, new 'interests and attachments, will then spring up; and in a region 'so remote, so rich and populous, and so accustomed to yield to 'the ascendancy of the European character, the tendency and 'process of these things cannot be difficult to conceive." Even

at the time all these forebodings were expressed, their worth was evident to unprejudiced men. George Canning, in reply to a letter from the Directors, complaining that the Board had granted licences to parties to whom they had been refused by the court, says, "but it must not be forgotten, that all these 'arguments and authorities against laying open India to the 'influx of uncovenanted Europeans, were manifestly and notoriously brought forward to prevent the opening of the trade. 'Parliament, not in consonance to these arguments and authorities, but in spite of them, decided to adopt the measure."

The experiment of opening the trade was at least to be tried. The Directors were interested in proving themselves true prophets; they played into their own hands, therefore pursued their old policy so far as they could, always checking their governors abroad when they showed an inclination to be indulgent to the Interloper. For instance, Lord William Bentinck was seriously reprimanded for daring to extend to Indigo planters, the license given in 1824 to hold lands on lease for the cultivation of coffee. Lord William, an enlightened and liberal statesman himself, was well supported by that great and wise man Sir Charles Metcalfe. The latter says in his minute on this subject, dated 19th February 1829, "I have long lamented 'that our countrymen in India are excluded from the possession of land, and other ordinary rights of peaceable subjects. 'I believe that the existence of these restrictions impedes the 'prosperity of our Indian empire, and of course that their removal would tend to promote it. I am also of opinion that 'their abolition is necessary for that progressive increase of 'revenue, without which our income cannot keep pace with the 'continually increasing expense of our establishments.

"I am further convinced that our possession of India must 'always be precarious, unless we take root by having an influential portion of the population attached to our Government 'by common interests and sympathies.

"Every measure, therefore, which is calculated to facilitate the 'settlement of our countrymen in India, and to remove the obstructions by which it is impeded, must, I conceive, conduce to 'the stability of our rule, and to the welfare of the people subject to our dominion." Lord William Bentinck says;—"The 'sentiments expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe have my entire 'concurrence; and when we adopted the recent resolution to 'permit the occupancy of land by Europeans, it was by no 'means my intention to rest upon that measure as a final one; 'still less that the grounds assigned for its adoption should be 'regarded as embracing the general question of the policy to 'be observed in respect to British settlers. Believing the diffu-

'sion of European knowledge and morals among the people 'of India to be essential to their well being, and convinced 'that the development of the natural resources of the country, 'depends mainly on the introduction of European capital and 'skill, it has always been my wish and intention that the above 'question should be fully considered and discussed, and that the 'result of our inquiries and deliberations should be submitted 'at an early period to the authorities at home." The whole of Lord William Bentinck's minute on this subject is well worthy of perusal. In one paragraph he says: "So far indeed from 'fearing too great an influx of Europeans, I confess my ap-'prehension is, that no encouragement we can hold out, will 'induce them to resort to India in the number that seems to 'be desirable." Again he writes—"The whole indeed of the 'objections to the settlement of our countrymen which I have 'been now considering, rest on a train of argument, in meeting 'which, the chief difficulty is that of so stating it as to bear 'the semblance of sound reason. If an enemy to our faith 'and nation were to urge it, starting with the assumption that 'the Government would league with the settlers in a scheme 'of injustice and spoliation, one could easily imagine that he 'might find materials of plausible and insidious declamation; 'but it does seem to be strangely paradoxical, when the same 'conclusion is drawn by an Englishman loving his country, 'and justly proud of it."

The Company, as we have seen, was obliged to succumb partially in 1813. As the time of the expiry of the charter drew near, it was necessary, if the Directors hoped to withstand the force of public opinion against the renewal of their commercial privileges, to bring forward some proof of the justness of their forebodings, regarding the result of opening the trade and the admission of Interlopers. Indigo planters were then, as now, the principal mofussil settlers. With the view apparently of arming themselves with documentary proof that all they foresaw had come to pass, we find that in 1828, the Directors called for a special report which should comprise the names and descriptions of the planters, the nature and extent of their establishments, a list of all cases in the civil or fouzdarry courts, in which they were concerned, their characters, and the opinion which each magistrate formed of those residing in his jurisdiction, and whether further legislative enactments were not necessary for their control. This report was forwarded in 1830. It is to be found in the valuable compilation at the head of this article, "Papers relating to the Set-'tlement of Europeans in India." Almost without a single exception the commissioners and magistrates of the western and lower provinces pronounced in favor of the planters.

They advocate unrestricted permission to purchase land, a declare generally that no further legislation is necessary; to the character of the planters, they say, "The transactions ' the planters are conducted on fair and liberal principles;" "th ' character of the planters is very good." They have "every ' reason to be satisfied with their conduct," "disposed to ' think favorably of them." "They are highly respectable and ' well conducted." "They are very well behaved, intelligent ' men, anxious to avoid any cause of complaint or dispute," and so on. The Commissioner of the Furruckabad division says, "he ' should be doing injustice to a highly respectable and indus- ' trious class of men, if he did not take this opportunity of ' publicly recording his opinion of the uniform good conduct, ' of the honorable and upright dealings, of the kind and con- ' ciliatory treatment of the natives, on the part of the Indigo ' planters, with whom he has hitherto come in contact. In- ' stances of misconduct are of very rare occurrence; that the ' country at large derives great benefit from the residence of ' respectable Europeans in the interior, is proved beyond doubt, ' by the eagerness with which the large zemindars apply to the ' planters to build factories on their estates. Has found the ' lower classes of the natives better clothed, richer, and more ' industrious in the neighbourhood of the factories, than those ' at a distance from them; cannot bring to his recollection a ' single instance of a nati- -ing suffered cruelty or oppres- ' sion from an Indigo pl- -r." The feeling of disappoint- ment and disgust, with which this report was received by the Directors, may be imagined. They took considerable time to digest it, and replied in April 1832, to the despatch which accompanied it. The Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, had, with we fear ill-concealed irony, suggested that the Directors would be pleased to find the report so very favor- able to the planters. They allude to this, but decline receiving the opinions for more than they think they are worth, object to the relief the Governor General proposed to give the plan- ters, admit that they dwell mainly on the dark side of the question, and conclude by insisting that the Interlopers be taught "that obedience to the laws is an indispensable condi- ' tion of their license to reside there," and sign themselves, as usual, the Governor General's "affectionate friends," which was more than they ever were to the poor Interloper. This re- port is a valuable interloping document. It is a diploma of character as it were, down to 1830, and looks well by the side of the opinions expressed by various Governors General of the Company's own servants when interloping settlers were not.

The Directors' forebodings proved false. By the evidence of their own servants, the experiment of 1813 was suffici-

ently successful to warrant the entire abolition of the Company's right to trade, which accordingly took place in 1833. No sooner was the act passed, than the Directors sought for some means to carry out the spirit of their old policy, and to neutralise the clause authorizing free ingress to Interlopers. The new bill provided that Europeans should not be made amenable to the mofussil courts in capital cases. They at once sent a despatch to India containing these words: "When the 'Act says you shall not pass laws making them capitally punish-'able, otherwise than by the King's courts, it does, by irresistible 'implication, authorise you to subject them in all other criminal 'respects, and in all civil respects whatever, to the criminal 'jurisdiction of the Company." That paragraph was the *nucleus* of the "Black Acts," which have ever since, at intervals, been held *in terrorem* over the Interloper's head. When we remember the wretched state of the courts and the police, and the inefficiency of the covenanted civil service, we cannot be surprised at the determined opposition evinced by British-born subjects to the passing of these Acts, or to the spirit with which they asserted, to use the language of the Directors, "what they con-'ceived to be their constitutional and indefeasible rights."

The Directors were so far successful, that the animus displayed against Interlopers, especially in the endeavour to make them amenable to the most corrupt courts in the world, many of them presided over by native officers,* discouraged settlement in the mofussil; and the number of settlers in the interior is to-day less than it was in 1832. The British population in the Presidency towns, and the amount of capital introduced into the country, have however enormously increased. The imports and exports in 1832 were £58,000,000 against £124,000,000 in 1856.† Notwithstanding the *vis inertiæ*, not to speak of direct opposition, of the Company, every succeeding year, since 1833, has proved the soundness of Lord William Bentinck's and Metcalfe's opinions, and the fallacy of those of the East India Company.‡

* In the evidence taken before the Colonization Committee, the Company's civilian, Mr. Hawkins, gives it as his opinion, that many of the natives might be influenced by a feeling of nationality against the European. See Question 4091, 2nd Report.

† Vide Mr. Freeman's evidence before the Committee. Questions 1561, 1562, 1st Report.

‡ Mr. Waller, a gentleman who was not an Indigo planter or a mofussil interloper of any kind, but a barrister of the sudder court of Calcutta, living in an official atmosphere, and on terms of intimacy with the judges, and who on leaving the bar was presented by them with a testimonial of their esteem and appreciation, says in his evidence before the Colonization Committee—"although the extreme severity of this original policy has been somewhat modified and gradually relaxed, its spirit has remained but little changed, and its effects have been to keep the people of this country very ignorant of the resources and great value of India, and of the character, condition, and wants of the natives."

The traditional prejudice against the Interloper has continued, with a consistency worthy of a better cause, down to the very last year of the Company's power. When its empire was rocking to and fro, its natural supports falling away on every side, when it was apparently in its very death struggle, the ruling passion was still strong. The first impulse on the part of the Government was to disbelieve that the policy of a hundred years had proved a failure; it ignored the danger. The general defection of the sepoy army on which our power rested, if a fact, was so awful a catastrophe that the Government would not admit it. Official warnings were unheeded, interloping advice scorned, assistance declined. While British-born subjects were being massacred and treasuries pillaged, the crisis was called "a passing and 'groundless panic." At last the real peril of our position was realized. At such an appalling moment, common danger, one would have thought, would have united the governing and the interloping classes. Not so,—the "imperial policy" could not be sacrificed. This policy was displayed specially in a Press act which gagged the English equally with the native newspapers, and in a bill which was passed for the registration and licensing of arms and ammunition, embracing in its provisions Briton and native alike.

To justify various acts of Government during the past year, which Interlopers thought unjust towards themselves, it has been the fashion to declare that the non-official class were eager for an unreasoning revenge on all natives innocent or guilty; that they were actuated by a bitter feeling of contempt and hatred to the whole race. At home even this idea has been taken up, and we find a well established periodical like the Quarterly Review, attributing our opposition to the Black Acts to hatred of the natives! In an article on British India in the July number for this year, it is said—"Were that opposition" (to the Black Acts) "grounded upon the state of the courts themselves, and the mal-administration of justice, it would be 'reasonable enough, but arising as it does from hatred and 'contempt of the natives, it is unreasonable and unjust!" It is undeniable that the interloping class had, early, a full perception of the late crisis. The disaffection at Barrackpore and Berhampore, when followed by the Meerut outbreak, convinced them that the danger so long acknowledged to exist, had come upon us, that 100,000 men, yesterday our paid defenders, were to-day our faithless enemies. The earnest desire for a rigorous policy was misrepresented as a bloody-minded longing for indiscriminate slaughter; motives were attributed which never existed. While doubtless panting

for the swift and severe punishment of the murderer, and alive to the danger of the crime of mutiny being slighted, the Interloper never for a moment thought of mixing the innocent with the guilty. He saw and lamented and fought against the feeling which was gaining ground in high places, and which appeared in the famous resolutions, of leniency towards the mutineer as such. He foresaw the difficulties which would surround the question of ruling without a native army, and desired that the opportunity should not be lost of teaching the native soldier that mutiny, unfaithfulness to his salt, was a crime against the state which we *could not afford* to overlook. It yet remains to be seen whether or not he was right. The Seikhs have been as a right hand to us. Their hatred of the Poorbea, fortunate accidents, loyalty on the part of certain Seikh Sirdars, and the mad policy of the Delhi miscreants in mutilating every Seikh soldier they got hold of, secured us their hearty service; but we must not suppose that love to our *raj* actuated them. They are watching how we treat the *mutineer* as well as the *murderer*. We have already had one warning. Is it likely that the Poorbea regiments at Mooltan revolted, without some ground for expecting they would be joined by the Seikhs partially if not generally?*

To think that the interloping community had any such bloodthirsty feelings, as were attributed to them, is absurd. A large number of them resided in the mofussil, each one among thousands of natives, people with whom he daily transacted business, and with whom he associated on terms of kindness and confidence. But in making these remarks, we must exempt most of the Company's own servants. We believe a large majority of the mofussil officials agreed with the Interloper in his view of the policy which should be adopted to crush the rebellion. But the Calcutta official atmosphere seemed strangely to obscure the official intellect, and yet, if we are to credit the Red Pamphleteer, the civilians at the seat of Government were at times ludicrously alive to a sense of danger; any hiding place from the hold of a ship to a dirty clothes-basket having been thoroughly appreciated on panic days.

* Mr. Raikes in his diary says, "In the afternoon Generals Grant and Hodson called. The latter remarked to me that his Seikhs are anxiously watching our treatment of mutineers. They say "just now you are very angry with the sepoys, but six months hence the Lord Sahib (Governor General) will pardon them all." Hodson is clearly of opinion, that unless the mutineers are fairly hunted down, and sentenced either to death or transportation for life, we may expect before long a Seikh mutiny; they are watching, to see whether mutiny is not condoned by the British Government, and if it is condoned, the Seikhs will have their turn; for they will argue, if we get the best of it we gain every thing, and if we lose, we shall be as well off as we were before."—(Revolt in the North-west Provinces of India,) by C. Raikes, page 180.

Connected with these feelings attributed to the Interlopers, are the accusations of cruelty to the natives, including acts of cold-blooded atrocity on the part of our soldiery. To suppose that no excesses were committed by our troops at the sacking of Delhi, or the taking of Jhansi, is to suppose that our soldiers were not human beings. To call such slaughter and plunder "fearful revenge," in the sense of unreasonable or unjustifiable revenge, is mere maudlin sentimentality. The man who indulges in such mock tender feelings, would probably, from the weakness of his mind, be the first to indulge, were his passions roused and circumstances favorable, in the commission of acts far worse than those he denounces. No doubt when our army entered Delhi, the throwing away of his arms did not save the sepoy from the slaughter he deserved. No doubt the soldiers of the puritan Havelock, who had seen the Cawnpore slaughter-house, spared no man armed or unarmed; but no women or children were butchered. After all, had excesses of the worst kind been committed by Havelock's soldiers, we might have regretted the fact, but would not have been surprised; nor would we have thought "blood-thirsty" and "atrocious," proper epithets to bestow on the soldiery. These soldiers, we must remember, had passed through Cawnpore; had heard, soon after it was acted, of the Cawnpore tragedy, of the cowardice of the first investment, the treachery of the capitulation, the fiendish brutality of the massacre. They had looked down the well; they had wept over the bloody trunks, the tender limbs, and the rich tresses of our slaughtered women and children; they had, maddened by the sight, vowed to God that for every hair in a clotted mass found sticking to the sides of the well, they would have the life of a sepoy. That these soldiers, rough, unpolished, but noble-hearted men, should not have sworn to have a dire revenge, would indeed have been strange. So long as their right arms could be raised to strike, we may be assured they struck, and struck well home. We cannot imagine a man in whose veins the pure blood of a Briton ran, confessing that when he stood over that fearful resting place of the mangled remains of his murdered country-women and children, there was any feeling in his breast, but that of horror at the crime, and an absorbing desire for retributive justice on the devils in human shape, who perpetrated it. Yet Mr. Layard, a man who has sat in the British senate, says, "When 'I stood over the well at Cawnpore, if there was one feeling 'more bitter than the rest, it was that possibly their own acts 'might justify that deed of hell!"

The closing year of the reign of the East India Company will indeed be marked with blood in the annals of

history. The awe with which we contemplate the ordeal we have passed through, can only be surpassed by the admiration with which we view the heroism of the men, to whom we owe the existence to-day of a British Indian empire.

The East India Company can boast of having developed the talents of many of England's wisest and bravest sons; but in the galaxy of brilliant names which adorn the list, none shine brighter than those whom this crisis has produced. Where shall we find braver men, or bolder leaders, than Neill, Havelock, Campbell, Henry Lawrence, Wilson, Rose, Nicholson, Inglis, Chamberlain, Edwards, or more sagacious devoted civilians than John Lawrence, Montgomery, Cooper, Tayler, Tucker, Gubbins, Ricketts, Wake. If ever a body of officers upheld the honor of their country, the military and civil servants of the East India Company did so in 1857. The military did their duty and did it gloriously; dying, how often! martyrs at their posts, and on too many occasions martyrs to their own honest English feelings, which would not allow them to believe in the deep-dyed treachery which surrounded them. To the last moment, almost till they were hacked in pieces, they trusted in their men. The civilian however was not deceived as to the state of the army; the peril soon became imminent and palpable in his eyes. As regiment after regiment mutinied, he watched the effect on the population around him; he saw the elements of disorder at work on every side, his jail filled with villains thirsting for his blood, the town with budmashes longing for plunder; he was alone perhaps, without a single European to speak to, or with whom he could even share sympathy, or may be with wife and children to unman him. Yet where danger was greatest, there was bravery the most conspicuous. If possible in the latter case, his family was placed out of danger, and he waited alone to breast the storm. In too many cases this was impracticable, and then the fortitude and patience of the British heroine shone side by side with the coolness and gallantry of the British hero. Every individual civil officer in the upper provinces or Oude was, we believe, an army in himself, nobly sustaining the prestige of the British name. The bearing of the civilian remaining coolly at his post, issuing orders and exerting his personal influence to preserve order to the last moment, till in fact the bullets were rattling about his head, we may be sure had its influence on the people. The nation to which such men belonged would not, they felt, easily succumb. The rebels saw they were fighting against fate; were convinced in spite of themselves, that the British raj, though beclouded for a time, would ere long again shine forth with renewed

strength and splendour. Nor is the Interloper to be forgotten, when England reckons up the roll of those who in 1857 were mindful of their duty. Individually or collectively where there was sufficient force to form volunteer bands, the Interlopers did good service. Will not history speak of the Agra band of forty horsemen that routed 1,500 rebel cavalry; of "Captain Barrow's devoted band," who fought their way from Cawnpore to Lucknow, and earned from Outram, the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, the title of "those glorious soldiers." Will not Venables be a household word so long as the rebellion of 1857 is on the tongues and in the hearts of Englishmen? That noble-hearted man who, with his small band of Indigo planters, and the aid of his tenantry, and this last is a significant fact, recovered and held a district! Will not the chronicler of 1857 relate how that man, his constitution shattered by the exertions he had made, arranged to return to his native land; but at the request of the Governor General of India continued his services to the state; resigning the prospect of an honorable retirement in old England, and remaining to leave his bones on Indian ground, another victim to the great rebellion? Do we not all know how in Calcutta the Interlopers formed a corp of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, known as the Volunteer Guards for the defence of the city; how at Arrah they mainly composed the heroic garrison; how in Dacca they fought against the rebel sepoys; in Bhaugulpore were instrumental under Mr. Commissioner Yule in preserving the district from rapine and plunder; how in Rajshahye they formed a volunteer corps to protect the district in case of mutiny at Berhampore, or an inroad from the irregular cavalry in Bhaugulpore; how in Pubna, at a moment's notice, they gathered round the magistrate Mr. Ravenshaw, and rode from sixty to eighty miles to the borders of the district to intercept the Dacca or Chittagong mutineers; how in Kishnaghur they collected in the station to protect the treasury from attack by the disbanded sepoys of the 19th; how at Sherajgunge an Interloper fortified his house and garrisoned it with a body of sailors, bearing the expense himself, receiving no other assistance from Government than the loan of cannon and ammunition; the result of these precautions being that the mutineers, instead of taking the direct route to Julpigoree through Sherajgunge, at which mart alone they would have had plunder amounting to upwards of fifty lacs of rupees, skirted the hills, and the majority of them died of starvation or disease? Wherever an Englishman was settled, he was ready either to remain with cool disregard of danger at his post till death stared him in the face, or

to render his services in any way they might be required, towards the restoration or preservation of order. These remarks apply equally to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, but want of information prevents our mentioning instances of zeal and patriotism on that side of India.

Had the settlement of Englishmen in India been encouraged the last hundred years, we doubt whether this rebellion would ever have occurred. There would have been too large an infusion of the element, which convinced Napoleon with 500,000 disciplined soldiers at his back, that the invasion of English hearths and homes could only result in his own discomfiture and utter ruin. Had every district in upper India contained sufficient Englishmen to form a district militia corps, the mutineers would hardly have gained their temporary success; but the East India Company worked directly and indirectly for century against the increase of the English population.

We have reached, in 1858, the close of the Indian Interloper's career. We have not space to trace what, with their limited opportunities, the various classes of Interlopers have done for India—the missionary from Carey to Duff, the conductors of the Press, the trader whether merchant or planter, and lastly the lawyer who has ever been the spokesman of his fellow Interlopers. We are entering on a new era, one in which we trust and believe that each and all of these classes will have a fair field for their exertions. The missionary in extending the religion which will both "purify and polish the character" of the people; the editor in exposing abuses and urging on reforms,; the capitalist and trader in developing the resources of this wealthy country, and the lawyer, in addition to the practice of his profession, in standing forward as he has often done in India, the champion of our "constitutional and indefeasible rights."

We have now arrived at a resting or rather a starting point from which, while we look hopefully forward, we cannot but look back with wonder, as we observe with what inadequate means an empire has been acquired; how by a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, and by the personal character of the great men who founded and consolidated it, a colossal Anglo-Indian power has arisen in Asia. We are struck with astonishment at the way in which native kingdoms have been absorbed, and we are still further astounded that such dominion should have been acquired by a foreign power, without the usual means of extending the influence of a dominant race—numerical increase of its own people, and the diffusion of its religion and polity by colonization. We wonder when we reflect on the policy under which, or in spite

of which, this great power has grown up. While making all allowance for the weakness, moral and physical, of the native races, and taking into account the skill and wisdom of our military commanders and civil administrators, we are constrained to confess that, if ever the hand of God was peculiarly visible in the setting up and the pulling down of earthly kingdoms, surely his hand is visible here. Humanly speaking, our sovereignty has long hung upon a thread. This has been felt by our wisest Indian statesmen, and acknowledged by the Company's own servants civil and military. The year 1857 nearly witnessed the snapping of the thread. When it was straining at the commencement of last year, General Hearsey commanding at Barrackpore stated his opinion boldly and distinctly to Government, concluding his despatch by saying "well might 'Sir Charles Metcalfe say that he expected to awake some 'fine morning, and find India had been lost to the British crown." The enterprise and self-interested keenness of the British merchant gained us our first footing; when there was no idea of conquest or political power, influence which amounted to that of the conqueror was ours. When the empire was fairly established, the Company still hankered after its commercial profits, and seeking to retain them exclusively, shut out its fellow subjects from a share in the wealth of India. The carrying out of this policy in later times seems inexplicable, and is an instance of how strongly a prejudice may act upon a corporate body as upon an individual.

As regards the jealousy of Christianity it is but fair to own that the hostility did not originate at home. In earlier times the Directors appear to have been anxious to provide religious instruction for their own servants, and Christian ministers and school-masters were sent out, for the express purpose of teaching the natives in connection with, and living in the neighbourhood of, their factories. Peter Auber says—"It will be seen that 'in the earlier periods of the Company's history, measures were 'taken for the diffusion of Christianity among their own immediate servants, and likewise the natives. By the charter of 1698, 'the Company were bound to maintain a minister and school-master in every garrison and superior factory." The hostility originated in India. The old servants of the Company had almost without exception formed native connections; some of them professed even to be converts to Mohammedanism. We read of a Company's servant at Patna, who confessed himself a follower of Mahomet, and built a mosque in his compound where he daily attended religious service, and this was not an isolated case. These were the men who opposed with such bitterness the early attempts of Martyn, Buchanan, Carey and others, to translate

the Scriptures and preach Christianity. They urged their views upon the Governors General, and the authorities at home; on the plausible ground of the adverse political results which might be expected to arise from interference, as they called it, with the religion of the natives. This dread of contrasting Christianity with Hinduism or Mohammedanism still unfortunately exists. But while fearing to offer Christianity to them, the Company has always professed great anxiety for the comfort and well-being of its native subjects, putting forward this desire as an excuse for excluding European settlers. But we cannot believe that its idea, that the introduction of free trade was synonymous with that of oppression and cruelty towards the natives, was an honest conviction. We have already shown that there were really no data on which to found such an opinion.

In connection with this subject we would say a word more regarding the Indigo planters. Indigo was almost the only article of trade, which gave scope to private enterprise. Indigo factories were originally built and carried on principally by the servants of the Company. Were not oppression and cruelty probably first practised by these men, who may have taken advantage of their official position? The rapacity and dishonesty of the old servants of the Company were proverbial. Their professed occupation was either the management of the Company's factories or civil administration, and with these was combined private trade. It was almost inevitable that they should use their official influence to promote their own interest. A man who depended solely on trade, would hardly risk his livelihood for the sake of driving a few good bargains by oppression. The civil servant could do the latter without risk to the former. The opprobrium justly attached to such conduct was not laid by the Company on the right shoulders. It accepted the fact of oppression, forgetting who had been the oppressor, and most unjustly argued from it against the influx of British settlers. The latter, chiefly Indigo planters, have suffered in consequence. By degrees the Indigo factories, when civilians were no longer allowed to trade, changed hands, passing from those of the civilian to those of the Interlopers, bricks and mortar, balances and good will; the two latter represented by the system of advances, and all the then existing abuses connected with the business of planting. Much of the lawlessness of old times, the agrarian outrage described in the pages of this Review in 1847, is to be attributed to the opposition and jealousy which arose between the protegés of the old Calcutta firms, and the civilians before and after they were prohibited from trading. The former backed by the money bags of the merchant princes could barely cope with the official influence of the

latter. There are men still living who speak of the [illegible] arose, owing to the Interloper seeking to establi[illegible] "in the line" of the Drozs and the Williams of the [illegible] mercial residencies. It may be safely asserted that [illegible] popularity of Indigo cultivation arose in the times [illegible] we speak, and may fairly be laid at the door of the Compan[illegible] own servants. British settlers have struggled against these disadvantages, and have partially overcome them. As a further proof of the unreasonableness of the East India Company's idea that oppression and injustice to the natives were inseparably connected with the settlement of Europeans, we may ask how it is that in no other branch of industry these accusations arise. Take silk for instance. The Company having a monopoly of this article, their servants were debarred from its manufacture, and independent settlers started as it were fairly. Is silk unpopular? The same man possesses within equal distance of his residence a silk filature and an Indigo factory. The former is confessedly a source of unmixed benefit to the ryot. The mulberry cultivation, the rearing of the worm, the immediate manufacture of the article, all give employment to hundreds; capital is circulated, and the condition of all connected with the business is improved. The same may be said of the sugar factory, of the collieries, of the tea gardens in Assam, and of works for the baling and screwing of jute. This latter business is in its infancy in the mofussil. The largest establishment we believe in Bengal is at Sherajgunge, belonging to Messrs. Mackay and Barry. We remember passing a day at Mr. Barry's factory, and being struck at the number of men employed, and the hearty cheerful way in which they worked. These men had come from various districts within sixty and eighty miles of Sherajgunge, to earn their livelihood by cleaning, baling, and screwing jute under interloping superintendence. There have always been and there still are men, and well-meaning men too, who would have us believe that the British settler in the mofussil is of necessity an oppressor. Energy and education will always get the better of slothfulness and ignorance; but that it is the nature of the Englishman, when he settles in India, to take advantage of his superiority to injure and oppress the native, is utterly false. Never was there a grosser libel!

We have endeavoured to pourtray faithfully in the preceding pages, the policy which, we say, has wronged both Great Britain and India; our assertions being proved from the lips as it were of the Company itself. India is certainly not in the state to-day, in which it should have been after a hundred years of British sway. The opponent of the Company may

justly ask—what has she to show for her century of possession? Her territories? It has ever been her pride to declare that they were acquired in spite of her. As regards even her earliest acquired provinces—has she stimulated trade? Read the evidence before the colonization committee of the House of Commons regarding the Nuddea rivers, and the correspondence last year with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce concerning the canals leading to Calcutta; these latter being the only channels of water communication for eight months in the year between the provinces and the capital. Her judicial administration? Her police? Read the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal's minute on both, written in April 1856. Postal communication? Compare the safety and speed of the dâk in 1858 with the following: "The post in the Mogul's dominions goes 'very swift, for at every caravansery, which are built on the 'high roads about ten miles distant from one another, men, very 'swift of foot, are kept ready. The letters are enclosed in a 'gilded box, which he that carries holds over his head when he 'comes near the serai, and giving notice of his arrival, another 'takes it, and runs to the next, and so on, night and day, at 'five or six miles in an hour, till it is carried where directed to; 'so that in eight days, advices are brought from the furthermost 'parts of that large empire to court. And these carriers are 'called dog chowkies." This was written in 1727, by Hamilton, an interloping Captain, who spent the time between 1688 and 1723 in trading and travelling in the East. The imperial finances? She leaves us with an annual deficit of seven millions. Her army for the public defence? Where is it? remembered chiefly through the sable garments of those who are mourning husbands, sons, brothers, wives, sisters and daughters massacred by that army. The empire itself?—Six months ago was it not quivering in the balance, saved only under Providence, indirectly by the annexation policy which left no independent armed powers to overwhelm it in its fall, and directly by a miracle at Barrackpore and a man in the Punjab?

But is there not a brighter side to the picture? We need not discuss the question of the risk we ran in 1857 of losing the empire. It exists. The great fact of Hindustan being under British sway is a light which must brighten the very deepest shade. We care not to separate the great deeds of the servant from the declared policy of the master. Under the auspices of the East India Company the colossal empire of British India has arisen. We will not seek to prove that the structure has been raised rather in spite of, than owing to, the policy of the Company. We will but hint that the commercial instincts of the company of merchants were often at

critical periods stronger than its sense of political responsibility; that its Governors General often sought the British minister's support, on the ground, as the Marquis of Wellesley wrote to Lord Castlereagh, that "the duties of sovereignty must be 'deemed paramount to the Company's mercantile interests, 'prejudices and profits." We own that the East India Company has been an instrument in the hands of Providence for the good of India. At several periods of our history, European politics or civil wars would have necessitated our withdrawal from India, had we held our settlements as crown colonies; but the Company, during the worst of times, steadily pursued its schemes of profit, slowly and surely in spite of itself extending simultaneously its territory and power. While Englishmen were engrossed in resisting oppression and securing their liberties at home, the East India Company was quietly founding the British Indian empire. If before 1833 its commercial interests were paramount, we must confess that since that time the Company has exhibited an earnest and progressive desire to benefit India. Its public works, considering the state of its finances and the expense of its wars, have been numerous and useful; among them rank various trunk roads, the Ganges and other canals, the numerous irrigation works in upper India and in the Madras Presidency, a system of roads and bridges in the Punjab, and the introduction of the electric telegraph. Much more would have been done, had the Company cast their old policy to the winds, and heartily encouraged the introduction of British capital, and British colonists. Under Lord Dalhousie's enlightened administration, railways were introduced, the Government guaranteeing interest on the schemes of private Companies; the first direct encouragement on an important scale of the employment of British capital on Indian works. The Revenue Survey carried out at vast expense, has been also most useful to the country. For the moral improvement of the people, we may say the Company has abolished human sacrifice, thuggee, suttee, infanticide and slavery; and seriously checked ghat murders and dacoitee.* It has, by secular education, sapped idolatry and undermined caste. It has given the in-

* The success of the Bengal Government in checking dacoitee has been very great: with well chosen instruments and a swifter mode of procedure, than that of the ordinary criminal courts, dacoitee has comparatively almost disappeared. Were the action of the sudder entirely removed, still greater success would result; but the exertions of the dacoitee commissioner are in a measure paralysed by the exceeding tender conscience of "the sudder."

It is said that natives do not make good executive officers, and as a rule we think this is correct, but the dacoitee department can boast at least of one most efficient man. The district of Jessore, which for years was infested with dacoits, is now almost free from them, by the exertions of Baboo Gooruchurn Dutt, the Dacoitee Deputy Magistrate.

telligent classes an incentive to improvement, by throwing open various situations of trust in the public service to natives. It has beyond a doubt under many and heavy disadvantages, the heaviest however created by itself, done great good to India. Could the Company have purified Leadenhall Street of the musty traditions of old times, and started in 1854 with the honest desire to encourage emigration to India from England, inviting British capitalists to join in schemes for the material improvement of India, we do not think that the East India Company would to-day have been a thing of the past; but the prejudices of a century had sunk too deep to be eradicated. Its mission has been fulfilled, and God by the rebellion of 1857, has rudely roused Great Britain to a full sense of her responsibility to India.

With the Proclamation of Queen Victoria the Interloper died. But we cannot resist saying a few words on the prospect of the Interloper redivivus—the welcome settler's future, or rather the future of the country which he will enrich and improve by his presence. We are not going to argue on the question of colonization. Suffice it to say that we believe, when security to person and property is established, a tide of emigration will set in to India. A feeling of security will be attained only by the presence of a large British army. This army, if military colonies are established in the hills on the Russian system, may in thirty or forty years be to a great extent recruited in India; and men who have served their time might be encouraged to remain in the country by the offer of situations under Government. The question of a total abolition of a regular native army is not one we feel competent to discuss. Many think there is no need of such a force; a native police drilled and disciplined under European superintendence, might suffice to preserve the peace in ordinary times, and to perform most of the duties which of late years were the sole occupation of our sepoys. The expense of such a body could be at least partially defrayed from the wages of the village chowkeydars who are paid by the zemindars; to this fund could be added the cost of the chuprassie establishment, itself sufficient, in Sir Charles Napier's opinion, to pay an army. By a system of railway communication we should be able rapidly to concentrate troops on a threatened point, and thus our European force need not be so large as would at first appear necessary. A general and complete disarmament of the population in all the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, the N. W. Provinces and Oude, and of all parts of the other Presidencies which have been tainted by rebellion, would be drawing the teeth of the evil-disposed, and removing temptation from the well-affected.

By these measures security might be established. The construction of railways to any extent must doubtless be a question of time, but capital for five or six main lines, with a Government guarantee, would be subscribed for at home in as many months.

But before we can hope for any decided improvement in India, we must have a fixity of land tenure. This we can never have so long as under-tenures are unsafe, or landed property liable to be sold by auction owing to the rascality of a mooktear, or the accidental non-payment of the quarterly *kist*.— The redemption of the land tax will remove these abuses. It should of course be optional, and thus it will be, as all great changes should be, gradual. The inequality of the perpetual settlement assessment might be removed, by calculating the amount payable not on the sudder revenue, but on the *profits* of estates. The Revenue Survey which lays down the boundaries and area of every village, would make such a computation practicable. There would be no injustice in such an arrangement, as the zemindar who preferred partial insecurity, with the payment of Government revenue and the retention of his profits, to the fee simple of his estate, need not avail himself of the boon. How to apply the amount realised by the redemption of the land tax will be a question for our financiers to decide. The liquidation of our Indian debt might not be politic. It is well to give the native capitalist a pocket interest in the stability of our rule, and it is well likewise for a community to be taxed to a certain extent to secure on the general credit a safe investment for individual savings. Might not a part at least of such a fund be invested in public works, especially railways and schemes for irrigation in those parts of India where a certain and regular supply of water increases ten-fold the produce of the soil? Railways, we may be sure, will yield a large return, and irrigation schemes we know, do so. The financial question is the most important which demands the attention of the Indian reformer. We have drifted into a sea of expenditure the last twelve months, which, for native troops alone, be they called levies, irregulars, or what not, is quite appalling, and, we believe, is equal to the cost of our native army before it mutinied. That our system of taxation must undergo revision is certain, and the time has come when the subject must be seriously taken in hand. There are charges connected with the rebellion which must be met at once. Our public buildings, cutcherries and barracks must be rebuilt. Surely this might be done by a direct tax on the districts in which they were destroyed, excepting in those, if there are any such, where the population showed no sym-

pathy with the mutineers. We would also exact compensation in the same way to the uttermost farthing for all private losses, including those of insurance societies, caused by the mutinies. In any scheme of revenue for the future, one class which has been gratuitously enriching itself under our Government, must be no longer exempt from taxation—the native mahajuns, bankers, and capitalists. The justness of an income-tax has been recognised at home. As the wealth and population of a country increase, the public charges are augmented; and it appears but fair that the system of taxation should embrace this principle, which certainly the perpetual settlement land-tax in Bengal does not. Our Indian civil list must soon be criticised by a severer eye, and clipped by sharper shears than those of Mr. Ricketts. Many find it difficult to understand what the public receives for the money it pays to the Legislative Council. Others think that the Supreme Council are feeed somewhat too highly for mere consulting physicians to the state patient. Again, there are Boards of very doubtful utility, unsound and worm-eaten, and on which the public looks with a suspicious eye. Many cannot conceive why a channel of communication, a roll of red-tape called a commissioner, should draw 3,000 per mensem. Hundreds of well educated barristers at home wish they had the chance of performing the duties of judge, for one-half what the present officer receives. The collector's duties are light; as the land-tax is gradually redeemed they will become lighter, and may well be added to those of the magistrate. There are men who, looking more to the practice than to the theory of justice, would abolish the "killing no murder" bench; but a well regulated court of appeal is, without doubt, useful and necessary. The secretariat is certainly not overpaid. The magistrates are decidedly underpaid, receiving from 400 to 900 per month; from 300 to 1,500 would be a fairer scale. We do not think that the amount of our civil list can be reduced. The service is numerically about the same to-day that it was twenty-five years ago, our territories having meanwhile enormously increased. After obtaining an additional number, at the present cost, by reduction of allowances and abolition of offices, the service may still require to be greatly extended. Fair rates of remuneration must be continued; as a rule, the present system of securing the raw material in England must be retained, a certain number of civil appointments being reserved, under certain restrictions, for efficient Europeans in India. The arguments against the appointment of the covenanted service in England are at present perhaps more plausible than reasonable, but the bearings of this question will be entirely altered when there is a large non-official European population in India. The plan of admission into the service by competi-

tion is a great improvement on the former one, and the new system seems to be working fairly. The competitioners can already boast of their Perkinses and Aitchisons. We may get a book-worm or two, but the proportion of genuine, "hard bargains" will be wonderfully diminished.

We want entire security for landed property, a fair civil administration, and fair encouragement to colonization;* but we must not expect even with these, that private capitalists will at once pour into India. The country is at present a *terra incognita*. The despatch of the Court of Directors of the late Company, asking the opinion of the Indian authorities as to the propriety of extending assistance to private enterprise, points out the channel through which for some time British capital must be introduced. A Government guarantee against loss is absolutely necessary to give confidence. Public works, especially railways, may be pushed to any extent on this principle. By this means the material improvement of India will be advanced, remunerative employment found for British capital, and a certain and most legitimate source of revenue secured; for all such guaranteed schemes will of course provide for a proportion of the surplus profit being retained by Government. Schemes for irrigation and canals may be encouraged in the same way. There is a large field for joint stock companies, with limited liability and under sound management. Inland steam navigation, for instance, is only in its infancy. Among articles of commerce we must first mention cotton. In connection with this staple, may we not anticipate some such progressive increase in consumption as the cotton statistics of Great Britain display?† With the raw material at hand,

* The acquirement of land by Europeans should be encouraged in every possible way. There are many opportunities just now of bestowing land on Englishmen who did good service during the rebellion. This mode of reward is adopted for natives, but we have not seen a case of an estate being conferred on a European. Among minor but very important improvements required, are a gold coinage, and a uniform standard of weights and measures.

† In No. 19 of the *Calcutta Engineers' Journal* we find the following statement:—

"Cotton consumed in 1764... 3,870,392 lbs.

Quantity of cotton consumed after Arkwright's patent had expired in 1785.

1785... 17,992,888 „
1790... 30,603,451 „
1800... 51,594,122 „
1810...123,701,826 „
1820...145,648,617 „
1830...255,426,476 „
1840...454,990,492 „
1850...588,200,000 „
1851...648,800,000 „
1852...745,000,000 „
1853...734,000,000 „
1854...780,000,000 „
1855...835,000,000 „
1856...920,000,000" „

The establishment of this Journal and its success are of themselves signs of the times. The body who contribute to and principally support it, will increase ten-fold in as many years, every Engineer that lands in India adding to the prosperity of the country.

cheap, and abundant, there is surely a grand opening in India for the introduction of British machinery. Why should not cotton mills arise in India to supply the demand which, as the improvement of the people advances, will arise. Sugar, silk, indigo, tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, rice, pulse, jute, oilseeds, cocoanut oil, castor oil, cochineal, &c., are all articles which open fields to the enterprise of the British colonist; and connected with many of them mills and factories of various kinds will be required. Quinine is an article which specially demands attention. We believe that fever occasions four-fifths of native deaths. What greater boon can we bestow on the native population than placing this specific within their reach?

But if we desire and expect to be the instruments of making India what God intends it shall be, we must recognise the power, the purifying and elevating influence, of our religion. We must not talk about "neutrality" and propagate infidelity. We must show the people of India that we believe the godliness of Christianity to be indeed "profitable unto all things, 'having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is 'to come." Statesmen must look upon Christianity as something more than a useful instrument for securing the peace and order of civilized communities. They must acknowledge it to be the real foundation of national prosperity. Our Indian legislators must see the wisdom of giving the gospel "free course," carefully preserving full toleration for all religions and religious ceremonies, not at variance with public decency. While upholding the principle of toleration, the spread of Christianity must not be checked. We do not say that the aim of our *Government* should be the evangelization of India; though we believe that such in God's good time will be the result of our rule. The duty of Government, especially one which embraces among its subjects such a diversity of races and creeds, is to promote the material well-being of the community, to administer justice and to maintain order. We would not, for a moment, say that a Government whose sway extends over subjects professing the Hindu, Mussulman, Buddhist, Jew, and Christian creeds, each of these being again subdivided into various sects, each sect bigoted in its own peculiar tenets, should wield its power to promote the advancement of any one religion. But we do say that the British Government is justified in upholding the dignity of its own faith, and that it is bound on all proper occasions to let it be known that it believes in Christianity; that, for instance, it should not declare it to be an important duty of a Christian Govern-

ment to see that endowments of Hindu shrines or Mohammedan mosques are properly applied; that while it permits the Hindu pagoda, the Mussulman mosque, or the Jewish synagogue, to be reared within sight of the Christian church, and tolerates entire freedom of conscience to every subject of its empire, it would gladly see the Hindu, Mussulman, and Jew entering the Christian church to worship the God not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, and Jesus Christ His Son. The fact of being a Christian must not disqualify a man from entering the service of a Christian Government. Hitherto Christians have been excluded from our army, and God has well nigh brought our empire to the ground by means of that army.

Sir John Lawrence is appointed to a seat in the Home Council. With Lawrencism in the ascendant there, and Montgomeryism in India, we may hope that our Indian empire will henceforward be ruled on bolder and truer principles. But it behoves every Englishman in India, to see that the lesson of the rebellion of 1857 is not lost. The dread of an unseen danger has passed away; the policy which, while owning that such a danger existed, led our Indian statesmen on the *aprés moi le déluge* principle to ignore it, is no more. Great truths have been displayed before our eyes in characters of blood. Our hold of India in January 1859 will be stronger than it has ever been. Let us hope that the policy of excluding British settlers, which has so nearly cost us our dominion, will be entirely reversed, that soon we may not be able to recognise our friend the Interloper; that instead of growling, crabbed intruders, always girding up their loins to defend "their constitutional and indefeasible rights," we may have contented prosperous British settlers, forming nuclei, in different parts of the Himalaya and other hill ranges in India, of flourishing colonies.

But while we rejoice in the prospect of addition to our wealth and power, we must be more than ever mindful of our duty to the millions around us; we must give no ground for the accusation that the English in India despise and hate the natives, and desire to keep aloof from all schemes to raise them in the social scale. We must endeavour to live rather in their affections than their fears, that they may not only recognize the will of God in our rule, but gladly acknowledge, and even glory in, our sovereignty. The development of the material resources of our Indian empire will be beneficial to Great Britain, and promote civilization in India; but the social

moral, and religious elevation of the people, will be the true fulfilment of our destiny as the dominant race. Greece, Rome, Spain, have been leaders in civilization, and have fallen; they have played their part and have been cast aside. Mohammedanism too has been a powerful instrument in the world's history. When the nations were falling into the lowest depths of polytheism; when Christendom, alike with pagandom, had forgotten the one true God; Mahomet was raised up to scourge idolatry, and at the point of the sword to diffuse the great truth of the one God; and herein was the vitality, which in spite of its impurities and errors, made this the religion of so large a number of the human race. In our generation we see Mohammedanism falling. In Turkey the last fitful gleams of fanaticism are bursting forth; in India we have long seen, among the masses, the tenets of Mahomet over-ridden by caste. The instrument has played its part, and is in its turn being thrown aside. If we do not accept our mission, we, as the conquerors of India, will share the same fate.

Christianity is rapidly extending its sway. In more or less purity, it is acknowledged by nearly all Europe. As regards our own race, it is the religion, in addition to Great Britain, of the United States of America, Canada, and Australia; and these countries form no insignificant portion of the globe. In every land the pioneers of Christianity are active. God works in his own way. However "the hand of the dial may be put "back" for the hour in India or elsewhere, by human mechanists, it will eventually gain the meridian point, when the prophecies of the Christian Bible will be fulfilled. We have reached a time in the religious history of the world, from which will be dated the rapid evangelisation of the vast regions of Asia. China has been lately opened to Christian influences, and the free influx of British-born subjects into India, with their wealth, their science, and their religion, will in His own time work out God's will in this country. We must not forget that we are instruments in the hands of the Almighty for far higher purposes than drawing riches from the crust of the earth, increasing and improving the products of its soil, or applying our science to the wants and conveniences of every-day life. These are not the sole or the principal ends of our presence in this quarter of the globe. While God uses us as a nation in spite, as it were, of ourselves, for the advancement of His glory, we must not forget that we may, and should individually, endeavour to further His great designs. We shall do this best by offering to the natives of India a pure Christianity, recommended by

our own example, in the place of the effete superstitions and errors which have so long enthralled them.*

* In the Evidence of the Rev. Joseph Mullens before the Colonization Committee we find (4th Report, page 28) the following :—

"At first, the settlement of Englishmen in the country took place but slowly ; it has advanced, however, somewhat rapidly of late years. The returns of 1852 set down the number of extra-official Europeans beyond the three Presidency towns in all India at 317. But this statement is very much below the mark. I have no good information of a late date respecting Bombay and Madras ; but in the Presidency of Bengal, before the rebellion broke out, the case stood thus : Of indigo factories, there were 320 concerns, about 900 factories and 420 managers and assistants. Then as to the coal, there were eight concerns, 18 collieries and 16 managers and engineers. As to rum distilleries, there were six managers. With regard to silk filatures, there are 25 concerns and factories, and 35 managers and assistants. As to sugar, there were seven concerns ; and, as to tea, there were 37 plantations and 55 managers and assistants, excluding the English regiments, and the officers of native regiments not on staff employ (the latter being about 1,000 in number) the English and East Indian population in the country parts of the Presidency amounts to 5,400 grown men in both public and private employ. Of these, 1,950 are not connected with the Government. They are principally missionaries, English zemindars and planters ; and engineers, contractors and superintendents on the railway. They are all grown men, but as many of them are not married, they would represent, probably, a population of above 6,000 persons, unconnected with Government. The whole English population in the Mofussil would, at the same rate, amount to about 17,000 persons. The English and East Indian inhabitants of Calcutta itself, in all kinds of employ, amount to 4,256, and represent a population of about 16,000 persons. Deducting the English regiments, therefore, we had, in the Presidency of Bengal, before the mutiny, an English population of about 34,000 persons. The value of land now held by Europeans is reckoned by the Planters' Association at four millions sterling. In Ceylon the population is thus described in the latest returns : whites, military, 1,216 males and 206 females, in all 1,422 ; non-military, 2,704 males and 2,262 females, in all 4,966 ; making a total of 6,388. Of coffee estates there were 404 ; of cinnamon estates, 56 ; of cocoa-nut estates, 166. Adult Englishmen, not belonging to the army, navy, or civil service, 600. ..... In the province of Bengal I think we have 105 missionaries ; and in all India, 450."

ART. III.—1. *Sorrows, Aspirations, and Legends from India.* By MARY E. LESLIE, Calcutta. London, John Snow, 35, Paternoster Row. 1858.

2. *The Moslem and the Hindoo, a Poem on the Sepoy Revolt.* By a GRADUATE OF OXFORD. London, Saunders and Otley. 1858.

3. *Poetics, an Essay on Poetry.* By E. S. DALLAS. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1852.

THE rebellion, at least in its present stage, ere its shouts and shrieks have died away, is a fit subject only for lyric poetry. As it becomes more an event of history, as the narrative portrait-painter takes it up, and arranges its many and scattered incidents, so as to form a perfect scene; as the critical historian, with statesman-like wisdom, sifts its course, probes its causes, and traces its results, Poetry, as a handmaid, may take up the tale, and in severe epic majesty, tell its horrors and its triumphs, limn out its heroes and its heroines, and raise to the glory of an all-superintending and ever-merciful Providence, a monument that shall, like Milton's of old, "justify the ways of God to men." But meanwhile poetry cannot step out of the region of the lyric, and within that will best act as the exponent of the events of the past two years.

The work before us is a collection of lyrics in the form of sonnets of a descriptive character, each commemorating some one of the great deeds or men of the rebellion. Above all the poetry on this subject hitherto published, and above all the poetry of Anglo-Indians, if we except that of Heber, whose glory as a poet is rather English, we would place this little work. Mary Leslie has proved her right to enter the sacred and jealously guarded temple of the Muses, albeit she must take but a humble place there, by this and the smaller poems in "Ina", her former work, and it will depend upon herself whether she is to be contented with the honourable though humble niche she has reached, or whether, in justice to Him Who has given her the power of song and to those for whose good it was given, she will burst the bonds of inexperience, of youth, of innocent faith in and occasional imitation of others, and of maiden modesty, and rise to those higher heights, where, like the lark, she may in all the freedom of unconsciousness, and with all the power of unfettered genius, trill forth lays that will make her immortal.

The lyric is of two kinds. In its higher form it is the

expression by the poet of what he himself feels, and hence is truthful, genuine, and as the exponent of emotion and regulated by laws which are universally the same in every breast, it becomes national or the property and pride of the race. This may be called, for want of a better word, the Egoistic. The form that it assumes is the song or the personal sonnet, or sometimes the pathetic elegy. The finer lyrics of Burns and Sappho, some of the "Tristia" of Ovid, the wailing strains of David and the poets of the Jewish captivity. and especially the "In Memoriam" of Tennyson, illustrate this. In its lower form the poet does not express his own feelings in his own person, but transfers them to another, in whom he subjectifies himself and with whom he identifies himself. In porportion as this appreciation of the circumstances and nature of the scene or event chosen is perfect, is the lyric valuable and telling, and hence some have held that this form is the more difficult and denotes higher powers, for there is the poetic *vis* only in the egoistic class, while in this there are, in addition to that, the identification of the poet with another or others, and the harmony between that identification and the poetic *vis*. It must be said that the greatest lyric poets have excelled in both, and no better illustrations of this can be found than in the case of Byron, Burns, and Tennyson. The Hebrew and Scotch lays of the first belong to the lower class, while he has not a few pieces descriptive of his own misanthropy, misery, and exile-longings which are inferior to these. It is difficult to say, in the case of Burns, whether his 'Highland Mary' and 'Bonnie Lass O' Ballochmyle,' in which he expresses his own feelings, and 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled,' in which he speaks as the member of a nation on the one hand, or his "Macpherson's Farewell," and the rest of that class on the other, are the more beautiful; while we suspect there are not a few who prefer the "Legend of Fair Women," and "The Lotus Eaters," and "the Lady of Shalott" of Tennyson to his "In Memoriam." This second class may be called the objective or Imitative class.

As the lyric is the poetry of feeling, and is called forth oftener by the sorrowful and despairing, than by the joyful and exultant emotions; it is not only finest when dealing with religious subjects, or with ordinary woes in a religious spirit, but its natural and necessary tendency is to God. It cannot rest till it ends with Him. The wounded soul amid its agony and tempest-tossings, with every support of human kind cut away, and the blackness of darkness of unutterable woe and impossible peace before it, casts ever about for one who will be a

deliverer, or at least a sympathiser, a brother. And it finds it only, it must find it, in God. Faith in Him never permanently leaves it. "Though He slay me yet will I trust Him," "All things work together for good," is its language, and though paroxysms of doubt come, and He seems for a time to have hidden His face, it is only for a time. And even if on earth He should fail the sorrower, there is, and this is the second great necessity and ultimate end of the lyric, there is immortality. The soul never lets go its hold of that sure and steadfast anchor, but rides at it bravely, and if it cannot weather, proudly bows to the storm.

This religious element in the lyric does not always assume the purely religious form. On the contrary, unless in the hymns and divine songs which, as composed by Ambrose and others in the primitive Christian church, were so beautiful, but now, with a few exceptions, are so bald and mediocre, it rather avoids the form, and proves its reality and natural simplicity all the more, by the use of the terms expressive of emotion viewed as such. There is thus no lurking suspicion in the mind of the reader of cant or hypocrisy, for it is none but truly spiritual and etherealised souls that can naturally use such religious phrases, and these even among the best and holiest of men we know to be but few. The whole turn of language and tone of expression, rather than any distinct phrases, make you feel as you read such, that the hope and peace, and faith and joy, which thus evidence their existence, are real and natural. Such a song as "The Hour before Day," or "Ilka blade o' grass keps its ain drap o' dew," by Ballantine, illustrates the great truths of an ever-present God and Father, and of an ever-good and wise Providence, who dispenses his gifts and his chastisements, joy and sorrow, justly among all, even more powerfully than, to take the most favourable illustration, Cowper's grandest hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way." And the grandeur and poetry of even this arise partly from the absence of phrases that are common to the most mediocre hymns of Watts, Wesley, and Toplady. The lyric does not put on religion as a dress which covers it, but is not part of itself, but rather absorbs it into its very nature, chemically (as it were) combines it with itself, and thus becomes elevated, purified, transfused, but none the less natural. The heart has its own language, and it refuses to adopt any other, and so to falsify itself and artificialise its ever-living genuineness. The only exception to this is found in such a case as the Puritans and Covenanters, where we have men who, steeped in Bible truth and Bible phrase from their infancy, so that it ultimately became a part of their nature, used such as the best exponent of their sorrows,

longings and triumphs when necessity came. But in some cases even with them, it became a mere cry, a cant, an exaggeration which made them perhaps more remarkable, but less useful and worthy, than otherwise they would have been.

None have insisted so much on 'unconsciousness' as a main element in all true poetry, and especially in the lyric, as Mr. Dallas in his 'Poetics'; and we think rightly so. Altogether apart from the arguments that he advances, and the fresh exposition that he gives of it, there is an inner play or current, an incessant energising of the soul, which in the higher orders of mind seems to be the main element of genius, or at least a most necessary condition of its exercise. If Aristotle's theory of Pleasure, as taught by Sir W. Hamilton, be a correct one, that it is the free, spontaneous, and unimpeded energy of the soul, existing and acting in adequate degree and duration, and is with pain the concomitant of all energy; and if pleasure of the highest order be so much the end and aim of all true poetry, as experience proves it to be, then that will ever be the higher and most stirring order of poetry, that will ever appeal most to the sensibilities and emotions of the race, which is most fully unconscious within the sphere of the poetic. We know that the doctrine of 'unconsciousness' in poetry may be misapplied, either in support of a false theory of inspiration or of the maddest and wildest fanaticism. Nay, unconsciousness of a certain kind approaches madness, and is a form of mania recognised as such by physicians. But the unconsciousness of which we speak is one that lies wholly within the faculties that are occupied in the production of poetry, and more in the purely emotional and imaginative part of those than in the intellectual, which results in the conception of plot and incident. It is not the 'spontaneous reason' of Cousin, nor the 'elevation of the religious consciousness' of Neander. It is not in any respect whatever analogous to inspiration, any more than genius is, in the common acceptation of the term. If by inspiration be meant that which divinely causes or has a divine cause, then it savours of its nature. But if the term inspiration be applied in its orthodox and plenary sense, and not in its purely philological meaning, then unconsciousness has nothing to do with it. Without asserting any thing as to the cause, more than that it is divine, even as the whole mind itself is, it means that the emotions and æsthetic part of the mind work freely and spontaneously, and not by a strong effort of the will, that when once some incident, or unbidden and heaven-sent 'suggestion' (to use Dr. Thomas Brown's phraseology) has started up, the soul works on in a regular train, without any effort of its own, and language arises that, in fit though oft unpolished phrase,

immortalises the results, stamps them with objective being, and makes them "a joy for ever." We cannot better illustrate this than by the 'nameless lyrics' of Tennyson, especially his

"Break, Break, Break,
On thy cold grey stones, O Sea!
And I would that my tongue could utter
The thoughts that arise in me.

O well for the fisherman's boy,
That he shouts with his sister at play!
O well for the sailor lad,
That he sings in his boat on the bay!

And the stately ships go on
To their haven under the hill;
But O for the touch of a vanish'd hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still!

Break, break, break,
At the foot of thy crags, O Sea!
But the tender grace of a day that is dead
Will never come back to me."

In one though a very low sense, the fisher-boy in his boat on the laughing sea, the youth when his heart is full of joy bounding over the meadow, the mourner when almost speechless with sorrow, as they utter their brief, interjectional cries, are lyric. But they want the ability to give expression to feelings that to them are new or very rare, and that consequently have never been analysed or understood. There are few men in the world who have not at some periods of their life had their lyric moments, their unbidden, unaccountable transports of joy or calm settled sense of happiness; their transports of grief, "too deep for words", too sacred for even sympathy. They have the receptive unconscious capacity, but lack the expressive or creative power. They differ from the poet on the subjective side, in so rarely, so temporarily, experiencing such, while he lives therein, it is his nature; on the objective side, by an utter want of harmony, rhythm, expression, in their higher poetical forms.

The unconscious, the subjective, the internal, is the first and chiefest requisite of the lyric poet. He has it without education, nothing but God can give him it. Experience and circumstances may and do develope, purify, and exalt it, but they cannot give it. They are the *Occasio*, not the *Causa*. But the expression of the results of this poetic unconscious energising now follows. And it is for this that education is so necessary, and does so much. Thought and expression are so intimately linked together that each is the condition of the other's exist-

tence, each exalts, elevates, and harmonises with, the other. The internal sense of harmony that, by the plastic power of the imagination, selects and combines discordant elements into forms of exquisite beauty, reproduces them to the outward world in language of sweetest rhythm and most mellifluous cadence. The effort after attaining the latter is greater than that put forth in the action of the former, but with the true lyric poet, the less effort there is in it the better. If true art be to conceal, or do away with the necessity of, art, that poem will be the most artistic which is the least artificial. Compare Pope and Tennyson for an illustration of this. There is no fear of the objection proving true, that if this doctrine be correct, our poets will fall into the grossest carelessness, and the finest parts of our future English literature be disfigured. It is impossible for a true poet to write carelessly. His genius has its laws as well as the commonplace arts of vulgar men, and it operates under necessities as stern as the grandest laws of Him who is the author of it in common with the whole universe. Genius, its laws, and methods, are far removed above us, but we are not therefore to question their existence. We see their results in the vast book of human intellect, in the glorious page of human literature, and it is the province of a true criticism to reduce them, and state them, and act according to them. They call for our belief in their existence and their splendour, when compared with our own narrow sphere of intellectual energy, even as the other world and its inhabitants demand our faith—on evidence. True, criticism has hitherto failed to systematise and justify them with the rigour of physics, but she is fast reaching that fulness and accuracy which may lead her to approach nearer to the certainty of the inductive sciences.

None who have ever, even cursorily, directed their attention to the phenomena of sleep, dreaming, somnambulism, fever, or insanity, have failed to be struck with the wide extent of the new mental world that is in them opened out. Leibnitz, upholding the doctrine as is now almost universally done, that the mind is always consciously active, was the first to draw attention to this grand class of phenomena, and to give them a place in the study of the philosopher, as they before had held one in that of the medical man, under the title of "Obscure Perceptions." They now receive the more correct term of "Latent Agencies." As we read the records of physicians and philosophers regarding these, as we watch the abnormal manifestations of memory, and the association of ideas in fever, as we experiment on ourselves in dreaming, in going to sleep, and in gradually awaking from it, as we visit the wards of a mad-house or are intimately brought

into contact with individual maniacs, whose past history we are well acquainted with, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that even when sensation, and what Dr. Thomas Brown calls our "external affections," are asleep under the anæsthetic influence of deep slumber, our soul is ever active, yea, all the more so because freed from the trammels of the body, and is already anticipating, within most confined limits still however, the disembodied life in Hades, and expatiating in a world peculiarly its own. And if on the basis of this belief we advance, as far as we may, to the consideration of the phenomena revealed by such states, we shall be struck by the fact that, after the long study of philosophy, we know but little of the human mind, and confess that there may be, that there are, experiences higher than we have ever felt, laws far above what we have ever been subjected to, thoughts, and fantasies, and emotions which transcend the powers of the highest genius, as much as these powers transcend ours. Nor is this mere speculation and conjecture. Even were the facts as few and unimportant as they are many and demand our attention, a safe and scientific application of the principles of analogy would remove our statements on this subject of unconsciousness far from the misty realms of baseless hypothesis. In proportion then as unconsciousness is kept in its proper place, will the results of lyric energising be an evidence of genius, and raise their producer to his proper rank.

India and the great Indian rebellion are, in their present position at least, emphatically a subject for lyric poetry. They have furnished the poet with a set of circumstances, scenes and events grander than any in history, whether we look at their number, nature, causes or results. Each province in the revolted districts can furnish tales of lyric value more than centuries of past history. The events that took place were sudden, unparalleled, bloody, dastardly, extensive, woeful, on the one side; and on the other, glorious in the way in which they were met, changed and turned; swift in the vengeance that was taken on the vile; manful in the mercy that was extended to the erring; pitiful—most pitiful—in the suffering that was endured; heroic in the spirit of such endurance; mighty in the sphere of operations to recover the ground that had been lost; and national in the sympathy, the effort, the final triumph. Each man was a hero, each woman a man, every babe was a martyr, and Thermopylæ and Piedmont were eclipsed. While over all Jehovah presided; He arose, He scattered His enemies, they melted from before His face. These events succeeded an uninterrupted career of conquest and civilisation in its

wake. They came upon an empire that in a century had, from a little Island, and by the power of a handful of a strange race, beat every other out of India, and subdued its ten millions of Mussulman conquerors, its hundred and seventy millions of Hindoo inhabitants; that had given the Bible, and education, and security of life and property to all who would have them. And it resulted in the events of the first of September and November, in rousing its conquerors to look anew to the empire that God had placed in their hands as His stewards, and in laying the foundation of institutions and principles and laws that will eventuate in the fulfilment of old prophecies and dreams; of visions of idols utterly abolished, and of the glory of THE LORD filling the whole earth.

In what history or in what page can a poet find such a programme as that? And yet, with the exception of Miss Leslie's small volume, it has as yet called forth no poetry worthy of the name. In former numbers of this Review we have noticed a small trifle by D. M. entitled "Scenes from the late Indian Mutinies," and a small volume of so-called sonnets on the Indian rebellion, "Ex Oriente"; but there, with the exception of single stray pieces by such poets as Martin F. Tupper, and grand ballads in 'Punch' and weekly Journals, the list ends. England's heart was stirred to its depths, and is the only poetic result to be such unworthy productions as these, or prize-poems at Oxford and Cambridge, and our large public schools? Are the great not to arise, and immortalise themselves—for they cannot make their subject more immortal—by painting the India of the past two years? It may be that sufficient time has not yet elapsed to allow of this, of the events being fully understood, entering into the poetic soul, coming forth in their divine dress, being printed and published. We are content to believe that it is so; we shall look for the result. But we fear that the haze of ignorance about India, the mist that encircles it in the eyes of those who have never visited it, the impossibility of, like Moore, entering fully into all its peculiarities and spirit, will fetter poetic genius when it attempts to work, and make its results, as when Tennyson wrote in his official capacity of Poet Laureate on the death of the Duke of Wellington, unworthy of the theme and the writer. Meanwhile Mary Leslie must head the list, and wear the honours, till another star arise before which she may have to pale her brightness.

Her work belongs to the first of the two classes of the lyric mentioned above—the egoistic. That is, she relates in her own person the story, and paints the feelings that she herself experienced, as she heard of, or in imagination gazed upon, the scenes

and events described. She does not speak through another, identifying herself with the actors dramatically, but where she has to introduce them in their own persons, she does so descriptively, and then her own lyric comment follows. There are pieces belonging distinctly to the second or imitative class, but they are few, and add to the poetic and historic value of the little work. The worst thing about it is its name. It is thoroughly unpoetical, though it may truly describe the contents of the volume; it is purely sentimental and unworthy of a healthy poetess. As we see that the manuscript was sent to London for publication, we must ascribe the namby-pamby title to the home editor, and not to the poetess herself. "Sorrows," may pass, but "Aspirations"—it is youthful, young-mannish, unworthy of the book; and we are sure, if Miss Leslie had had confidence in her own maiden instincts and good taste, she would have hit upon a better. The poet must lead, not follow, must destroy by healthy song, the unreal cant of the day, and not, as in the excelsior-like word 'aspirations,' stamp it with approval. All the poems are thoroughly Indian, and naturally divide themselves into two parts; first the 'Sorrows and Aspirations,' which have exclusive reference to the rebellion, and then the Legends, which are versified tales or expanded and poetized incidents taken from the history of India previous to the British conquest. While somewhat lyric, they are perhaps too descriptive and narrative to be looked upon as really so. As the volume itself is small, we shall be sparing in our extracts, though both the subject and treatment are tempting.

The 'Sorrows' open the scene, and the first bead on the string of tearful pearls is one more lustrous than the rest. The Spring of 1857 is described, as she—

> ..... "Came her delicate spray-wreaths to fling,
> In lavishment most careless everywhere:
> The peach-tree's bunches, dark, and brown, and bare
> Grew flushed, and mango-blossoms clustering
> Around their spikes in many a magic ring,
> Scented with fragrancy the balmy air."

The idea is poetical. The contrast between the joyous advent of young spring and the sympathetic life of man, with—

> ..... "The cloud of doom
> Which burst ere the red fruit above us hung."

This fitly introduces "the Commencement of the Sorrow," in which are epitomised the first burst of our enemies' fury, the first massacres of our dear ones, while she prays—

> "Pity us O our God, if unsubdued,
> The demon spirit of revenge arise!"

Then come Delhi and "the Glorious Nine." Her prophetic curse on the former seems to us one of the best of her pieces, her own, natural and unborrowed, yet sufficiently steeped in the spirit of the old Jewish prophets to give it the true ring—

DELHI.

"RASE her unto the ground,—palace and tower,
White marble mosque and gorgeous sepulchre,—
And let the silence of the massacre
Evermore as a cloud upon her lower,
So that the traveller in some future hour
May say, "Here are the whereabouts of her,
Once India's Empress, whose high name could stir
A thousand memories with enchantress power.
She lies a desolation, for she filled
Her houses with our slain, and took delight
In women's tortured wailings, till Death stilled
(More pitiful than she,) the heart's affright.
Alas! from yonder sky the blood thus spilled
Seems even now reflected red and bright!"

Then follow "Major Skene and his Wife," "Shahjehanpore," "Sir H. M. Lawrence," and "Cawnpore."

CAWNPORE.

"THEY ranged themselves to die, hand clasping hand,—
That mournful brotherhood in death and woe,—
While one with saddened voice, yet calm and slow,
Read holy words about yon better land,
Upon whose ever-blushing summer strand
Comes never shadow of a fiendish foe,
Nor hellish treachery like to that below
Is with malignant hatred coldly planned,—
Then prayed. O Crucified, didst Thou not stoop
Down from above with Thy deep sympathy,
Soothing the suffering, bleeding, huddled group,
While the fierce vollies poured in hurriedly,
And with uplifted swords the yelling troop
Rushed to complete their deed of perfidy?"

"BUT all is over;—the fierce agony
Of men who could not their beloveds save
From unheard tortures, and a common grave
Heaped high with quivering, crushed humanity,—
The frantic woe of women forced to see
Their tiny infants, unto whom they clave
With love which could all fear and torment brave,
Dashed down upon the ground unpityingly:
And nought remains but the wet, bloody floor,
And little rings of soft, white baby-hair
Mingled with long, dark tresses, dimmed with gore,
In hopeless tangles scattered here and there,
And God's own blessed Book of holy lore,
Sole comforter amid that deep despair."

Her "Invocation" is noble, though slightly imitative of Kingsley's style and *furor*. We turn however with greatest pleasure to her "Lord Dalhousie." It may be too highly strained, it may be somewhat extravagant, but he is gone from among us, and what a contrast now! With a grander power than ever Governor General exercised since Wellesley, he guided our empire to glory, he diffused the triumphs of peace and civilisation, he cleared new ground on which the Christian missionary might plant his foot, and by his policy he so prevented anarchy, put an end to long years of misrule, and narrowed the sphere from which mutiny and rebellion could draw their support, that the dark cloud which was impending burst in gentler storms, and passed sooner away, than otherwise it would have done:—

LORD DALHOUSIE.

"COME back to us: the tiger, which we deemed
So tame, has broken loose, missing thy hand,
Most firm, yet gentle; and this glorious land
Is full of his foul slaughters. O it seemed
As if with prophet-hearts we truly dreamed,
What time the March eve-wind thy forehead fanned,
And on the dark ship, and the watching band,
And thee embarking, sunset radiance gleamed,
And we said, tearfully,—"Ah! Ichabod
Shall this day evermore be named; for, lo!
The Glory is departing! We have trod
Hitherto in the light, and warmth, and glow;
The chills are now around us. Thou, O God,
The depth of coming night alone dost know!"

Thou comest not; thou canst not; God has said:—
"Thou shalt not do, but only bear my will!"
And thou art silent, calm, and very still;
O Hero-heart, though voices of the dead
Float evermore in circles round thy head,
With touching cadences which through thee thrill,
And longings sharp and wild thy spirit fill
To guide the furbished sword of vengeance red.
Alas! we suffer,—we who never wrought
For India's welfare, nor gave up for her
Health, comfort, rest, the untold wealth of thought,
Our best beloved to the sepulchre;
Whilst thou—our eyes grow dim—our souls' prayer fraught,—
"Be with him night and day, sweet Comforter!"

"The Martyr of Allahabad," "The Band of Heroes," "The Oath of the Seventy-Eighth," "Sir Colin Campbell," "Lucknow," with its many heroes and heroines; Neill and Havelock, the Fall and the Army of Delhi follow. We would mention "1857," with "Delhi," as the best in the volume—

1857.

"Depart; depart! We ever bid farewell
To our old years with a quick, sudden pain
Around our hearts, as if we would again
Recall the past by working of a spell;
But thou art different, and we would compel
Thee from our homes, if power were to constrain
Thy speedy parting. Wane, O quickly wane,
Sad moon, and let us hear the signal bell.
Old year, wrap thy blood-stained robes around,
And take thy staff within thy trembling palm,
And leave us: wait thou not for blessing-sound,
For lingering clasp of hand, soothing as balm:
We, standing in a silentness profound,
Shall watch thy going, still, relieved, and calm."

The last piece is full of 'Aspirations,' and so the lyric recollections of the rebellion come to a close.

Of the 'Legends' we would point to the 'Queen of Ganore' as the best. The 'Prelude' to them has some fine passages; but as in most of Miss Leslie's long pieces, is not well sustained throughout. In it she answers the question—'What is this India like?'

"A tranced Queen,
Who, through long silent days, and months, and years,
Has lain and slept a death-like awful sleep;
Within her eyes the image of the fires
Which reddened all her heart-town's azure heaven
Reflected in their terrible, wild glare.
She is not dead, but stricken in her limbs,
Ay, and her very heart. We stoop low down,
Each whispering some olden, thrilling tale
Of ancient days. Her pulses slowly beat,
And there seems now a warmth about her heart
Come newly. I would also stoop me down
With one or two fair memories, and would make
Her eyelids quiver, and grow moist with tears
Upon their lashes. If she would but weep,
And strive to rise up, strength would come from heaven!

We Britons watch beside her, standing girt
As strangers by her streams and in her vales,
And thinking ever of our Island Home:
(Would God we lived thus in this glorious world,
And thought thus ever of yon heavenly shore!)
And our great land has given her noblest sons,
Her best and richest lives, to help the need
Of India fallen from her throne of pride.
They come before me now; I veil my eyes,
Not daring to look up, as they pass by
To sound of music fitting their strong lives.
* * * * * *

Pass on, and leave me, ye majestic ones,
Proconsuls, warriors, guardians of our shores:
I cannot speak in presence of your looks!

Has not a legend glided slowly down
The stream of time, as rose upon a wave
Of some bright fountain hidden among woods,
Whose waters have the power to render youth
Unto the aged, strength unto the weak?
Methinks that India has found out that fount,
And put her feeble, trembling, large-veined foot
Within the waters; on the other side
Wait longingly the nations of the sun:
She will pass through, and when her soft feet tread
The last white water-lily, she will rise
A Queen with all a Queen's great majesty,
A Matron fair with all the bloom of youth.

Ah me! the harp is large, and I am weak;
I cannot hold it; all that I can do
Is but to let my fingers on the strings
Fall tremblingly, and call forth feeble sounds,
Such as young children do, who, in their play,
Suddenly strike some instrument's white keys,
And call forth heart-felt sweetness, or, perchance,
Harsh discords grating on the aching ear.

O India! India! India! thou shalt rise
Magnificent in glory; on thy brow
Shall blaze again the jewelled diadem;
Above thee wave the peacock's regal plumes;
Thy hand shall grasp the sceptre rough with pearls;
And thou shalt robe thee as the maiden does,
To whom the gum-encrusted cocoa-nut
Has come a token from some mighty Prince.
There shall be joy then in thy villages,
Gladness within thy cities; mountain-top
Shall shout to mountain-top, and mountain streams
More joyously shall murmur; peepul trees
Shall never more see idols at their roots;
Vishnu and Shiva, Juggernauth and She,
The many-handed, bloody-tongued, shall all
Be aye forgotten; and adown the hills
The sculptured feet of Parasnauth shall roll,
And lie in broken fragments at their base!"

We cannot agree with an English critic of this volume, in condemning the poems as bearing "the impress of sentiments suddenly inspired by exaggerated narratives rashly believed," as "in memory of apocryphal incidents." Even were this true, the poet, like the logician, must be judged of, not by the correctness of his data, or historic truth of his materials, but by the conclusions drawn, the fidelity of the expression or the result to thes ematerials, and the rules that are peculiar to poetry. Moreover even if every incident and fact were really apocryphal, we must remember that at the time when these poems were written the events they celebrate were believed in England as well as in India to be true, and were more spoken

of there than here. Even in this case these poems have their absolute value, as coming under the second or imitative class of the lyric, and their present value as being the expression of emotions that were then experienced universally by English and Anglo-Indians in common. But we deny that the facts are apocryphal, the narratives exaggerated. The critic contradicts his own pertness, when he adds that Miss Leslie mourns in bitterness of spirit, "*as well she may, soften down the story as we will.*" He here allows that she is justified in her strongest expressions, and there is not one that a modest, quiet, clinging maiden might not utter, there is not one that is masculine, unchristian, unjust. But what are the apocryphal incidents. There are but two we can select, which in even the slightest degree can bear that term to be applied to them. "Mary Wheeler" and "The Oath of the Seventy-Eighth." With regard to the last we frankly allow it is apocryphal in the fullest sense of the word. The strict discipline enforced by Havelock, when on his famous march, rendered it impossible that any regiment or large body of soldiers could visit the Well, and we know that it was not visited at that time, nor did that regiment ever really utter such an oath in the circumstances described. But the first—the deed of Miss Wheeler—has just that kind of evidence in its favour that the case admits of. As the armies that followed Neill and Havelock approached Cawnpore, they heard the tale as it is now told; they found it currently reported when in Cawnpore; it was universally talked about and believed by the natives on the spot, most of whom, having fled on the approach of our force after the massacre, returned, when they saw that the perfect discipline of our men rendered it at once safe and profitable to do so. The deed in itself, in its circumstances, in its nature, has all probability in its favour, and there is universal native report and tradition; more it does not allow of.

But we would entreat our brethren in England, who have so prayed and fought and sympathised with us in our death-struggles, to suspend their decision on the question of 'apocryphal incidents.' The whole truth is not yet sifted, and will not be till men, now on the scene of action, have gone to England, and the literary tide set in motion by the rebellion has subsided. Then the truth will be found, and found, we believe, in the middle. In the first moments of sorrow, in the first paroxysms of indignation, in the first uprising of the instincts for revenge, there may have been, there was, exaggeration. But if Punch and Martin Tupper may be taken as the representatives of the mass of the English at home, there was far

d, if so, it strikes at the root of all attempts to he legendary into the real.

y try to reduce the legend into authentic narrative, the marvellous parts and retaining the outline of and no doubt the residue is sufficiently plausible, re were any *evidence* for it, we should unhesitatingly But of evidence of the very lowest kind, there is none; we have simply the unauthorised conjecture living in a totally different state of society, who is unable to roll back the human mind, whose progress him onward to such a different latitude, and he can- himself into the position of the old bard and his whom these legends were living and real. Three rs of thoughts that "widen with the process of have placed an impassable barrier between their and we deny the right of jurisdiction, when he bring the ancient poems to his bar, to decide what and what is true. The very marvels, which he have been the life-blood of the story to its ancient hus the story of Romulus and Remus being she-wolf can be easily reduced to probability; wife, named Lupa, *might* have found the exposed brought them up as her own; but in this pro- ve lost the point of the legend, the very thing it vibrate in the national heart. It was no such ncident as this, that the audience cared to hear; the ne home to them with something of a moral meaning, told them the source of their own Roman strength, t their mythical ancestor was not suckled of woman, but fra[illegible] ferocity with the milk of a she-wolf.* It expressed in pictured language a general feeling which had hitherto never found a voice; and in those days the only evidence demanded was that the story should strike the key note in the hearer's soul.

We are out of tune with those old times, our modern sympathies are entirely different, and hence we cannot be judges of their tastes, or decide where they would demand reality, and where they would be contented with fiction. We have seen the story of the Rámáyana thus reduced to a plausible narrative, and the life of Ráma and his conquests in Southern India compared in detail with those of Alexander; but the ingenious author had overlooked in his parallel, that for the latter we have contemporary evidence of the strongest kind, while the former rested simply on his own hypothesis that

* Cf. the Saxon legend of their ancestor being hewn from the Harz Mountains.

these parts of the Rámáyana were true. The li
is reduced in this way to a consistent and plausible
but it rests on as little evidence as 'Waverley'
Mannering.' In our restless longing to up-lift the
is drawn so tightly over the dawn of history, we bu
hand to a willing self-deception, when we im
shadows to be substance. We can see that there
flitting behind the veil, there was a world of human
legendary times; but until the veil be raised, an
"a stepping place for investigation which deals
fact," our wisest course is to rest contented with our
and confine ourselves to those notices of these time
really within our reach.

Nor are we wholly left to conjecture on this
can *prove* that a modern reader is no judge of
in the compositions of an age so dissimilar to his o
poems are in our hands, which have risen in later
which have treated in a legendary manner cycles
that from other sources belong to authentic hist
are the Niebelungen Lied, the Shahnamah, and
poems on Charlemagne. Each of these relat
events, in each we find real characters amidst the
by the aid of other testimony we can disentan
smothered fact. But we should never have known
truth lay, had we been left to the poems alone; it
extraneous testimony, which sets us on the right
keeps us true to the scent. Thus the Niebelungen
once referred to a later Teutonic history; Dietrich von
Theodore the great, we have a real Attila and Gunther
Siegfrid and Brynhild have been found in Siegbert, the king of
Austrasia, and the famous Brunehault of Merovingian story.
The whole poem is thrown into a Christian atmosphere, and
we move in the well-known plains of Burgundy, and it is easy,
where so much seems real, to cheat ourselves into the belief
that it is no fable, but fact. We might build a plausible con-
jectural history, a life of Siegfrid or Etzel; and had we
no other materials, it might have passed unchallenged. But
further researches have tracked the heroes of the Niebelungen
far back into the mythology of the Edda; "Sigurd, Brynhild,
Gudrun, and Atle are mythical characters, celebrated as well by
the Scandinavian scalds as by the German epic poets,"* and
the closer it is scrutinised, the less historical the legend ap-
pears, until it all dislimns like a dream. Similarly the stories
of Rustem which fill the Shahnamah, have probably no found-

* Grote.

more fury and vengeance there than in India. What writes the former ?—

> "Who pulls about mercy ? The agonised wail
> Of babies hewn piecemeal yet sickens the air,
> And echoes still shudder that caught on the gale
> The mother's, the maiden's, wild scream of despair."
>
> Our swords come for slaughter, they come in the name
> Of justice: and sternly their work shall be done;
> And a world now indignant beholds with acclaim,
> That hecatomb, slain in the face of the sun."

And the latter, whose popularity, whatever else we may say of it, is a most astounding fact—

> "And, England, now avenge their wrongs by vengeance deep and dire,
> Cut out this canker with the sword, and burn it out with fire;
> Destroy those traitor legions, hang every Pariah-hound,
> And hunt them down to death, in all the hills and cities round"

But overlook not the truth—the all too horrible truth at the bottom—truth in its naked simplicity often more terrible than exaggeration could make it. Such narratives as those of the sieges of Lucknow and Delhi, and especially those of Mr. Edwards and Mrs. Orr, are far more than enough to justify expressions exceeding in intensity ten-fold those used by our authoress. Let our English brethren remember that we have passed through the fire with which they have not even been scorched, which they have only scented from afar. The billows have gone over us, we have sunk in deep waters where there was no standing. We fought the first battles alone, and alone we gained the victories that ensured and rendered possible all subsequent success. Such criticisms, and now in the English press they are not few, we must bear patiently.

[redacted] mistaken section of our own body, the Cal- [redacted] are to blame. They misled, misrepresented, [redacted]ged a good cause. We now see the [redacted]nce deluded into sympathising credulity and [redacted]and then deceived, Anglo-Saxon-like and [redacted]e, the English have rushed to the opposite [redacted]icism that is fanned and fed by such Indian [redacted]ard. The truth will come and will find [redacted]istory. We can afford to wait.

[redacted]corrected some of the errors noticed in her [redacted]t there is still a lyric mannerism and imi- [redacted]te youth and inexperience, and if not soon [redacted]k inferior power. She will better enrich her

expression, and, if models she wants, elevate and idealise her conception, by going to Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, Massinger and Milton, than by dwelling in the enchanted region of the poetry of this century. Keats and Coleridge, Tennyson and Mrs. Browning will lead astray, will tempt into the insane and false-prophet school of the intense and unnatural spasmodists. The worthies we have mentioned, and we would add to them the courtly elegant Surrey, will only benefit, and lead her to nature and self, to simplicity and truth. Nor should prose be neglected. The nerve and power that it possesses, as well as its strictness and accuracy, will prevent the young lyric poet from mistaking unconsciousness for license. In De Quincey more than in any English writer of any age, will be found a style that combines the most perfect rhythm with the coldest classicality, the sweetest cadences with the most select words, the most exquisite music of sound with the strictest adherence to the laws of æsthetics, all expressing; thoughts, erudition, and emotional and fantastic experiences that are unrivalled in any literature. In the company of such mighty men, with an ever-increasing knowledge of humanity, as seen in all ages in the page of history and now around her, and with a growing knowledge of self that she may at all times be able to leave self behind her, and enter the magic cell of unconsciousness, and with the whole sanctified by that Spirit which elevates the æsthetic as well as the religious in man, Mary Leslie may yet make Anglo-Indian poetry and Anglo-Indians more appreciated than they are, and be the means of soothing some sorrower, enlightening some doubter, helping on some weary sister or brother, and adding her pearl, small and dimmed though it may be, to the string that poesy has hung around our English literature.

"The Moslem and the Hindu" is partly a narrative, partly a descriptive Poem, somewhat ambitious in its execution, though simple and unpretending in its structure. The action is divided between India and England, and the scene is shifted from the one to the other. The latter with its calm domestic joy, its fond [illegible] sequent bitter trial and sorrow, to the former [illegible] hellish cruelty, its acts of deadly hate and tr[illegible] and anon its scenes of glorious triumph and [illegible]

The scene opens with England. Agatha, [illegible] is fighting God's and his country's battles i[illegible] daughter is also there, is asleep, and by [illegible] daughter Amy watches,—one who has not [illegible]

ther and sister, but also her lover, to the good cause in India. In a dream Agatha fancies she sees her Indian daughter—

* * * * "Pallid and wan
Her hair dishevelled, flying from the grasp
Of rapine and foul murder, but alas!
In vain—the fatal stroke fell heavily.
Oh! that dire shriek, the mingling of despair,
And agony, and woe intense, which struck
The heart's remotest cord, and sent a thrill
Of anguish to its very inmost shrine,
Making it sick with sickness nigh to death:
Thank God it was but a distorted dream!"[2]

This suffices to introduce the story, simple as it is. The action does not yet however begin, for with an ambitious aiming after the epos, the author sketches the position and history of India from the earliest ages, through Rama, the Curu-Pandu war, the Rajput line, the Mussulman invasions, and finally the English conquest. This he puts in such a way as to shew that the primary cause of the rebellion was the hate of the Moslem to their conquerors, and the lust of rule which had been checked and baffled by them—

"Though captive and subdued, the silent thought
Brooded as upon wrong; that old desire
Of universal rule his spirit stirred,
And fanned the smouldering embers into flame,
A flame which burst in dreadful fury forth
Consuming in its madness; breaking through
All known restraint and rule, forgetting both
Duty and faith, uniting into one,
To stimulate it in the mad career,
Ambition, passion, anger, and revenge:
Then leaving desolation in its track,
And horrors over which the heart grows sick."

The third part of the poem introduces us to a Brahmin who, as he walks in meditation through a forest, and remembers how glorious his nation once was, and his own priestly order how powerful, is accosted by a Mussulman, and together they talk over the plans that had been formed to rouse the land against the hated English. The following is a favourable specimen of the *poetry* of the work before us. It is almost an imitation of that glorious passage in the "Lady of the Lake" that so stirs the heart of its boy-reader, when Scott describes, as none but he or Macaulay could, the despatch of the cross of fire by Roderick to rouse his clan—

"Benledi saw the cross of fire
It glanced like lightning up Strath-ire
O'er hill and dale the summons flew," &c.

Canto III.

In this too,—the union of the Mussulman and the Brahmin, and the agreement to lay aside ill-feelings engendered by race

and hostile creeds—we see the reason of the title of the poem, the Moslem and the Hindoo—

> * * * * * "Ere now
> The secret has been told—the country through,
> Has heard the sacred message, it is known
> From Indus unto Brahmapootra's wave
> Since last we met, the mystic cake has sped.
> And cursed be he of Hindoo race who sees,
> But answers not, the summons. May the Gods
> Reject him as unworthy of his name,
> His country, and his race! may he become
> A wanderer upon earth! From Delhi's home,
> North, east, west, south, with rapid foot, 'twas borne
> By many a way, and many an ancient stream
> To town and village; and the sacred fanes,
> Of temples and the citadels of kings,
> Revealing the command—the daring deed,
> And then the place of meeting. Soon our swords,
> Shall drink the life-blood of our enemies."

The beginning of the rebellion is described, the rising at Meerut, the entry of the mutineers into Delhi, the sympathy of the populace, the slaughter of the English, the weakness, vacillation and cruelty of the old king, before whom the Mussulman and the Brahmin of the forest once more appear. But Britain is roused. Anson is on the march, Barnard is before the walls, and while he invests the city, the scene changes to Old England. The Indian mail is in, and Agatha learns that her son and daughter are among the slain. As yet Amy's lover, Henry, is safe, and her heart is filled with joy that "valiantly he treads the steep path of fame," and she prays, as only English women then could pray, that he might still be protected. Agatha dies. Meanwhile bloody work goes on at Delhi, but at last it is ours, and in the account of its capture, the writer recounts the names and deeds of the heroes of the Cashmere gate, and of Nicholson. But amid the triumph and joy of England, when the news were borne to her shores, there was many an aching heart, many a pallid cheek, many a crushed spirit. Henry had perished "courageous, noble, foremost in the fight." Mother, sister, brother gone, this filled the cup of sorrow to the full, but Amy learned to take it from a Father's hand, and the poem concludes with the view that faith gave to her eyes; as it—

> "Applied the key; it opened and she saw
> The loved and lost from earth rejoicing there,
> Safe in the presence of the King of kings.
> The distance seemed to lessen, and her heart
> Was drawn towards them, it was but a step
> Across the valley of the shade of death.
> The resurrection morn broke vividly,
> And the regretted and the lost came back,
> Wearing their robes eternal, and the crowns
> Of victory; and on each forehead stamped

The new name written by the living God.
Which none knew but themselves, and in their hands,
The sceptres of the just. Redeemed from death
And risen from corruption, the vile dust,
Changed to a glorious body like the Lord's,
Stood in imperishable life; the glow
Of conscious immortality was there,
And on the cheek health's everlasting bloom."

Frankly, we cannot criticise this work as a poem; to apply to it the hard and inexorable canons of criticism is impossible. Were we thus to weigh it in the balances, we would certainly find it wanting in conception, unity, and rhythm, we would call it a third-rate poem. But we are content to *feel* that the author's heart is right, and that he has striven to embody in simple language those emotions that swelled England's heart when she heard of treachery, rebellion, and inhuman butchery and dishonour, and that triumph and calm satisfaction with which she learned that the Lord's saints had been avenged, and the Lord's cause upheld. He has a few episodes of a more ambitious character on Night and Time, and the other stock subjects of the 'intense' school, but where he confines himself to narrative and description he is always pleasing if not beautiful, truthful if not highly poetical. The two great poetical sides of the rebellion—the stern justice that the law of God and man demands on the one side, and the bursting sorrow and woe that our nation has felt, on the other, will never be worthily embodied and rendered for ever immortal, till one arises with the pen of him who, while he with exquisite gentleness and grace paints our first parents in the Garden, yet wrote that ode which, of all human compositions, the most nearly approaches the "Arise O God, let Thine enemies be scattered" of David—

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans."

ART. IV.—1. *The Chinese and their Rebellions viewed in connection with their National Philosophy, Ethics, Legislation, and Administration; to which is added an Essay on Civilization and its present state in the East and West.* By THOMAS TAYLOR MEADOWS, Chinese Interpreter in H. M.'s Civil Service. London, Smith, Elder and Co. 1856.

2. *The New Calcutta Directory for the Town of Calcutta, Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Punjab, Arracan, Assam, Pegu, Tenasserim, &c., &c., &c., for* 1858. *Compiled by* A. G. ROUSSAC. Calcutta, Military Orphan Press. 1858.

CONFUCIUS was sparing of his words, neither did Mencius say much. "What I have seen," said the sage, "I speak of, 'what I have not, how can I relate." "Writing you write for the instruction of your friends, to your friends," says the Classic; "it is well to tell the truth:" and now may our pencil flow harmoniously.

Among the communities which constitute the patchwork called Calcutta, there is a little one colored whity-brown, which, utterly distinct from all the others, different in speech, in language, color, dress, character, and institutions, has almost escaped observation, dependent as the most important of them are upon it; for, thinking that its opinions are as good if not better than those offered in exchange, it has refused to sacrifice its prejudices to those of others, and, being too weak to excite antagonism, it has met with indifference, the natural and appropriate punishment, or as it considers it, reward, of its non-assimilating disposition.

Tzülu said, "I desire not to oppose others, only if they get in my way;" so with our dear colonists; they oppose not, only those who get in their way. But these somehow or other they crush or expel quietly. Silently advancing they have driven all competitors out of the field; and now as shoe-makers, ship-carpenters and hogslard-manufacturers, they reign unrivalled. Although but 500 strong they have the greatest European powers at their feet; England through its lady representatives in Calcutta; France through its grease-loving colonists in Bourbon, for "those Felench men they eaty too muchy grease; and sposy English lady no got shoe, how can go to carriage maky ride." But though they wield this tremendous power, and are not altogether ignorant of it, we may repose quietly and fear nothing, unless indeed some energetic magistrate

puts down their opium and gambling houses; for they are a peace-loving people only desirous to make a little profit.

Properly speaking, they are two distinct colonies, belonging to distinct races, carrying on distinct trades, and speaking different languages; but community of interests, the manufacture of hogslard, opium-smoking, and Hindustani have almost merged them into one; and constant intermarriage threatens to annihilate the difference between the shoe-makers and ship-carpenters, notwithstanding the still existing obstacles to such complete union in the great disparity of wealth of the two communities.

As to their origin there are doubts, for although the authenticity of Chinese history, extending back thousands of years before the creation, is undoubted, our colonists, it must be confessed, are not literary men, and though their question, "who is there that has no ancestors," is unanswerable, still being a doubter, you may doubt their genealogies. About a hundred years ago, say they, the governor of Canton wanting some money, came down on one of the Hong merchants for a sum much larger than he felt inclined to pay, and so, knowing that his only choice, if he remained there, lay between payment of the sum or the loss of his head, he found on reference to his almanack that it was a fortunate day for commencing a voyage, and accordingly bought a ship, ballasted it with his dollars, freighted it with his family, and started for India, where, and observe the minuteness of the legend, after having been sea-sick all the way, he arrived safely, and established a factory, the site of which, for the factory no longer exists, is to this day known as the place where the China mandarin once lived; thence sprung the colony.

Such is the fable, but though it is authenticated by a stone the characters on which are quite illegible, but which from its appearance should be 10,000 years old at least, and although, as disbelievers are indignantly asked, "if not so, how can say," yet, as the said Canton mandarin's descendants are not Cantonese at all, the more probable solution of their origin seems to be, that a boy from near Amoy coming hither with his master, was either left behind, or left his master, wishing to do a little "pidgeon," and so setting up as a shoe-maker prospered, and sent for his family from China. Or perhaps the ship-carpenters may be older, some one having been left behind drunk, and finding this a good central spot, having settled down here and prospered, attracted his countrymen to him. But be their origin what it may, the fact remains that here they are—shoe-makers, opium-sellers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, and hogslard manufacturers, and that

the colony exists is certain, though possibly it never had a beginning.

As money-making now-a-days ranks above all things, the shoe-makers, literally worshippers of Mammon, deserve first mention, even did not their numbers entitle them to take precedence of their more energetic and scarcely less useful rivals. Coming from the Hakka districts of Kiaying Chow in the province of Canton, they are considered foreigners in their own country, though probably the indigenous inhabitants; and nothing but their wealth saves them from the withering contempt of the later settlers as men without ancestors, or at least without regular authenticated genealogies. But thus protected from insult they see their native shopmen and apprentices stick to their lasts, and drink the execrable tea of their father-land in peace.

Living in and about Cossitollah and Durrumtollah, they have built a fine temple in one of its lanes, thereby constituting themselves a community, for without a josshouse there is no community in China. Going down this lane, guided by the poles pointing heavenward—poles like our steeples shewing how necessary it is to point out to the world the house of God, as else perchance few would find it—guided by these poles, you come at the bottom of the lane to a stuccoed portico close by a little gate; and while this is being opened, you look up, and though you can scarce tear away your eyes from the grotesqueries which surround it, find the temple is dedicated to Kuanti, whom Europeans generally call the god of war.

By this time the gate is opened, and passing the screen which hides the interior from the external world, you find yourself in the courtyard of the temple. In one corner you observe Kuanti's horse comfortably stabled, the Chinese, with a just regard for propriety, thinking he would find an upstairs-stable inconvenient, and therefore putting him down here rather than in his master's chapel. Two flights of stairs leading to the chapels occupy the sides balancing each other and making every thing look comfortable. Facing the door are several rooms appropriated to the attendants who have charge of the temple, and here you find a lot of cooks sacrificing fowls, sucking-pigs, ducks, and kids, preparatory to stewing, on the grosser parts of which the worshippers will regale, when Kuanti and his attendant have satisfied themselves with the ethereal portions.

Stopping but for one moment to enquire what dish Kuanti peculiarly affects, and strange to say, for you asked but for information, being answered by a laugh, you turn to the left, and passing the wicket gate, come at the first landing to a pleasant little niche in which repose the images of the Lares and Penates

of these adventurous wanderers from the land of the hills and rivers. Before these you pause, and whether it is the sweet scent of the incense or the meaning of the scrolls surrounding them, which tell you that their benevolence is universal, and that thou hast but to ask and thy petition shall be granted; which of these reasons causes you to do so we know not, but you stop and involuntarily sigh, wishing you could feel your social deities were with you, and that here you had a home.

Passing this cheery yet mournful little niche, your feelings experience a rude shock in the lumber that fills up the left-hand-chapel, boxes of incense, old lamps, benches, and transparencies, all in un-Chinese, un-Confucian disorder. Passing as quickly as possible through this, scarcely noticing the drum which frowns down on you, you hasten into the adjoining middle chapel, and you are standing in the presence of the god. But no feelings of solemnity now oppress you, and so far from awing, the grim visage of the thunderer excites rather merriment, and though his weapon—a sort of scythe—looks very formidable at a distance, you are not deceived a moment; English-like you go up and tap it, and so make the interesting discovery that it is wood.

Nor when you look up, and find from the scrolls hung around that Kuanti is the essence of propriety, that his breath is excessively strong, and that he is wonderfully extensive, do you feel more inclined to honor and respect him, but hastily looking at the pewter incense-pots and dragons, and finding them orthodox Chinese articles, your attention is diverted from his seal and his sword placed in frames on either side of his altar, and which you have just discovered are as great shams as himself, to two pictures of horse races, hung up in honor of him by some pious but innovating Chinaman. "Races in a Chinese temple,—races in the Hall of Zeal and Propriety"! for that is its name. Your involuntary exclamation is excusable; it is really going ahead. But some Chinese will have joined you, so restrain unbecoming mirth, and with them enter the chapel of the god of wealth, enter the only temple set up in this mighty city to the god whom we all worship. You deserve your wealth, my copper brothers, both for your gratitude in worshipping him whom you believe to be its author, and for the observation you display in putting that big bell in his temple, for he is very, very, hard of hearing.

But alas this temple does not speak so well for you as at first appeared, for looking for a difference between the money-giving god and his neighbour, you cast your eyes on the ground and lo! the cushion before him is nearly worn out, while that before his neighbour is in excellent condition, and sad experi-

ence tells us that if every one were grateful, the majority, the large majority, of those who have knelt here before you, have been petitioners—petitioners who have disregarded the voice of their great master, saying, whatever is your condition, rich or poor, but be contented. So, disgusted, you turn back, nearly knocking over as you do, some little Chinaman who, having learnt to do as Confucius bid him, "repress your every impulse," was unprepared for such superfluous energy on your part.

"Pray excuse me, what may be your honorable surname?"

"My insignificant denomination is Cha."

"Meaning a pig," but this you say in English,

and then entering into conversation you learnt, that your little friend was a little doctor, and much information you got from him.

Formerly, you learnt, there was another doctor who used to attend foreigners, who had learned foreign plans of healing, but he had died, for he could not think of a plan to cure himself, so then the Chinese here had no doctor, for of course they could not trust English doctors, and native doctors, did not understand medicine at all, so he came and managed to live and make a little profit, and then the little man proceeded to tell you that he belonged to the great class of the shoe-makers, though he was not a shoe-maker himself, and that the temple belonged to them, and that they had it regularly repaired every year, and elected head-men to look after it and their other concerns, and finally that it was their Kungso or council-room, in which they met to deliberate on any measure necessary for the welfare of the community. That this temple was their meeting house, and that here all their affairs were settled; here as in a parochial vestry in England they decided, should such a lane be paved, and like their emulators on the other side of the water, in nine cases out of ten decided that it should not; but they also turn it to a use of which their English brothers have no conception. Here they meet, not to talk about, but talk out, their differences, holding as they do, that difference can only be the result either of misconception or evil disposition, and that thus if it be the former, a little conversation on it will lead to speedy settlement, if the latter, public opinion will force the one who is in the wrong to give way, when once the matter is fully understood. It serves too as a sort of Exchange or Town Hall, and they drop in here to have a little gossip or transact a little business as the case may be, and outwardly listless as the crowd appears, it is inwardly as interested, and gets through very nearly, if not quite, as much business and pleasure, as its busy European brothers.

Round about this temple live our gallant Crispins, and if any one have sufficient courage to face ill-smelling lanes, and

if he has a valiant disregard of puddles, he may visit John Chinaman at home, but he must remember that Confucius said nothing about municipal reform, and so forbear to blame the Chinese for their neglect in this particular. Unromantic are their houses, for they did not build them themselves, but they have made their courtyards look Chinese to a degree. The red paper, the little niches, the little pots of incense, the stunted flowers, and the general dirt and disorder, almost making you believe yourself back again in China, did not the sudden appearance of the mistress of the house, whose angry tones had previously aided in the delusion, undeceive you.

Poor John Chinaman, why did you leave your dear flowery land, without bringing your peach blossoms with you? these which the sun of India cherishes are not like those from famed Soochow; their necks indeed are grubby, but it is not the silk grub that they resemble; their hair is long and black, but can they dress in the dragon fashion? their cheeks are brown, and they do not at all understand the beauties of vermilion; and last, worst, of all, they do not resemble weeping willows, and you cannot escape them.

"Why for," said we "you no bring your wifey," and the mournful 'how can do,' still rings in your heart. Unfortunate, most unfortunate, are these poor Chinamen, they can't bring their wives away from China, nor will these follow them thither, how then can they feel the calm repose of sweet domestic bliss, that exquisite sense, that you are no longer seeking and never finding a calm retired bay, where you may rest when buffetted beyond endurance by the cruel blasts of life, that you are settled, that you are no longer alone. Poor Chinaman we envy you your long-suffering patient spirit, but we pity you, and feel the hard tests to which your life here puts it. Yet with all this, these however get on very tolerably while they last, for, bound together by no legal ties, each party has to be cautious in its conduct to the other, and the Chinese wife, who knows that misconduct would deprive her of a home; perhaps gives her husband less anxiety than she, who knows her lord and master must either endure her or the talk and scandal of a divorce; and the husband is perhaps more affectionate who knows his companion is bound to him but by love, than he who knows she cannot run away.

At first they used to go through the Chinese ceremony of burning paper, and one orthodox old gentleman tried to induce his bride to be lifted over the constitutional pan of charcoal, but by degrees, finding it a bother, they gave it up, and merely take the lady into their house to be turned out, if there is any incompatibility of temper; or if so fortunate as to escape

this, to be deserted when the husband goes back to China. The children, if boys, have their little pates shaved, and are many of them sent to Roman Catholic schools, their mothers generally belonging to that religion; but so soon as they have mastered a little writing and arithmetic, their fathers withdraw them, and if unable to send them to China, make them study Confucius at home; thus even if, as the good fathers say, they do become indifferent Christians while at school, they soon lapse back into Paganism when their great Master's works are set before them. The girls also go to these schools, and like their brothers are generally but dull scholars; they stop however much longer, being generally kept there until marriageable, when they are married off to perpetuate that extraordinary race, found in all eastern cities, libellously called Portuguese.

It seems strange that, importing as they do cooks, priests, barbers, and doctors, they have not imported some of the fair sex, but whether it is that they fear their lady customers would be so outshone by their surpassing beauty, and that they mercifully wish to leave them their faces, or whether there is a hard stone to the soft peach, or for whatever other reason, the only Chinese women known to have set foot in Calcutta were two poor girls from Australia, who came here, to prove the truth of the proverb that the silken mantle often hides the aching heart, and to die. Poor girls, your sins were many, but your pains were great, and your marble tombs, so far surpassing those around them in the Chinese cemetery, teach us humility and virtue, thinking how gladly you would have given, how you must have longed to give, all that wealth recorded in that little tablet in the temple, for a kind nurse to soothe you as you lay wasting on your death-beds.

Indeed like all grave-yards, the three Chinese cemeteries might offer the moralist hours of amusement. There is the modest altar raised to the presiding genius of the place; there the towering structure recording the name of those benevolent and pious men who bought the ground, and raised the altar, only to be surpassed by that, whereon are inscribed the names of those who lately repaired it, while before you is avenue on avenue of horse-shoe-like graves, and the dust of many copper-colored brothers. Walking down them you discover that such a colony of scholars never existed, and not content, like Horace, with fame more durable than brass, the memory of their talents, one and all, will be remembered for ten thousand years (at least if their pious sons and grandsons are to be believed) that they were all of phœnix-like ability; while their powers of composition were as those of the tortoise. Fearfully untranslateable are the titles with which their sons have honored them, and which

they are supposed to bear at the court of Hades; but you are surprised by seeing many female tombs, as a Chinaman would say, and knowing that those two marble pedestals cover the only two Chinese women who ever came here, you begin to doubt your information, but looking again you find they record the death of Too-li-ya, or Ma-li-ya, who poor creatures living and being, as they thought, good Catholics, have been borne hither to rest in unconsecrated earth beside their pagan kinsmen.

Utterly ignoring and contemning the theory, that ghosts do not like horse-shoes, all their tombs are built in this the Chinese orthodox form, with the exception of a few built in European fashion by those who threaten to be the forefathers of a new offensive race—young China, and though, because land costs money here, the poor ghosts are not allowed so much space to wander about in as in China, their dwellings are carefully swept out, and plastered up, with the exception of those unfortunates who have left no posterity, and who, if they have any feeling, must be eaten up by envious jealousy in their cracked, ruined mossy sepulchres; for Chinamen, and why not Chinese ghosts, though they admire the picturesque, admire it but in its proper place, and though a pretty error looks well in their garden, it is most improper in their dwelling. Propriety before all things, cried the sage; it is the scandal, not the fact, that is to be avoided, said his humble imitator. It matters little what this marble slab may cover, so that the four walls supporting it are firm.

But the historian may gather facts here. What are these tombs which seem as if, long neglected, they had lately been repaired? They are the memorial of those unhappy feuds which once existed among our peace-loving celestials; these tombs were built in the early days of our rising colony, when yet too few to quarrel, they had but one temple, one last resting-place; these record how, as their numbers increased, the haughty carpenters, failing to subdue their wealthier and more numerous competitors, determined that they would no longer submit to the strap leather of the sons of Crispin, and founding for themselves another cemetery, found themselves entirely excluded from their old one. Oh steady carpenters, what fasts were then your lot, unless indeed armed with the shadows of those wives you bore with when living, you seized forcibly the offerings intended for your oppressors. What fearful annoyance at the least you must have felt at the untidiness in which your dear posterity perforce left your dwellings. What a joyous day it must have been for you, when the head shoe-maker and the head carpenter became bound together by the marriage of their children, and the merging into one of their beforetime rival

hogslard manufactories! But would that the peace had been concluded sooner, for the carpenters, attached to their new quarters, send you no new companions to tell you what is stirring up above. Poor shades! even in your good fortune, you are to be pitied.

Not far from this are the piggeries and manufactories, which have proved the bond of union between the two contending parties here. In the spring you meet droves of porkers which, if they stand the critical examination of their biped cousins, are transferred to the numerous pigsties which surround you; the only duty that is required of them being to get fat. And it must be allowed that they do so, though their Chinese owner, unable to get over the suspicion that you might be inclined to set up in the trade yourself, obstinately refuses to communicate the secret of their treatment to you; but scarcely leaving you time to observe that they are all well lodged and very dirty, takes you into a cool stone-paved gallery, where you see a long line of tubs full of the spoils of the victims whom a minute before you almost envied.

But you vainly try to gain an entrance into the room where these tin boxes, each holding half a maund, are filled, and are obliged to be satisfied with the excuse that it is number one and dirty, for when you hear your conductor's indignant denial, how can you believe the insinuation, that the centre of each of these boxes holds a ball of opium. The most suspicious doubter must have been satisfied when he heard that Confucius declared that to make "pidgeon" was not altogether proper, that to do wrong was not altogether right. So apologising by the declaration that what is is, at least men say so, you descend with your mollified entertainer, who proposes that you should stop to breakfast, which, he tells you, will be ready in a moment.

Declining to join him on the plea of an engagement, you yet accompany him into the pleasant little bungalow, in the middle of which you find a long table, gaily covered with a scarlet cloth, and set off by a brilliant nosegay, down the sides of which are ranged plates, knives, and forks, and horror!—chopsticks, but your host quickly informs you that the former are only, "making look see," while the latter are for use, and proving that at Rome you must do as Rome does, and that consequently he had knives and forks. He tells you that as he found he was always touching his mouth and cutting his fingers when he tried to use them, he has retained his native useful chopsticks.

No one but a Chinaman would have his country villa close to a lard manufactory, as these colonists do at Chingree-tollah, but being, as a great mandarin once said when asked

why he did not attempt municipal reform, being accustomed to ill smells from their infancy, they rather like them; and besides it was the custom of their forefathers to think such little matters quite unworthy of consideration. So our rich shoe-makers and carpenters retire hither to be lulled to sleep by the sweet murmurs of their porkers, and awakened by the balmy breezes which proceed from their factory chimneys, quite regardless of the want of harmony between their pretty bungalows and the surrounding pigsties. There are no records when they first established these manufactories, but it must have been many years ago, and the profit they make out of them is so great that it is probable they will be continued many years longer, carpenters and shoe-makers alike all looking anxiously forward to the day, when they shall have saved enough money to permit of their embarking in this seducing, congenial, and profitable trade.

The only other business to any extent undertaken by the shoe-makers is that of the preparation and sale of opium and *charas*, which they probably have taken to as lucrative, and reminding them of home. All about Durrumtollah and the little lanes leading out of Cossitollah, you see little black boards informing the public that they are licensed to retail opium, *ganja*, and such like articles, and if you have sufficient resolution to put up with a little nasal inconvenience, you will do well to enter, and remain a while there, till you get accustomed to the scene around you. First then, passing the little counter where the master is weighing out leaves of a bready substance which he will tell you is opium, you enter a long room scarcely light enough to enable you to distinguish what is going on. On two wooden platforms raised on each side you see stretched two rows of dusky creatures, some smoking, some preparing the opium for their pipe by drying it on a long needle over the little lamp which flickers beside them, here one snoring heavily, there one sitting, staring at you with bright blood-shot eyes. Let us interrogate them.

"Why do you smoke, old woman, is it not a very bad habit?" "I am sick, take it to cure me." "Why do you not go to a doctor?" "Alas, I have got no money" "But opium-smoking is expensive?" "No, not very." "Why are you not smoking, oh man of the blood-shot eyes. Why do you look at us so fiercely?" Stop, do not speak to him, he has been eating *ganja*, and the poor victim now commencing to feel the violent effects of the maddening drug he has been taking, how he twists his arms! Is that the extreme of joy or the excess of pain? But he is becoming composed, he smiles, he sleeps, and that other is, like him, under its effects. Let us see if we can

wake him: he grunts success, he opens his eyes, and looks crossly at us. "What have you been doing?" "Drinking in the Loll Bazaar," and so we leave him, attracted by the strains of music issuing from the adjoining room, where we soon find ourselves.

This differs little from the other, save that it is lighter and cleaner, and that here you have three musicians to soothe the smokers over their pipes, but save the master no one is visible. You do not think the sons of Han would herd with natives, that the golden colored natives of the celestial empire would mix with the Hindoos, who, their geographies say, live in a cloudless country beyond the sea, where it is so hot that they all have black faces. Know that a native always says, saheb, to a Chinaman, and follow us across the yard into the chamber where their heads, resting on variegated pillows, be conversing and smoking. The young prodigals of China! Here you will learn that though indeed un-Confucian, opium-smoking is not such a bad thing after all, and that it is *bhang* not opium, which should be covered with merited opprobrium; and that so long as John Chinaman keeps to his pipe, he may thrive and prosper; it is when, corrupted by bad example, he takes to eating the drug, that he rushes to his ruin. Let those who think opium an equal, if not a far greater ill than gin, go hither and return repenting of their injustice.

These opium shops are very numerous, and pay well, no credit being ever given even to the longest habitué, for though by doing so they might retain the smoker for a longer time, the probability is that they would not gain much, and that they would have all the trouble of ruining their customer without gaining. Believe it, says the Master, that mutual confidence and ready money are the only true principles of business.

So much for the shoe-makers; now for the jolly carpenters, for less numerous, these energetic Cantonese embrace all the extraneous trades of the sons of Crispin, and add to them that of keeping lodging-houses. If some morning wandering in Durumtollah, you see a stout coolie carrying an enormous basket filled with vegetables, while by a string he carries in his hands several tens of pounds of pork, follow him. He will lead you surely to the houses where his master's lodgers ponder anxiously in their many beds when breakfast will be ready. Suddenly you see some pieces of red paper with black characters upon them, and the coolie disappearing through the door-way. You follow and find yourself in a little courtyard. Quick the Chinese cook seizes the basket, the pork is chopped into convenient mouthfuls in a moment, the same with the yams and cabbages. The odoriferous onions alone detaining the

active artists for a moment, they are stewed, and all is steaming in the iron pan which he so carefully covers with a wooden lid; he leaves them to steam awhile, and asks you what's your 'pidgeon.' You asking for the master, he informs you that he is out, but that he is the master's son, and takes you upstairs. Here are rows of Chinamen under their blue curtains, rolled up in their China blanket, and looking as comfortable on the boards, which constitute their mattress, as only Chinamen can be. But your guide looks grave, some one is smoking opium, it will spoil their appetite for breakfast. He remarks, were you a little cleaner one would embrace you.

Here was the son of a father owning his cooking the breakfast of his father's lodgers, and regretting that they were injuring their appetites. Rare virtue! But the youth could read Confucius, he knew that in the service of your father, you should scorn nothing, and as his father afterwards told us he was thrashed when lazy. Prompt and ready to put their hands to any thing, more talented than their cousins, they do not enjoy such good characters, and belong to the dreaded Triad Society. It is even rumoured that they sometimes use the little knives they carry, but this need cause us no trouble, for if they do it is only upon those with whom they disagree, and so it is, as they say, no business of ours.

Far more exclusive than the shoe-makers, they rarely trouble even the Small Cause Court; although they concur with them in their admiration of it; but less fortunate, they have more frequently appeared before the police, whether because they deserved it, or because, as they say, persecuted by them. Great seems to have been the feud between them and the chowkeydars, originating, it is said, in an excusable desire on their part to evade the unreasonable laws of the barbarians. They went on increasing to such a pitch that a few years back we find ten or a dozen of them were brought up for amusing themselves by gambling, no doubt an improper but scarcely an illegal recreation. Lately it has lulled, whether because, as is vaguely whispered, a chowkeydar was sacrificed to their vengeance, or whether they thought that such would be the end of it; but both sides now let each other alone, and peace is the consequence.

So in their little temple they decide quietly and calmly, whether it is advisable to dethrone the emperor just yet, or whether it would not be better to raise their charges and wait a little longer. Here they settle, like the shoe-makers, their disputes by dint of talking, and warn or correct offenders, bamboooing the disobedient son, and notching the ears of gay young men for, it may be, innocent flirtations. What their

exact principles may be, the uninitiated cannot tell, but they avow that the leading one is to help each other in all cases, and while respecting each other's property and families, to assist each other to violate those of all outsiders. Their temple is not nearly so grand as that of the shoemakers, the substitution of the god of carpenters for that of wealth having been apparently unlucky; but if their private temple is less rich than that of the other class, they are almost compensated for it by having nearly the entire charge of the common one to the queen of heaven, the goddess of wayfarers, whose well-kept temple in the Bow-bazar is visited once a year by both classes in grand procession.

On this fortunate occasion dressed in the silken robes, and donning caps, to wear which would get them the bastinadoe in their native country, they carry pigs roasted whole; ducks baked in their feathers; fowls dressed like camels with an abundance of onions—the chosen vegetable of the shades. Carrying these in grand procession, they march to the temple with flags flying and gongs beating, till their own ears nearly crack. There amid the shrieking melody of bagpipes they go through the *potow* to her holiness, and then, wretched mortals! return to enjoy roast pig and such like luxuries.

Like the shoe-makers they deal in opium, and smoke it themselves to a far greater extent, for taking much more exercise they require a larger quantity to affect them; and this same craving for excitement, it is said, leads them into converting one of the rooms of their temple into a gambling house so cunningly contrived, that when the police have broken their shins and lost their patience in getting in, they find nothing to reward them. Gambling they and all acknowledge to be wrong, but then it was the custom of their ancestors to gamble, and as for giving it up because people unacquainted with Confucius, creatures utterly destitute of moral virtue, wish it, it is not for an instant to be thought of; so they gamble and are happy.

An exciting life is that of the carpenters, and their manners have been affected by it. They walk sturdily, their little straw hat is cocked jauntily, and their brawny arms look as if they could knock a man down on occasion, but still their early education has its influence on them; they are calm even in their contentions. It is recorded that one day, one of the brotherhood travelling by rail was refused entrance into a carriage by some Brahmins. Time was pressing, yet our friend proceeded quietly, rightly thinking himself far superior to any Brahmin. Suddenly he lugged him out, quietly he boxed his ears, and seating himself in the Brahmin's seat, calmly he looked round. Furious

was the disciple of Brahma, bitter were his curses; but the train went on, and the disciple of Confucius was serenely happy; his peaceful countenance communicating sudden calmness to the noisy friends of the uproarious unseated. But it must be confessed they do not always take an insult so quietly; witness their conduct when one of their fraternity lost his tail by a boyish freak; witness their siege of the school, those horrid shouts, those hideous faces, and oh those wretched swine. They were kept out, and calm reflection told them on the morrow, that in seeking revenge they were losing time and neglecting their business.

But we are quite forgetting thee, queen of heaven, poor old lady, obliged to listen to the senile twaddle of the superannuated old men who, fit for nothing else, frequent your temple. How you are to be pitied, how fearful it is even to look at them. A framework of bones covered with some dried up muscles and clothed in a shrivelled skin! An old Chinaman is an awful sight, and yet they are reverenced, almost worshipped. Let no one who has not strong nerves enter this temple, do not attempt however strong-minded you are to speak to that old man who, men say, is ninety-eight. Your endurance will be put to strong enough tests without that. Go rather into the opium-making priest's room and chat with him, and that jolly old man of sixty; they are both reprobates, but they are intelligent; and if you do not mind listening to untruths without number, you may spend a pleasant half hour. Why, you ask, do not the heirs poison those awful old men. "Oh, it would be too muchy 'spence makey bury," the funeral would cost too much, and such a paltry consideration stands in your way; rightly did the sage say, "I have not seen a man of enlarged mind." But as you cannot persuade the old men that it would be best to ship them off to China or anywhere, at any rate, get rid of them, you had better leave, for they will be dropping in quietly in a moment and joining in conversation. Fearful old men, may you be reverenced all your lives, but be it far away!

These old men are most Chinesy. Everywhere in the flowery land, you find them in these josshouses where they talk away the cheerless remnant of their lives, urged on, when necessary, by some energetic member of the community governing or supposed to govern it, and perhaps acting as cold water, tempering the fiery spirit of their juniors; but they are not a pleasant sight, and every spectator must wish that they might be dispensed with. The visitor will be disappointed if he thinks to cull curious legends from them; their brains seem shrunk like their bodies, and a few Confucian sentences alone

seem left there, and he will find it quite impossible to gain any information from them on things past, present, or to come. Unlike Confucius, who at ten knew all things, they at sixty-five know nothing. They may perhaps be able, after mature consideration, to tell you their honorable longevity, but beyond that it is useless to ask; they are ignorant even of the names of those who support them. Not that this josshouse is an alms-house, but the carpenters, always on the move, landing here to-day, going on a voyage to-morrow, and unlike the shoe-makers, being for the most part a wild improvident set, find themselves suddenly useless, penniless, old men. Then some younger brother pitying the sorrows of the poor old man, or perhaps wishing to get a little credit, takes him to his house, and giving him his rice regularly, sends him during business hours to the temple to amuse himself and be out of the way.

The shoe-makers have few old men, and those few are well to do; for with rare exceptions, very thrifty, they soon contrive to scrape up a little money, and get into the hogslard manufacture. Some few to go back to China, but others will be deterred in future by the example of a late unfortunate, who having by his diligence and prudence amassed his dollars, was on his arrival in his dear father-land, thrown into prison, and squeezed of them all for his traitorous dealings with the outside barbarians. It must have been a bitter lesson to him; why was he not, like Confucius, content? But one cannot regret it, for the man, perverse beyond measure, was not satisfied, but returned hither giving up his country, at least so long as the mandarins are in power, just to become rich again.

How dear is one's country. How much dearer are rupees for a crust of bread at home. We say we would give up all our luxury out here, could not we get that crust of bread in the workhouse. The Chinaman is the more honest, he says he likes his own country better, far better than any other; but he wants to make rupees, and here he makes them quicker. There is a blunt sort of honesty about everything the Chinese do, and when they forget themselves, what they say, which makes you admire them, is what you would call impertinence in a native, in them simple independence.

How coolly they treat their customers, as if it was a matter of perfect indifference to them whether you bought their shoes or not; how indignant they become if you declare the shoe does not fit: it may be true, it is only the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches, but who but the maker can tell if it is small enough. Did he not measure your foot? how dreadfully unreasonable you are; but at any rate it is best to take the shoes, for

he may get seriously offended, and then his honor which he has been so assiduously fanning all the time he has been with you, bursting out into a flame, he will leave you shoeless and despairing, for, unless a dragoness* you will know that it is no use going to another shop, that Achin will not sell to Ahip's customers, and that unless you bring yourself to submit with as good grace as may be, you have no more chance of getting those pretty little coverings, in which you enclose your prettier little feet and which the Chinese make so well.

But they are not without their good points. Rationally considering their national custom of haggling waste of time, and their monopoly permitting them to do so, they charge the price which in time they would have abated to the mutual satisfaction of themselves and their customers. Again, they rarely press you for payment of their bills, and an "Oh, never mind" meets your offer to do so, and if when it does come in, it is rather a long one, why it has been running on a long time, and it is not as if it was a native, so you pay it, knowing Mr. S. has no time to growl over bills like those wretched husbands in England, and besides, if you did not pay, you would have to go to a native for your next supply.

They are not however, it must be allowed, without their faults. They are not punctual, and their shoes are not lasting, but this is not their fault, being rather that of the ladies of Calcutta who, giving them so much more work than they can possibly get through, prevent their being the former, and by, in the same way, forcing them to employ native workmen and devote themselves to the simple superintendence, prevent their doing the latter. But with all their faults they are good citizens. Utterly as they are dependent on foreigners for their living, hating the natives in all the intensity of Chinese hatred; their only security is the maintenance of British power, and although they would not, unless paid for it, willingly shed their blood even for their native country, they would rather pay many dollars than that we should be driven hence. "The English Government is a very good one, it lets us manage our own affairs and helps us if any one else tries to injure us, its policemen leave us alone, and its Small Cause Court has been established specially for our convenience."

This admiration of us is good, and if their imitation of Europeans was regulated by the same good taste that has influenced them in simply taking the convenient shoes and comfortable straw hat, one might hope much from them, but they

* A more appropriate word than 'griffin.'

are getting fast, and young China dashes along in his buggy, and discarding mild opium, quaffs brandy pawnee to an extent that makes you fear he will some day cut off his tail and let his hair grow a fearful sight for several generations, or perhaps worse, take to washing, like the dirty Hindoos, instead of polishing his brown smiling physiognomy, and then till by repeated efforts he has got off all the layers, how fearfully dirty he will look!

But there are hopes yet. They still read Confucius, do not rashly alter, and besides it keeps them so warm and comfortable in the cold weather, and pigs and Chinamen like to be comfortable. The wise man's mind is easy when he is entirely comfortable, said the sage, "being happy, why should you repine." So long as they gain nothing, not even respectability, by giving way to ridiculous and troublesome conventionalisms, why should they; and as for the tail it is so convenient; do you want to ropesend one of your workmen, what so handy; or to dust the table, or to clean your boots, or hang yourself, what so convenient. It will take much convulsion, much brandy pawnee, to make them sacrifice their tails.

In the meantime they prosper; their physical energy and their mental capacity fit them for superintendence, and as foremen they are always in demand. A Chinese carpenter works as neatly as, and far more cheaply than, an Englishman, and calculating that he gets only the same amount, if he is two or twenty days, works quickly to finish his job. Regular Yankees, the land of dollars is their only country, except indeed in paper, and they as willingly work for the tea-growers in the Himalayas as our cousins do for Russia. Peace to them both, why shouldn't they, are we not all brothers? Did not Confucius say, all within the four seas are the sons of the emperor? Are we not all crying out for an universal language and a general fusion, and persons of the same color to be allowed to marry, and an immediate abrogation of all the rules of that old conventionalism? Nature lets every one shave his head and shiver.

The wise man, when unable to say more, is silent. The lamp, burnt down, goes out. Unable to write more, the flowery scholar lays down his pencil.

ART. V.—1. *Statistical and Geographical Report on the 24-Pergunnahs Districts.* BY MAJOR RALPH SMYTH. Calcutta. 1857.

2. *Report on the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway from Calcutta to the River Mutlah.* BY JAMES A. LONGRIDGE. London. 1857.

3. *The Mutlah as an Auxiliary Port to Calcutta, its Progress and Prospects.* Calcutta. 1858.

PUBLIC attention has been recently turned to the Soonderbuns—those vast tracts of forest land, to their numberless rivers, and to their rich and varied soil. Since Calcutta has been the metropolis of India, the inland trade of the country, for several months in the year, has found its way to Calcutta through the intricate passages of the Soonderbuns. Its tidal rivers and creeks are alike known to the boatmen of the clinker-built crafts of Behar and the far North-west, and the *mangees* of Dacca, Sylhet, and Chittagong. Cultivation too has of late made rapid strides into the hitherto dense forest, now being reclaimed from the tiger and rhinoceros, which have held undisputed possession of them for centuries. The purchase of land on the Mutlah by the Government, for the foundation of a new city, which we observe has already been named in two maps as "Canning Town," the disposal by Government officers of building sites; the appointment of a "superintendent of the port and town of Mutlah;" the deputation of custom house officers and of pilots to that river; the certainty that parts of the Soonderbuns will be cotton-producing districts, and the high prices which allotments of land have recently realized at public sales, all serve to shew that a short account of the Soonderbuns will not be uninteresting.

Every map of India, published since Major Rennell compiled his atlas, shews the Soonderbuns most conspicuously. We are all familiar with that patch of green at the "mouths of the Ganges," intersected by numberless rivers; and we have all wondered how such dense forests have stood on the sea-coast of a country, correctly reckoned to be the most populous in the world; and how it comes to pass, that the teeming millions of Bengal have not long ago converted its jungle wastes into productive rice fields.

We believe it is generally allowed, that the flat plains of Bengal are alluvial formations;—that the sea once washed the hills of Singbhoom, Burrahbhoom, Beerbhoom, Rajmahal, the Garrows, Cherrah and Jyntea, and that the land has gradually

gained on the sea. Excavations and borings have established the fact, that at the depth of twenty or thirty feet below the present surface, the debris of ancient forests are found embedded in the earth, with shells similar to those now found on the shores of the bay. What we see at present going on in the Soonderbuns and on the sea margin, has been going on for ages. Those extensive sands or shoals are gradually covered with mould; the silt washed down in the rivers gradually raises their levels; shrubs and trees take root and flourish; generations of these decay, until their level is sufficiently raised, and in course of time, a dark forest stands in the place once covered by the sea; lastly man comes in, cuts down the forest, and by means of embankments and damming up water-courses, renders the soil habitable, and permanently occupies the land gained from the waters.

It is a subject of wonder to many, that traces of habitation are to be found in the midst of the forest, and several unsuccessful attempts have been made to account for the mystery. We believe it is easily explained. We would draw attention to the changes which have taken place in the country between the Hoogly river and the mouths of the Ganges and Megnah. Careful observation will shew, that several large branches of the Ganges have dried up. As observed by Lyell in his account of the Delta of the Ganges, "on the sea-coast, there are *eight* openings, each of which has 'evidently at some ancient period served in its turn as the 'principal channel of discharge." These eight openings commence east of the Hoogly river, and are to be traced in succession to the present mouth of the Ganges and Megna. It is evident, the "principal channel of discharge" has gradually moved eastward. This observation is borne out by the appearance of the country in the districts of Kishnagur, Jessore, and some parts of Backergunge. We find several insulated lakes which the natives call *jheels*, and which have no apparent connection with either the Ganges to the north, or the Bay of Bengal to the south. We also see a series of deep hollows, succeeding each other in a direction nearly parallel with the course of the Ganges. The tradition amongst the natives respecting these appearances is, that they once formed the beds of large rivers, through which the traffic of the country passed. These observations and traditions are supported by the appearance of the country during the rains. In this season of the year, these isolated hollows are connected, and the country is found to drain itself through them, and their communication with the Ganges, in some instances, is restored. It is evident then, that at some distant time, these

rivers were the channels through which the surplus waters of the Ganges were conveyed to the sea.

To judge of the effect which these great discharges of fresh water had on the western Soonderbuns, we have only to observe their present effect on the eastern Soonderbuns. There we find habitation and cultivation extend to the margin of the sea; man inhabits the country to the shores of the Bay of Bengal. The islands of Bara, and Chota Bass-deah, Dokin Shabazpore, Hattea, and Sundeep, are proofs sufficient of this observation. The volume of fresh water is so large, that the salt water is confined in those parts to the Bay itself. The rivers and creeks have *fresh* water at certain seasons of the year to the sea board. As remarked by Lyell, "in those rivers 'when periodically swollen by tropical rains, the velocity 'of the stream counteracts the tidal current, so that, except 'very near the sea, the ebb and flow become insensible. 'During the flood season therefore, the Ganges almost assumes 'the character of a river entering a lake or inland sea; the 'movements of the ocean being subordinate to the force of 'the river, or only slightly disturbing its operations; so great 'is the quantity of mud and sand poured by the Ganges into 'the gulf in the flood season, that the sea only recovers its 'transparency at the distance of sixty miles from the coast."

With the Bengallee, we find, cultivation follows the course of *fresh* water; so long as the water is "*meeta*" or sweet, the indolent native will squat on the banks, plant his fruit-trees, raise his *Bheeta* or homestead, and dig his tank. This is also borne out by the fact, that grantees in the eastern Soonderbuns find it easier to procure tenants to occupy clearings, than the grantees in the western parts. We believe therefore, that at the period when the *fresh* waters of the Ganges found their way into the Bay of Bengal, through the western Soonderbuns, cultivation extended to its shores; and as the heads of the rivers silted and became dry, and the flow and ebb of the sea, and consequently *salt* water, extended further north, the country subject to its influence became deserted and jungle sprang up, until it gradually assumed the character of the Soonderbuns. This appears to us a natural and simple solution of the mystery attached to the traces of habitation found in the midst of the jungles. This will be still more evident, when we consider the character of the Bengallee ryots, whose proverbial indolence unfits them for contending against any great difficulties. The presence of *salt* water in parts of the country where it was formerly unknown, interferes so completely with their habits, that in place of modifying their system of agriculture to the altered state of things, they

deserted their homesteads; and the dense forest we now see gradually sprang up on the very sites that had been the abodes of men.

Thus we find in Major Rennell's Atlas, published in 1781, a number of villages is shewn on the east bank of the Kaburtuk, and south of the Coirah rivers. The same villages are shewn in Morrison's map of 1811. We observe however, that when Mr. Dampier, Commissioner of the Soonderbuns, was deputed to mark off the forest boundary, he found that these villages were deserted; and in his proceedings dated the 3rd of February, 1829, he states "that some of 'the villages had been deserted twelve, ten, eight, and some 'so recently as three years; and in a journey of three hours 'along the river, he had seen but two hundred beegahs 'of land, under cultivation with ten or twelve houses." He ascertained from the neighbouring inhabitants, "*that the cause of this desertion was the salt water.*" The country now is perfect forest, and hardly distinguishable from the oldest Soonderbuns. The revenue survey last year found it impossible to penetrate the jungles to lay down the *old* forest boundary. In this tract of land amounting to about 8,400 acres, we find fruit trees, tanks, and other signs of habitation. We learn from the tradition of the natives, that the Kaburtuk river ceased to be a sweet water river, within the last thirty or forty years. The two branches of the river shewn in Rennell's map, the one joining the Jelinghee, and the other the Ganges near Commercolly, are now dry; and the waters which used to flow through them have found an outlet through the Goraie river into the Bulissur. Thus we find that the silting of the head of the river was followed by the desertion of the country. As the influence of the tides prevailed, the *salt* water found its way further *north;* and we find it is only as far as the influence of salt water is felt, that the country has become a desert, and trees peculiar to the Soonderbuns forest have sprung up. Further south, we observe the same changes to have taken place, only at an anterior period, and there the traces of habitation are neither so recent nor so numerous. In most places, there is an absence of fruit trees, but the more permanent marks of habitation are still to be found. In lot No. 211 of Hodges' map, we find the ruins of a palace and a fort, and the evident traces of a large and populous town. In lot No. 165, Major Smyth has already described the remains of the old city of Goomghur, and ancient Jessore. The tradition respecting Rajah Pertab Auditia, in connection with the city, is now a matter of Indian history.

These facts sufficiently illustrate our theory. A glance at

the map of the Soonderbuns shews tha
forest is not an even line. The cultivati
south on the banks of the Hoogly to
of the Bay of Bengal. Further eas
the Jaboonah and Kaburtuk rivers,
Soonderbun forest is upwards of forty mi
water river is the Bulissur, and the same f
the banks of the Hoogly; cultivation
nearer approach to the Bay. From this po
bend to the north, where the jungle adva
to the influence of salt water. We again
water river (the Rabnabad), and rice fields
men extend to the coast. This establishe
the *fact*, that there is the same proportion in
between the salt-water and forest, as there
water and cultivation.

This natural history of the changes that
fully accounts for the mystery, in the solution
recent writers have drawn so largely on thei
We are told of "sudden upheavals and sinkings
tent of the earth's surface;" and it has been
that the Soonderbuns have either suddenly or gr
and become inundated. We are told of an imm
wave, caused by the influence of typhoons and cyph
suddenly raised the waters of the sea, and dashed
a fourth of the province of Bengal, sweeping away i
all traces of habitation, and thus accounting for the
the forest, which however there is ample eviden
was of *gradual* growth and extension. This conje
partial deluge is unsupported by tradition, and is, w
mainly built on the discovery of a ship's mast in the
the jungles at Saugur island, and on the solitary instan
skeleton of a potter, with his wheel and pottery about hi
out while excavating a tank in the Soonderbuns. The
most likely floated up a *khal* or creek during a high inundat
and the single instance of the potter's skeleton certainly is
proof of so fanciful an explanation, having reference to su
sudden and gigantic causes, to account for appearances whi
we have shewn, are the result of the imperceptible but eve
changes of nature. This unfortunate potter, the innocent
cause of such direful ravages of the ocean in some prolific
brain, was most likely the victim of the ordinary accidents of
life. He may have been drowned with his goods and chattels
about him, while changing his dwelling, and by the gradual
filling up of the channel was found embedded in the earth;

ccount for his solitary appearance. If
ral a submersion of the country, surely
se of time there would be no want of
it. This fanciful chimera is entirely
and is evidently as untenable "as the
sion." It will, we trust, be no longer
igbear, invented by some eccentric and
frighten the quiet cultivators of land from
ors in these forests. It is opposed to the
the alluvial formation of the Soonderbuns,
ally gaining on the sea. We are the more
this mischievous impression, because we are
ndividuals, who have been led to credit this
t every change of the moon, at certain seasons
n southerly winds prevail, look with anxious
vast tidal wave," which is again to sweep
e fruits of industry and labor into the re-
In fact, so late as 1853, when the Multah
st proposed, we recollect a pamphlet was pub-
the recurrence of this same "terrific mass
rolling in and rising up" at the head of the
d in a few minutes inundating the whole intend-
t," and warning the Government and the mer-
e on their guard, as nothing less than a twenty
kment could save them !

nt of the Soonderbuns from west to east is 150
ts breadth from north to south is about fifty-eight
is bounded on the north by the zemindaree lands
ricts of 24-Pergunnahs, Kishnagur, Jessore and
nge; to the south is the Bay of Bengal; east, the
of the Ganges and Megnah; and west, the Hoogly
The laying down of the north boundary has caused
le expense to Government, and has been the source of
litigation between the zemindars and the grantees.

he most ancient relics discovered in the Soonderbuns,
ting to the grant of land, are two copper-plates, found, one
the 24-Pergunnahs in lot No. 55 of Hodges' map about
enty years ago; and the other in the Backergunge district
n 1838. They both bear Sanskrit inscriptions, and bestow
title to land. The one found in the 24-Pergunnahs evidently
refers to land on the Mutlah river, and is supposed to have been
granted about the eighth century of the Christian era. The
Backergunge plate is of more recent date; it is supposed
to have been granted about the eleventh century, and is
minutely described in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*,

No. 73, January, 1838. There is nothing in the inscriptions to shew that the grants were for forest land; on the contrary they evidently refer to inhabited places.

The first attempt on the part of the East India Company to cultivate the Soonderbuns was made in 1790-91, through a Mr. Tilman Henckell, who was appointed "Superintendent of the Soonderbuns" in 1783, and who held his court in the old Town of Moorley, near modern Jessore. His scheme was a most comprehensive one, and we cannot do better than allow him to speak for himself, by giving extracts from his letter on the Soonderbuns, addressed to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor General of India, dated the 21st December 1783.

"The following plan is humbly submitted to your consideration, and not intruded on you as the thoughts of a day, but founded on local knowledge, acquired during a three years' residence at Jessore; and from a firm conviction in my own breast of its practicableness, should it be sanctioned by your approbation.

"The first object that struck me on my arrival at Jessore, and taking charge of the appointment of magistrate, was the adopting measures for the future security of the province, and the peace of the inhabitants, in a country so infested with decoits. A plan has suggested itself to me, which I am confident, if adopted, would not only eradicate these nests, of marauders, but in the course of a few years bring a great addition of revenue to Government, I mean the peopling that large tract of waste land, called the Soonderbuns, appertaining to Jessore, situated between the Roymungul and Horinguttah rivers.

"That it is practicable to populate these wild and extensive forests, and not a mere speculative idea, we have only to recur to the times of the Mogul government, and we shall find, that prior to the invasion of the Mugs in the Bengal year 1128, these lands were in the finest state of cultivation, and the villages in general well populated. The number of mosques and other places of worship still remaining, fully demonstrate its former splendor and magnificence. Nature also has been particularly lavish and bountiful of her favors to this part of Bengal; the number of fine rivers with which it abounds, renders it so convenient for transportation of all kinds of merchandize, and its vicinity to Calcutta, the seat of Government, affords the merchant and manufacturer a sure prospect of receiving the reward of their labors by the speedy sale of their merchandize, the greatest encouragement to revenue. The quantity of wood and timber proper for constructing boats; the transportation of fire-wood to Cal-

'cutta; the furnishing of cattle of all kinds for the use of 'shipping; the quantity of wax that is everywhere found in 'the woods; and the preparation of shell-lime, will amply 'reward the ryot for the trouble and expense of clearing 'away the ground. All that he requires is an assurance of 'being protected by Government, in the quiet possession of the 'little spot that he has cleared away by the sweat of his brow.

"The Soonderbuns once cultivated, the decoits will find no 'place of safety to fly to, or elude the vigilance of the magis-'trate; imprint the minds of the ryots with a confidence in 'Government, and their attachment will be secured by the 'strongest tie of nature,—self-interest, and consequently in-'stead of affording protection to the decoits by sharing with 'them in the spoil, will cheerfully exert themselves in their 'apprehension, and in time oblige these disturbers of the 'public peace to become useful members of society. Another 'great advantage arising from the adoption of the plan is, 'the assistance it will afford to the salt-manufacturer.

"If Government entrust me with the management, and 'permit me to distribute the parcels of land in such propor-'tions as may appear eligible, the ryot to hold possession 'free of all revenue for the space of three years, and having 'the firmest reliance on my engagements with him, to pay 'revenue in the following three years in such proportion, as 'the value of the land, and the state of cultivation, may appear 'advisable, I am assured of the good and salutary effects that 'will ensue, and at the end of five years be attended with the 'most forcible advantage to the country, maintenance to the 'ryot, protection to the individual, a very considerable in-'crease of revenue to the Company and tend to the encourage-'ment and augmentation of the manufactures in general."

Such was the comprehensive proposal of a magistrate of the last century to the Honorable Warren Hastings. The experiment was sanctioned, and Tilman Henckell was directed to carry it into execution, and to consult on all points with what was then styled "The Committee of Revenue." It was proclaimed throughout the district of Jessore, that all applications for waste lands should be made to the superintendent of the Soonderbuns, and that he had full power to grant leases. He has left a register of 130 grants in different parts of Jessore and Backergunge, for the latter was formed into a distinct district only in 1817, by the separation of certain mehals and pergunnahs (*i. e.* portions) from Dacca and Jessore. The boundaries of Henckell's grants however cannot be depended upon; they were made on exparte representations, without measurement or local enquiry, and most of them were included subsequently within the limits of states permanently

settled. But still the old gentleman was right in the main; the decoits have disappeared from the Soonderbuns, and if he had not turned the attention of Government to those extensive forests, the decoitee commissioners would not have found it so easy to track them there. The manufacture of salt did prosper for a great number of years with great advantage to the salt revenue, and the trade of the country has greatly benefited even by the partial clearance of the jungles. But his proposal of three years' rent-free period has been extended to twenty years; and his five years' progressive rent to forty years!

Mr. Henckell described the Soonderbuns as having been "in the finest state of cultivation at the time of the Mogul Government," and ascribed its desertion to the ravages of the Mugs; but this is only true of the portion* shewn as "depopulated by Mugs," in Rennell's map of the Soonderbuns to the east of the Beeskhallee river in the eastern Soonderbuns; it is not true of any other part of the Soonderbuns. The fact that the Soonderbuns were inhabited, is stated in the "*Asia* of De Barros," who describes it as a populated country in the commencement of the sixteenth century (1510 to 1520) or nearly 350 years ago. He mentions the names of several towns and villages, particularly one which he calls Satigam on the east mouth of the Ganges, and Chatigam on the west. The latter evidently is meant for Chittagong; but Satigam which he describes as the place where "our countrymen carry on their barterings and trade," cannot be identified. It is conjectured that it was situated north of the present town of Hoogly, and the route between the two places he describes as being in "south-easterly direction" through the very heart of the Soonderbuns. We allude to this description of the great Portuguese writer, to shew that his allusion to the passage between the two places, supports our statement regarding the changes in the rivers.

In 1816, the Government appointed a special officer to attend to the Soonderbuns, and Regulation IX. of that year directs the appointment of an officer under the appellation of "Commissioner in the Soonderbuns" from the 1st of May 1816, subject to the control and superintendence of the Board of Revenue. We give in a note † the names of officers who have held

* Mr. Tilman Henckell's report refers only to the eastern Soonderbuns.

†1816 ..... Mr. D. Scott.
1817 ..... „ A. T. Lind.
1820 ..... „ R. Hunter.
1821 ..... „ L. Mills.
1822 ..... „ D. Dale.
1823 ..... „ R. D. Mangles.
1825 ..... „ J. Lewis.
1827 ..... Mr. W. Dampier.
1835 ..... „ C. Grant.
1836 ..... „ M. Gilmore.
1837 ..... „ G. T. Shakespear.
1839 ..... „ F. B. Kemp.
1841 ..... „ M. A. Shawe.
1842 ..... Baboo Omakanth Sein.

this appointment. The most distinguished among them are Messrs. W. Dampier and R. D. Mangles, the one ruling the Board of Revenue, and the other, until lately, the East India Directors. In 1842, it was considered advisable from political considerations, to appoint a native as the first uncovenanted officer in the Revenue Department, and Baboo Omakanth Sein was selected. In 1842, Mr. J. Harvey, Revenue Commissioner of the Nuddeah division, recommended the appointment to be abolished, as unnecessary; and the Government acceded to his recommendation, and in the years 1843 and 1844, there was no Commissioner of the Soonderbuns. In 1845 it was found necessary to restore the office, the absurdity of the idea, that a distinct officer should be necessary for the management of a tract of country, while in jungle, and his services should be unnecessary just as it was being cultivated and inhabited, was at last apparent; and Mr. Davidson who had succeeded Mr. Harvey, an intelligent and liberal-minded man, had the satisfaction of restoring Baboo Omakanth Sein to the appointment, in spite of petty jealousies; the Baboo's appointment to a Commissionership, hitherto held by a covenanted civilian being regarded as an encroachment on class privileges. Mr. Davidson, in a masterly report on this subject, compared the result of the two years' administration of the Baboo, with that of the junior covenanted officers who had preceded him; and quietly remarked, "it will scarcely be expected, that I should anxiously desire the re-employment of a covenanted commissioner, whilst the services of so qualified an uncovenanted deputy collector are available; nor can I recommend he should be made subordinate to a young officer, who in all probability knows as much of settlement-making as the deputy does of Hebrew."

We have already remarked, that the definition of the north boundary of the Soonderbuns has been a source of great expense to the Government. In 1822, Captain Thomas Prinsep was deputed to demarcate and survey the boundary of the Soonderbuns with the district of the Twenty-four pergunnahs. He accordingly surveyed the boundary from the Hoogly river at Belpookoreah to the Bedeadhurree river; and subsequently on the petition of certain zemindars, the boundary between the Bedeadhurree and Paranpore, also dividing the Soonderbuns to the west of the Kaburtuk river, into allotments, and numbering them. In 1811 and 1812, Lieut. Morrison had surveyed portions of the Soonderbuns adjoining the Jessore district, and after much labor and exposure divided that portion into allotments. This officer and his brother fell a sacrifice to their zeal, having lost their lives in the Soonderbuns.

In 1829 Lieut. Hodges demarcated and surveyed the forest boundary as it existed at that time under the orders of Mr. W. Dampier, who was appointed specially to this duty, and who laid down the boundary from Paranpore to the island of Rungaballee on the mouths of the Ganges and Megnah. Captain Prinsep's boundary, as it is called, has been re-surveyed, and is shewn in Major Smyth's map of the 24-Pergunnahs, published in 1852; and Captain Gastrell is now engaged in defining the boundary of Capt. Hodges, in the revenue survey in progress, in the districts of Jessore and Backergunge. In 1831 Capt. Hodges published a map of the Soonderbuns, compiled from Major Rennell's, Captains Prinsep's and Morrison's, and his own surveys, and also shewing the different routes through the Soonderbuns. This map, a most valuable document, is now out of print, only a few copies are to be found in the public offices, and in the hands of the older grantees. A new map compiled from recent surveys is much needed.

On comparing Major Rennell's map of the Soonderbuns, published in 1781 A. D., with Lieut. Hodges' map published in 1831, it will be evident that the forest boundary extended further north in 1781. The space between the two lines shews the encroachments of the adjoining landholders on the forest; these encroachments being subsequent to the perpetual settlement were not assessed at that period. The lands were surreptitiously brought into cultivation by neighbouring landholders, and as soon as discovered, they are assessed, after investigation under the provisions of Reg. II. of 1819, and Reg. III. of 1828. In the 24-pergunnahs the encroachments have been assessed and incorporated in the estates of the usurping landholders, and are known as "*potheet abadee*" or recent cultivations. We would direct attention to the jungles near Calcutta south-east of the salt water lakes, known as the Tardah jungles. This jungle is shewn in Major Rennell's map as forming a part of the Soonderbun forest, and Major Smyth in his report alludes to it, and states "that it comprises about eighteen square miles, and 'that private enterprise would soon redeem these lands from 'the state in which they have been lying perhaps for centu-'ries." The canals from Calcutta to the eastern districts run through this jungle tract; and there is no doubt, it is the chief cause of the unhealthiness of the suburbs of Calcutta, and of the great mortality amongst the native boatmen who visit this port, yet it has always appeared to us a mystery why the jungle is permitted to stand within sight of the city. We learn that the landholders of Pergunnah Calcutta claim it as included in the permanent settlement of that Pergunnah, if so,

Major Rennell's map and Major Smyth's statement must both be false. It is clear, Lord Dalhousie, when writing his minute on the Soonderbuns, took it for granted that the Tardah jungles, formed a part of the Soonderbuns, and alludes to it as a nuisance almost within sight of the capital of the empire; and yet the landholders of Pergunnah Calcutta are permitted to claim a jungle of eighteen square miles as dense as any part of the Soonderbuns, and to perpetuate a nuisance felt by every merchant and boatman throughout Bengal and Behar! Allowing the statement of the landholders be true, it surely is the duty of the local Government to move the Legislature to have such a nuisance removed, by distributing the land to persons who will cultivate it within a reasonable period.

The conditions on which the Soonderbuns lands were to be leased, formed the subject of discussion between the Board of Revenue and the Government from 1816 to 1825. The terms fixed for the grant of these waste lands or lots by the orders of 1825 were; one-fourth of the grant to be held rent-free in perpetuity, the other three-fourths rent-free for seven years, and, after that, subject to a rent of two annas a beegah (3,025 square yards) for the eighth year; four annas the ninth year; six annas the tenth year; and eight annas the eleventh year, and in perpetuity.

No one would take grants on such terms, and the rules were accordingly modified in 1829 as follows. One-fourth of the grant rent-free in perpetuity; the other three-fourths rent-free for twenty years; and after that, subject to a rent of two annas a beegah of eighty cubits (1,600 square yards) for the twenty-first year; four annas a beegah for the twenty-second year; six annas a beegah for the twenty-third year; and eight annas a beegah for the twenty-fourth year, and in perpetuity. One-fourth of the grant to be brought into cultivation in five years, or the whole liable to resumption.

Twenty-three years after the passing of the rules of 1829, it was remarked by the Board of Revenue, that the scheme had proved a failure. The clearances were less than was anticipated; the rents derived were next to nothing, and applications for increased rent-free tenures had been numerous; also there had been repeated instances of grants resumed from failure to cultivate; and there was an evident disinclination to take up fresh grants. After an experiment of nearly thirty years, it was found that one-half only of the whole area of the Soonderbuns had been included in grants, though the rent-free period had been twenty years. Of the 173 grants that had been made, the rent-free period in sixty-eight had not expired. But of the remaining 105, only thirteen had been entirely, and

six partially assessed. The assessed area was found to be only 4·61 per cent. of the whole area of the Soonderbuns.

The failure was attributed partly to the great expense of clearing the lands, and protecting them from the influence of the salt tides; but chiefly to the fact that the rates of permanent assessment on the grants were higher than those prevailing in the neighbouring zemindaries, and that the abundance of waste land in every direction created a demand for labor greatly in excess of the supply. The high assessment forced on the grantee to demand higher rates from the cultivators. The cultivators consequently migrated, and the lands no sooner became liable to assessment than they lapsed into jungle.

Lord Dalhousie considered that the paramount object of Government in devising rules for the disposal of lands in the Soonderbuns should be to effect a clearance of that "pestilent 'jungle, in the shortest possible period, and to remove the 'stigma which most justly attaches to the existence of such a 'nuisance almost within sight of the capital of the empire. 'Lying between the Bay of Bengal," his Lordship remarked, "and the inhabited parts of the Delta, this dense forest with its 'accumulated and perpetually exhaling malaria, urged by the 'south-west monsoon, spread disease and death over the whole 'country; the tract swarms with tigers and other wild beasts 'whose ravages cause wide destruction of life and property; 'it affords convenient shelter for smugglers and river pirates, 'and it presents to the sea-ward a line of coast upon which 'those who are ship-wrecked, are sure, or nearly sure, of death 'by hunger, thirst, and exposure. To remove or abate this 'source of so much material suffering, and to afford employment 'for hundreds of thousands of cultivators is undoubtedly the first 'object of Government." "The improvement of the revenue," his Lordship further remarked, "is an object of secondary im-'portance, and not to be thought of in so far as it sensibly 'hinders the accomplishment of the former. Heretofore it has 'been thought that improvement of the revenue might keep 'pace with the clearance of the jungle, without materially im-'peding it; but this opinion is now proved to be fallacious. 'That increase of revenue will ultimately follow the clearance 'of the jungle is certain; but the mistake has been in looking 'for a return too soon. It seemed then to his Lordship that 'the principles upon which the Government had acted should 'be abandoned, and that such measures should be adopted as 'would tend in the first instance to the speedy clearance of the 'Soonderbuns, leaving the Government free to impose a mo-'derate assessment at some future time. Ninety-nine years 'was the period proposed by his Lordship after which the Go-

'vernment of the day should impose re-assessment on such 'moderate terms as may then seem proper."

Such were the liberal views worthy of a great statesman, with which the present rules for the grant of waste lands in the Soonderbuns were passed on the 24th of September, 1853. We proceed to give an abstract of the rules—

1st. All applications for grants to be ordinarily made to the Soonderbuns' Commissioner, and in his absence from Allipore, to the Revenue Commissioner of the Nuddeah Division, or the Board of Revenue.

2nd. In case there be more than one application for the same grant, it shall be put up to sale after advertisement in the Government *Gazette* for fifteen days, and the application of the highest bidder shall be submitted for the orders of the Board of Revenue.

3rd. When an application has received the sanction of the Board, a pottah or lease shall be granted after registry at the Board's office.

4th. The lease is granted to heirs, executors, and assigns, as well as to the grantee for a period of ninety-nine years, after which period occupation is not to be interfered with, on condition the occupier pays such moderate assessment as the Government of the day may demand. The boundaries are to be distinctly recorded in the lease. One-fourth of the entire grant is declared free of assessment for ever, in lieu of allowances for tanks, roads, embankments, dams, &c. The remaining three-fourths to be held rent-free for twenty years; and afterwards subject to pay, from the twenty-first to the thirtieth year, half an anna the beegah of sixteen hundred square yards.

From the thirty-first to the fortieth year, one anna the beegah.

From the forty-first to the fiftieth year, one anna and a half the beegah.

From the fifty-first to the ninety-ninth year, two annas the beegah.

One-eighth of the grant to be cleared in five years.

One-fourth to be cleared in ten years, one-half in twenty years, and three-fourths in thirty years. On failure of all or any of these four conditions, the grant shall be resumed, and the grantee shall forfeit all right and interest in the lands, both cleared and uncleared.

These terms are favorable in the extreme; applications for grants are numerous, and the allotments when sold realize high prices, when we consider that the purchaser only buys the right to cultivate. The sum already realized by these

sales amounts to more than a lac of rupees, and should be formed into a fund for the improvement of the Soonderbuns. No mere speculator can exist under the rules; the clearance of one-eighth and one-fourth of the lands within five and ten years is imperative, under penalty of resumption; and considering that the object of the state is to have the jungle cleared, the conditions cannot be regarded as hard to an honest grantee, who has the same object in view; but these penalties are seldom enforced, save in cases of gross neglect. There is much truth in the complaint, that it is difficult to procure ryots or tenants to occupy the cleared lands, and this is particularly the case in the Soonderbuns adjoining the district of Jessore; but at the same time we must remark, that though the Government rate is very low, and grantees can well afford to be liberal to their tenants, they are seldom so. Unfortunately grantees who are paying half an anna, or one anna the beegah to Government, insist on receiving ten and twelve, and in some grants so high as one rupee, and one rupee eight annas, the beegah. They make the same mistake the Government did under the old rules, they are looking for a return too soon, or rather for an extravagant return; a moderate return the ryot is always willing to give. A new class of grantees, however are entering into the speculation,—men who "by buying and selling," as Lord Ellenborough expresses himself, have amassed fortunes, but who do not possess an acre of land; men in fact with money but no lands. These men finding the cultivated tracts occupied by the landed aristocracy or the zemindars, and feeling their inferiority in society to them, naturally turn to the unoccupied land in the Soonderbuns. They are liberal in expending capital to improve their grants, and in securing a body of tenants to give them a status in society as landed proprietors; such, we think, will be fair in the rates they impose on their tenants. We fear it is only to natives we must look for a permanent occupation of the Soonderbuns; but the Europeans were the first to develope the resources of the Soonderbuns, and to shew the way in which they were to be developed. To them, the natives are indebted for the extensive system of embankments, the introduction of sluices, and the plan of drainage at present in use. The most flourishing grants belong to them, and we have not the least doubt, that the energy and enterprise of Europeans will yet introduce the cotton plant into the Soonderbuns. But we regret to find, there is hardly a grantee who attends personally to his grant, the majority trust to agents. These men, it is true, draw large sums of money, and make a great show; but at the end, the grantee finds no

real progress has been made, and is discouraged. The remedy is obvious; the grantees must not trust so entirely to agents, they must attend to their own estates, or leave the field open to others who will do so. In the cold season the Soonderbuns are not unhealthy; from November to June they are as healthy as any part of Bengal.

In the majority of instances there is a want of care in the selection of sites for villages, and in locating tenants. We generally find the lowest swamp is selected; sanitary purposes are not attended to; not even the most common precautions are taken against disease. The miserably housed tenant digs a hole within a few feet of the sleeping apartment of his family, which soon fills with stagnant water, and is the fruitful source of unhealthiness; he sleeps with his children on the damp bare earth. It is true these are the habits of Bengallees throughout the province, but surely a benevolent and wise grantee would instruct his tenants in such matters. It is easy to raise the *bheeta* or homestead with earth obtained from the bank of the nearest creek, to supply them with planks to sleep upon, or to raise a *machan* or platform for this purpose. We know a colony of Mugs in the Soonderbuns, who have lived in the midst of the jungles for three generations. The patriarchs, in fact, the Pilgrim fathers who left the shores of Burmah, and sought their present asylum from oppression and tyranny, are still living surrounded by their grand children, a numerous and flourishing colony. We attribute their health and longevity simply to their custom of living on *machans* raised eight and ten feet above the ground. Could not the grantees induce their tenants to do the same? The Bengallee ryot is an observing shrewd creature; we once asked some tenants in the Soonderbuns, why they built such miserable huts when a little labor would render them so much more comfortable. They told us, to look at the houses put up by the grantee, and remarked that if he did not consider it worth his while to erect more permanent structures, it was clear he had but a poor idea of the grant, and would soon dispose of it to another, who would not respect the engagements entered into by the present occupant, but would assess the clearances at full rates, and then they would be forced to decamp. At another well-known grant in the Backergunge district, where the grantees reside throughout the year, and have built a substantial pucka or brick house, the tenants are constructing comfortable habitations, and have evidently made up their minds to reside in them for good.

The clearance of the jungle has been steadily progressing since the passing of the new rules. Out of 178 grants

already made, thirty belong to Europeans, one to an Armenian, two to native Christians, thirty to Mohammedans, and one hundred and five to Hindoos. Out of the thirty belonging to Europeans, twelve have been cultivated; the Armenians has very nearly cultivated his; the two native Christians have been equally successful. Six out of the thirty belonging to Mohammedans are under cultivation, but then they were purchased, when cleared, from Europeans; out of the one hundred and five belonging to Hindoos, twenty-seven have been cleared. The amount of collections at present realized from the Soonderbuns is rupees three lacs and thirty-three thousand; and the ultimate collections on completion of the progressive rates of assessment will be six lacs and forty-four thousand. In a revenue point of view the Soonderbuns are profitable to the state, the cost of the present agency for the management, not exceeding nine per cent. of the collections.

The new rules do not protect the rights of under-tenants, nor provide for cases where a grantee encroaches on the lands of another. The judge of the 24-pergunnahs has endeavoured to remedy these defects in one or two decisions. He is of opinion "that the benefits conferred on the grantees 'by the rules must necessarily be extended to the tenants, or 'the object of Government will be entirely defeated. He argues that when the grantees told the Government that eight 'annas a beegah was ruinous to them, and on that assertion obtained an abatement of revenue equal to three-fourths; they 'are not in a position to say, that the payment of twelve annas a 'beegah is not oppressive to the tenant. If eight annas a beegah 'prevented the cultivation of the Soonderbuns by the grantees, 'the exaction of twelve annas rent will be equally prejudicial. 'When the grantees went up to Government on these terms, 'I do not go too far in saying that there was an implied contract on their part to extend the benefits to their tenants. 'It was to the prosperity of the sub-tenants, the Government 'had to look, for the creation of those rents, out of which 'they were to pay the Government revenue, and the tenant 'is the actual party who by his labor and industry brings the 'land into cultivation, he is the working bee, the grantees being in a sense the drones. A remission confined to the grantee only would advance in no sense whatever the objects of 'Government." The judge therefore is of opinion that "the case is one to be disposed of on principles of equity and good conscience," and he accordingly reduced the amount covenanted to be paid by the tenant, extending Lord Dalhousie's rules to him. We believe the judge has argued the case very ingeniously, and whatever we may say about the

legality of the decision, no one can question its benevolence. In the case of the Government, however, it voluntarily released the grantee from his covenant to pay the rate of eight annas a beegah; in the case before the judge, the grantee refuses to be equally liberal. Does it necessarily follow, because the Government was liberal, the grantee must be coerced to be liberal? The motives which actuated the Government are not equally potent to the grantee, so long as he acts up to his conditions, the grant is his property, and he is at liberty to do as he pleases with his own. It is the large profits left to the grantee, by the introduction of the new rules, that induce him to lay out capital in cultivation. If those profits be reduced to what was obtained under the old rules, the inducement will no longer exist to take lands in the Soonderbuns; and the object of Government will thus be defeated. Have the new rules altered the rates of under-tenants in grants obtained since they were passed? We believe not; the same rates with very slight variation prevail in the new grants as in the old, consequently it is evident, the old rates are based on the actual value of the land, and are not affected by the proceedings of Government. We believe the Government, to use a slang phrase, was rather done in the matter of rates, but we think it has acted wisely in leaving the question of the rate to be paid by the sub-tenants to be settled between them and the grantee, according to the interests of the parties concerned. Some grants are valuable from their position, others are not, and it would be absurd to fix a common rate for both. If a grantee demands too high a rate, his grant will soon be deserted, and he will find it his interest to lower the rate, and in this manner the demand will regulate the value of land in the Soonderbuns.

In a case where a grantee has ignorantly encroached on the lands of another, the rule in America we believe is to compensate the cultivator for the labor and capital expended by him; the claimant paying the amount of compensation which is fixed by arbitration. The judge of the 24-pergunnahs "has set the claim for mesne profits of the grantee, against the claim for improvement set up by the party who has encroached." The judge observes "the first must forego one, the second must forego the other," and he has decided that, that "the encroaching cultivator shall pay rent to the grantee at a rate double the rate the latter is to pay the Government, and the former on such payment shall not be deprived of his possession of the land." This decision as far as the case itself is concerned, we believe, to be just and proper; but in cases where the encroachment has been intentional, or where the person encroaching had ample means of ascertaining and fixing the boundary, it is obvious the

judge's decision will be a premium to encroach. If the principle is adopted, in such cases, that the trespasser shall only pay double the Government rate, and retain possession of the land, there will be no end of encroachments, and affrays and litigation will be the result; for a man will find it advantageous to obtain land on such easy terms. We prefer the ruling of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in a similar case, where both mesne profits and possession were awarded to the grantee.

We now proceed to consider the Mutlah scheme. There is no doubt the Mutlah is a safer river for commercial purposes than the Hoogly; it has greater depth, the navigation is easier; it has more accommodation for ships, and there are no shifting sands, bores or freshes. No large vessels can come up the Hoogly save during spring tides, and these recur every fortnight and last but five days. At certain seasons of the year, no vessel drawing more than twenty-two feet of water can come up the Hoogly with safety. The Mutlah on the other hand, it has been shewn after professional survey, will admit and accommodate the Leviathan steamer. Another great advantage the Mutlah possesses over the Hoogly is, that for several months in the year all the inland trade of the country must pass the head of the Mutlah, and the produce of the eastern districts pass it throughout the year; that trade to reach Calcutta must pass through the canals, and the delay, inconvenience, danger, and heavy taxes of that passage are proverbial all over India. If this trade can be intercepted at the head of the Mutlah, and transported with safety and cheapness to Calcutta, there is not the least doubt the proposed railway to the Mutlah will prove a great blessing to the inland trade,—a blessing felt and appreciated by every petty mahajan, and in fact, by every ryot or cultivator, throughout Bengal and Behar. We think it has been clearly shewn in Mr. Longridge's report, that both cheapness and safety will be ensured to the inland trade by the proposed railway; such being the case, we have no doubt of its success. The great mahajans in Calcutta, to whom more or less the produce of the country is consigned, would soon perceive the manifest advantages of the railway, and those little epistles on colored paper, peculiar to our Indian post bags, will soon spread the news to every bazar and market in the country, with instructions to unload at the Mutlah, and consign the goods to the care of the *challandar*, who mounted on the iron-horse carriage, would in an hour's time find his way to the mahajan with the goods all safe and sound ready to be stored in his godowns. Then adieu to the circuitous route of the canals, to its obstructions and dangers, so disgraceful to a

Government like ours. A native boatman is fortunate if he can at present accomplish two trips during the cold season from Dacca, Serajgunge, or Backergunge to Calcutta; such are the delays in the canal, and the risks in the Hoogly even after he clears the canal; but when the railway comes into operation, unloading at the head of the Mutlah, he will accomplish with ease four trips where he can now make but two. This boon, when we come to consider it, is of incalculable benefit to a poor man.

We have purposely considered the scheme simply as an auxiliary to the Calcutta port, but there is no doubt ships will soon find their way to the Mutlah, when the produce of the country is to be obtained there *cheaper* than at Calcutta, which it must be, as the cost of transport to Calcutta will be saved. Trade will increase, and then the passenger traffic will be an item not to be despised. We are so certain of the success of the Mutlah scheme, that we have no doubt it must sooner or later be an "accomplished fact." The unhealthiness of the Mutlah is a bug-bear; the only wonder is, that it has not proved more unhealthy during the last two years, when we take into account, the vast quantity of jungle which has been cut by the Government, and allowed to rot and decay in lots 54 and 50. Ellengunge on the opposite side is as healthy as Calcutta. Drain the land, burn the jungle, throw the land into cultivation, and the head of the Mutlah will be as healthy as Calcutta. The scarcity of fresh water is the great want at present; one tank just finished on lot 54 holds fresh water; another pucka tank is progressing, and no doubt the Civil Engineer in charge will soon find ways and means to supply the deficiency. The railway company propose to have an aqueduct in connection with the railway. This great want supplied, we hope to see the head of the Mutlah yet a port.

A ship canal between the Mutlah and the Hoogly will be too expensive an undertaking, and demand too much time, and will neither be so expeditious, nor so extensively useful as a railway, and, if finished, will be continually liable to be silted. In fact, there is no comparison between the two as regards the question, which will sooner and at less cost develope the advantages of the Mutlah; the comparison is without any doubt in favor of the railway. We must recollect Calcutta owes its greatness to a state of things which has since changed. In days of yore, when the Bhagiruttee, the Jelinghee, and the Matabangah, brought down the inland trade at all seasons of the year, Calcutta from its situation became the metropolis of India; for at this point, the ships which were required to carry that produce to other countries, and the boats which brought

that produce down met, and *vice versa;* but when these rivers are useless for several months during the year, unless railroads are established to bring that produce down, there is a danger of Calcutta in time ceasing to be a place of trade; all water communications from the change in the course of the Ganges must fail, and therefore we must trust to railways in preference to water communications. This will be found true in spite of all engineering efforts to the contrary. There are other rivers in the Soonderbuns besides the Mutlah, deserving the attention of the mercantile community and of the Government. The Sibsah, for instance, has six and seven fathoms of water throughout its course from Khoolnah to the Bay. The water of this river to within ten miles of the Bay is *fresh*, and the whole of the inland trade of the country crosses this river *en route* to Calcutta. The Balissur is open to ships of a thousand tons, and some of the largest rice markets in the Backergunge district are on its banks. The entrances to these two rivers from the sea should be surveyed.

The possibility of growing cotton to a great extent in the Soonderbuns has given an additional stimulus to the cultivation of its jungle wastes. The experiment has been tried in several grants, and though it is still in its infancy, it has been ascertained that cotton will not thrive during the rains on low lands. If sown at this season of the year, it must be sown on high *bheetah* lands, or ridges well drained. The plant from American seed, and that from the South Sea islands, thrive luxuriantly in the Soonderbuns if sown on ridges, and yield cotton of a superior description, which has already been valued in the London market at two shillings and six pence the pound; the most experienced grantees, however, are of opinion, that lands on the sea-coast are best adapted for the cultivation of this kind of cotton, and we believe this will be found to be the case. It is not generally known, however, that the Mugs in the island of Bara Bass-deah, have grown cotton as an annual for the last twenty years. They sow the seed in October and gather the cotton in March. The plant thrives on the island, and is very productive. The Mug women spin it into thread and make their own cloth. This cotton, though grown from common Bengal cotton seed, produces plentifully. We think it is on the islands in the eastern Soonderbuns that cotton will grow best, and next on the coast of the Soonderbuns open to the sea-breeze.

The grantees have not hitherto examined the timber of the Soonderbuns; their object has been to get rid of the jungle as speedily as possible, and clear the lands. There is no doubt the forests contain excellent timber, which may be put to a

great many uses. They would supply, for instance, sleepers for the railway. We would recommend the erection of a saw-mill in some central spot in the Soonderbuns, to be worked by the force of the tides; a great quantity of the wood would meet with ready sale in the Calcutta market. We give a list of the different kinds of wood with the uses to which they are put by the natives :—

Names of trees.	Diameter.	Uses to which they are put.	Remarks.
Soondree.....	2 feet.	Boats, beams, buggy shafts, posts.	The Sonderbuns named after this tree.
Pussur.....	Ditto.	Boats, posts, bark for tanning.	
Kawrah	3 feet 6 in.	Doors, small Dinghees, posts.	
Kirphur	2 feet.	Small Dinghees, posts.	
Byne	3 feet.	Sluices, Mug rice-mills.	A hollow tree adapted for sluices.
Quorey.....	2 feet.	Dinghees.	Hard-wood fit for cabinet work.
Aumooir ...	1 foot.	Paddles, hooka-pipes.	Resembles *jarool* wood.
Geiran.....	8 inches.	Posts, fire-wood.	Bark for tanning and dyeing.
Bhylee.....	1 foot.	Posts, hooka-pipes.	
Jeiu.....	6 inches.	Ashes used for washing.	Spreading over acres of land.
Loha Koirah.	1 foot 6 in.	Not used.	A very hard wood.
Pholsee	1 foot.	Posts.	
Naringah ...	2 feet.	Handles of bill hooks and spades.	Seed yelds oil.
Sonalee	Ditto.	Bark for tanning.	
Singrah	1 foot.	Charcoal.	A fine shady tree.
Bolay	6 inches.	Inner bark is a strong fiber.	Outer bark holds tanning.
Haital.....	Ditto.	Wild date.	Heart of the tree and pith of the shoots eaten. It is a sign of good soil.
Golepatha or sea cocoanut	Ditto.	Leaves for thatching houses.	The roots when burnt yield salt. The Mugs extract toddy from the stems. The fruit yields oil.
Ooriam ..	2 feet.	Small Dinghees.	Light wood, in general useful.

The wood-cutters in the Soonderbuns are a useful and hardy race of men, who have traversed every part of the forest, and are deserving of encouragement, but unfortunately they have been harshly treated of late. They are subject to the payment of a ruinous tax in the canals, and it appears to be the object of the collector of tolls to discourage this class of men as much as possible. The rules have been purposely altered to enable him to tax heavily a peculiar description of boat these men had constructed, which enabled them under the old form of rules to import a few tons of untaxed wood into the market. We believe this is a mistaken policy; it discourages the cultivation of the Soonderbuns by removing one of the inducements to cut down the forest, and it raises the price of fire-wood in the city—a tax pressing heavily on the poorer classes, for fire-wood is a necessary of life. We also regret to see the

golepatha and *hay* also the produce of the Soonderbuns, subject to a heavy tax in the canals.

The wood-cutters are to be found in the most unfrequented parts of the jungle, the finest timber being now scarce in the frequented parts; many of them fall a sacrifice to tigers and to fever, two of their greatest enemies. They are superstitious in the extreme, and believe in the existence of *jins* or spirits of the woods, and fairies. They are invariably accompanied by a fakeer or *geanee*, who is believed to possess a charm, or by certain cabalistic words to have power over tigers; the power being conferred on him by the presiding forest deity whom he propitiates by offerings, sacrifices, &c. It is strange that all castes of Hindoos and Mahommedans believe in these spirits, and have firm faith in the *geanees*. They have different ways of performing their ceremonies; they generally place the right hand on the earth, and looking into the air, repeat certain incantations and mystical names. After this repetition they pretend, if the tiger is any where near, that the ground under their feet feels warm, and the head is involuntarily turned, by the spirit invoked, in the direction in which the tiger is. The spirit best known amongst them, and in whom they appear to have most faith, is *Roongazee;* they represent him as king of the forest riding on a tiger. After invoking this spirit they will lead the way unarmed into the thickest jungles, and a party of wood-cutters will follow them in the blindest faith. It is in this manner that cane-cutters, wax and honey collectors, timber fellers, &c., penetrate the forest; in fact were it not for these fakeers or *geanees*, the Soonderbuns would not be entered by Bengallees.

Sometimes the wood-cutters assemble where an "*aurrung*" has been established—an "*aurrung*" in the Soonderbuns signifies a depôt, or head-quarters, or place of gathering;—and the man who sets up the *aurrung* must be regarded as a first-rate *geanee*. He marks out a certain boundary, and then clears away a little spot about a hundred yards square, and in the centre erects two or three little huts about the size of a dog-kennel, in which are placed images of the various forest deities. Then offerings are made, sacrifices offered, and the place is pronounced free of tigers. The *bowlees* or wood-cutters then collect in the *aurrung*, making offerings for the privilege of enjoying the protection of the place; these offerings are the perquisites of the *aurrungdar*, who also receives a share of the timber felled. The *bowlees* have a great many peculiarites about them, for instance they will not use the word "*cholo*," to move, but invariably use the word "*shoro*." They will never mention the word *baug* a tiger while in the jun-

gles; they will not work on Thursdays; and in some parts the Sunday is a day of rest. They are firmly impressed with the idea that a tiger of his own accord will never attack a man, but when he does so, he is led on by a fairy, who rides on the tiger and urges him on.

The fakeers or *geanees* are easily distinguished in the Soonderbuns; they are invariably quick intelligent men, with sharp eyes and a wild look about the face. They have great influence; not a man will step out of his boat and enter the jungle, unless preceded by a *geanee* or fakeer, not a follower or beater will attend a sportsman in the forest, unless he engages the services of one of these men to scare the tigers away, or to shut their mouths. We have sometimes thought they are the followers of some man who had discovered the secret of taming, or terrifying tigers, similar to the art or power possessed by Mr. Rarey over horses. These men do not even pretend to have the least influence over rhinoceros or buffaloes, but only over tigers, and certainly their faith in their supposed power is very strong.

To the sportsman, the Soonderbuns during the cold season is a great treat. It is true there are no elephants there to shoot from, and even if there were, they would be useless in the forest; but it is a pleasure to roam the pathless woods, to trust to your own skill and to your own daring, and not to be indebted for sport to the skill of your *mahout*. There, as every one knows, we have the royal Bengal tiger in his native home, lord of the forest, with none to dispute with him a fat hog or a fat deer. There is the huge rhinoceros with his single horn, a veritable unicorn, lazily feeding all night on the young branches of the *kawrah* and *null*, and lying all day in great pits full of water, hollowed out by these monsters. There the spotted deer bound past you "a thing of life and light," at every open glade. At early dawn or sun-set, they are to be seen in herds of twenty and thirty, feeding on the sea shore, with the dark wood on one side and the open blue sea on the other. There too, in the deep forest, where hardly a single ray of light penetrates the mass of foliage over head, suddenly from under your feet starts the barking deer, with his tiny tusks, and the woods re-echo with his wild and startling bark. In the more open parts, where stand short stumps of *null*, the fat hog-deer bounds before you; there are the monkeys chattering away on the trees; and where the *null* jungle is heavy, with the help of a few beaters, outleaps with a strong and mighty bound the great red-deer (the *gouse* of Bengal) with his antlered head and surpassing speed. There, in every direction, we see

the wild hog at his everlasting work busily digging away at the roots of the old trees and saluting you with a grunt, and a great rush of the unseen herd as they hurry away to the darker forest. There too, last but not least, is the monster buffalo, with carcass near as huge as that of the rhinoceros, but with short round horns. There also in the slime and mud, on the banks of nullah or river, is seen the great crocodile with his ugly head, frightful jaws, lizard-shaped body, and tough, hard skin, almost impervious to ball,—lazily gliding into the water and disappearing with a splash. These are the principal fauna of the Soonderbuns, and right good sport do they afford to a sportsman, who has a stout pair of legs, a good rifle on his shoulder, and a compass in his pocket. On the sea-side, particularly in the eastern Soonderbuns, where the virgin forest stands as planted by the hand of nature, the towering trees prevent in a great measure the growth of underwood, and the sportsman may roam for miles with comparative ease; it is where the larger trees have been felled, and underwood has sprung up, that it is difficult to penetrate the woods. There too, at times, the sportsman comes across a great opening in the heart of the forest, where huge trunks are lying rotting; and the sun is shining brightly down, dazzling the eyes with the sudden change from the twilight of the woods to the blazing light of the open glade. The natives call these openings *bageparahs*, and attribute them to the agency of their *Jins*, and mighty spirits of the woods. But from the manner in which the huge trunks are lying, some snapped off, others rooted up, and all as if beaten down by the agency of some wondrous force, there is no doubt the spirits of the wind and tempest have been at work, and the typhoon has spent his force there, the whirlwind twisting and contorting the great trees as if they had been so many reeds. There are several of these *bageparahs* in the woods, and they are well-known to the woodcutters. We have remarked that they are invariably within ten or twelve miles of the sea. They are the favorite haunts of the deer. There are sand hills to be seen on the shores of the Bay at the points of Barabassdea, Chaplee and Tiger Point, and these places are perfect sanitaria for health. The scenery also is beautiful, after the flat plains of Bengal. The country assumes somewhat the character of hill and dale, the trees seem purposely planted as in a park, the woods grow to the water's edge, and the blue expanse of the sea affords a pleasing variety to the view.

The feathered tribes of Bengal are to be met with in the Soonderbuns. The most common are the jungle fowl; the shrill clarion of the cock, and the cackling of the hen, with her

brood of chickens, domestic sounds common to a village, sound strange in the dense and lonely forest, without any human habitation for miles and miles. Wild geese and ducks of various kinds are to be found in abundance on the sea coast, and on the banks of the larger streams. The snipe we believe breed in the Soonderbuns, for they are to be found at all seasons of the year. Quail are also found in the cultivated parts, in the stumps of the *dhan ;* and the strong, clear whistle or call of the grey-curlew is a familiar sound in all the rivers and creeks during the cold season. There is a bird which the natives call *mudduntah,* it stands about four feet high, and is precisely like the common *hargelah* or adjutant, so common in Calcutta, but without the bag—it has about eight or ten long white feathers or plumes below the tail, each feather is about ten or twelve inches long, and the finest are to be gathered in February and March. This bird is greatly sought after by native *shikaries ;* it is only met with in the deep forest, and never beyond twenty miles from the sea; the plumes sell for their weight in silver. We are not aware that these birds are to be found in other parts of Bengal, and even in the Soonderbuns they are becoming scarce from the numbers shot by the *shikaries* for their plumes. The name of the bird is *Leptoptilos Argula,* and the plumes are known as Marabón plumes.

The Soonderbuns, though almost within sight of Calcutta, is an unknown land to the generality of our readers; we have therefore been purposely minute in our descriptions. We anticipate bright things for that land of flood and forest. Lord Dalhousie's rules, we have no doubt, will accomplish the purpose for which they were passed; the allotments bordering on the district of the 24-pergunnahs, those on the Mutlah and in its vicinity, and the lands in the eastern Soonderbuns, will in the course of a few years be brought into cultivation; we despair only of the forest bordering on the Jessore district, on account of the desertion of the zemindarree lands adjoining that part of the jungles, and we believe other measures must be adopted before the Jessore Soonderbuns will be reclaimed. The forest in this direction is *yearly* gaining on the cultivation. It has already extended to the Coirah river, and even villages to the north of that river are being deserted. Three-fourths of Pergunah Jameerah which borders on the forest, is already under jungle. The proposed Railway to the head of the Mutlah, and the cultivation of cotton, are already acting as stimulants to the clearing of the jungles. Nor must we forget that the Soonderbuns may be regarded as the granary of Bengal. Hundreds of reapers come from different parts of Bengal to assist in reaping and gathering the rich harvest, and carry away boats loaded with

rice, receiving in some parts a fifth and in others even a fourth of the quantity reaped, in return for their labor. The country is in a great measure independent of rain, the rice crop seldom fails, and an acre of land yields five times as much as it yields in the cultivated districts. The Lieut. Governor of Bengal has turned his attention to the improvement of the great traffic channels of the Soonderbuns; towing paths and bridges are being constructed in different parts, shorter and more convenient routes have been directed to be surveyed, and the entire passage has been placed under the superintendence of a civil engineer. Police boats patrol the rivers and creeks for the protection of the native craft, under the command of a European constable; a deputy magistrate has been located at Kallegunge, another at Khoolnah, and a third will be immediately stationed on the Bulissur river. A police station has been placed in the heart of the Soonderbuns, where river decoities were recently so frequent. These improvements we owe to the Lieut. Governor of Bengal, and we have no doubt as the resources of the Soonderbuns are developed, this tract of land will continue to attract the fostering care of the Bengal Government.

ART. VI.—1. *An Act for the better Government of India.* 2nd August, 1858. London.

2. *The Friend of India.* Serampore. 1858.

3. *The "Times" Newspaper.* London. 1858.

4. *The Saturday Review.* London. 1858.

5. *The Daily News.* London. 1858.

WE have just reached a great turning point in the history of our Indian administration. Two years ago the East India Company had under their Government the most splendid appanage that any European monarchy ever knew. Large provinces were ruled and disciplined by public functionaries who, whether soldiers or civilians, were proud to call themselves the Company's servants. A treasury, if not filled to overflowing, was yet sufficiently stored to meet all the ordinary exigencies of a wide-spread sway. A vast army, composed of men whose good birth was unquestionable, whose bravery had scarcely been doubted, and whose faithfulness had passed into a proverb, would have been ready, at the bidding of the chief servants of the Company, to have overrun the Deckan, to have humbled the pride of Persia, or to have penetrated into unknown regions beyond the Suliman range. At that time the treasury of the Company, the jail of the Company, the mile-stones erected by the Company along their greatest channel of communication, were as sacred from injury as the throne of England itself; and under the shadow of that powerful name, which had been thrown, in the space of a century, from seaboard to mountain barrier, the most helpless of Europeans might have travelled, unprotected and ignorant of the language, from one end of the empire to the other, without perhaps encountering a word of contumely or a look of insult. What changes have come over the spirit of the Indian dream, need not be dilated on. The centres of wealth and commerce have been ransacked and despoiled by cut-throats. Some of the fairest of cities have streamed with blood. Rich districts have been overrun by marauders. The labours of years, the records of the rights of communities, have perished in a moment. The white face, that commanded respect, before which murmurs were stilled and disturbances sunk down quietly, that appeared only as the harbinger of peace, or the herald of commerce, or the messenger of reason and law, has been the signal for the most violent outburst of suppressed rage, defiance and hatred. And after eighteen

months of convulsions, which have shaken but not overthrown the fabric of our authority, we commence a new year with the native army evaporated, the rebellion dying, and the Company dead.

Such a momentous change cannot be passed over in silence by a periodical which is in the habit of discussing all the most prominent topics of the day; and though the abrupt termination of the charter has been fully commented on in all the leading journals at home and in India, it still appears to us expedient to group together in a few pages the main points of the new bill, and the most prominent merits and defects of the mighty corporation which has just sunk into its grave. A resumé of striking characteristics, however familiar, is not without its uses, even in these days, when the world lives at a pace that outstrips quarterly publications. Some of the present generation may be thankful for a paper that brings together the salient features of the new measure. Some of the next may look with curiosity or surprise on the doubts or the suggestions made contemporaneously with the Act, of which the one may be rendered illusory, and the other meet only with neglect. Even the history of human error may be instructive, while a partial apprehension of a coming truth in politics, dating in 1858, may be disinterred in 1900, by the diligent student of history, from the trunks and portmanteaus of 1859, for the amusement or the edification of his readers.

The successive attacks to which the Company has yielded its most cherished privileges, are naturally familiar to the larger portion of our readers. It is in the memory of several statesmen yet living, that the Indian trade was thrown open in 1813. Many of us can recall the debates of 1833 which ended in the annihilation of the China monopoly. All are versed in the animated discussions of five years ago, by which the most telling blow was inflicted on the Company, the civil service was thrown open to competition, and the charter renewed for no definite term of years. It was this last provision, more than any, that excited the hopes of the Company's enemies, and the fears of its friends. Indian affairs might at any moment become the topic of the day. A lull in public affairs, the absorption of a new territory, a startling case of administrative or judicial incapacity, the anxiety of a jaunty or unscrupulous minister to stave off enquiry from matters more perilous to his tenure of office, the mere lack of subjects for political controversy, one or all of these causes might at any time have brought India to the bar of the Commons. An energetic Anglo-Saxon with a good grievance of

unjust arrest or exorbitant fine, or the descendant of Toola Ram Senaputti clamorous for the restitution of some thousand square miles of marsh and jungle, could, by a little dexterous management, have seriously imperilled the continuance of a charter, which rested only on public opinion, invariably ill-informed on Indian subjects, proverbially fickle, and never at any time very well disposed towards Leadenhall Street. It was not imperative that a military earth-quake should have thrown down our edifices, destroyed our landmarks, aroused our indignation, embittered our feelings, and carried desolation into hundreds of happy homes. Far less than a mutiny might have extinguished the Company. Barbaric rage need not have been excited to work such fearful desolation. It might have been said, with even greater truth and more pointed application, "Quod non *fecissent* barbari, fecere Barbareni." The heads of great political houses, not armaments only wanting their Attila or Hyder Ali, might have boasted of the destruction of an Eastern Colosseum.

When the mutiny fairly broke out in all its violence it required, therefore, no very great discernment to perceive that matters would go hard with the Company. It was natural to assert, it was impossible to deny, that a grave error had pervaded our whole dealings, not with the native population, but with the native soldiery. Who had been most to blame for our mistakes of principle, whether the Court or a series of civil rulers, or the chiefs of the army themselves, or the foremost writers and talkers on Indian subjects, whether it were possible to apportion censure between any or all of the above parties, was not perhaps enquired into very carefully in the heat and flush of debate. One system having failed, the British nation was bound to try another; and to do the House of Commons justice, their determination to have done with the Company seems never to have wavered for a moment. There were disputes as to the number, functions, and selection of the new council. There were animated debates as to the principle of competition for the public service. There was ridicule thrown deservedly on the introduction of Belfast and Glasgow. There were sharp exchanges of shots on the question of religious neutrality, on the so-called theory of annexation, and on the undue subservience to caste. On many of these points it was scarcely possible to anticipate what would be the sense of the House. But as to the termination of the charter and the necessity for a new bill, the majority of the House had their minds ready made up. A counsel for the defence would term this sheer obstinacy, as a counsel for the prosecution would call it judicious firmness. And, without deciding whether the course pursued partakes of the virtue or

of the adjacent vice, it is sufficient to note that from the Easter recess the fate of the Company seemed beyond question. A tory Government made dexterous use of the blunders of its opponents, converted its own weakness into a source of strength, and improved on the original framework of the new measure; the unendurable fetor of that "noble river" made senators more eager than ever for the braes of Yarrow, or the banks of the Doune: the leading men of the Court though fighting their guns with a determination not unworthy of the garrison of Lucknow, were overborne by the power of the press, which, with two notable exceptions—the *Saturday Review* and the *Daily News*—was mainly directed against vested rights and corporate influences; and under this combined pressure of adverse circumstances and intellectual power, at length was overthrown the famous republic, which, strong even its dying moments, had destroyed one ministry while it had saved an empire.

We leave it to the future historian, wiser by the mere lapse of time than the most gifted orator or the most prescient statesman can be now, to seize on the salient points of debate, and to give a full and impartial description of one of the most eventful of Indian battles. Our business is with the actual provisions of the new India bill, now lying before us and numbering, in remarkable contrast to several of its predecessors, only seventy-five sections. Taking all our readers to be acquainted with its general scope, the substitution of the Crown for the Company, we proceed to note *seriatim* the particular characteristics which seem likely to afford matter for future discussion.

Section 5, though not bearing on India, is in one respect an innovation. It dispenses the President of the Board of Controul from the necessity of vacating his seat in Parliament held by him, should he be appointed the new Indian minister. Under the strict rules of representation, as our readers know, any member of the lower House, accepting any office under the crown, at once vacates his seat and invites his constituents to ratify or disapprove his political actions, by either reappointing him as their member, or by seeking a representative in whom they can place more confidence. So strictly has this rule been interpreted that a minister who merely changes his seat in the cabinet, and who may go from India to the Admiralty, or from the Colonies to India, has been held bound to undergo the ordeal of facing his constituents, and of giving an account of his votes, even though such a proceeding should cause some expense and inconvenient interruption to business, not to say, that it should imperil his senatorial existence.

Many a minister has been compelled to quit his desk, present himself on the hustings, and answer the pert questions which any elector may choose to put. It was only last session that a member of the present ministry, distinguished as essayist, orator, novelist, poet and dramatist, was for a time hindered from accepting the colonial office, because such acceptance might have aroused the liberals of Hertfordshire against Protection. Now it may be very right, that the representative of particular interests should not be permitted to accept office *for the first time*, without enabling his constituents, to approve or condemn his conduct. But once a servant of Her Majesty, it seems to us to matter little to such constituents, on what particular duty such services be employed. The responsible adviser of the crown should, surely, have the power of shifting and changing the pieces on his side of the board in the manner best calculated to carry on the business of the nation, and to play a good winning or losing game. It has even been asserted by some reformers, that the time for jealousy of the increasing power of the Crown is passed; that, if any thing, the prime minister is too hampered and checked in the choice of colleagues, and that there would be no danger to the constitution in permitting a certain number of appointments in the ministry to be conferred on members of the lower House, without compelling them to vacate their seats, even on first acceptance of any office whatever. We are well aware that this might excite an outcry from those who think that purity of political motive is only secured by repeated responsibility to free and independent voters, and that tenure of office should not be made too pleasant or too safe. But we really think that it is high time that the mode of doing the nation's business should be rendered as efficient as possible, and that to allow a man already in office to move from one arm-chair to another, or to turn into the Admiralty on one Wednesday, and into Cannon Row on the next Wednesday, would not be the means of shaking even the slenderest pillar of our well-balanced constitution. In any case we here have the small end of the wedge inserted, and we believe it to be only a just and imperative reform. It is curious, too, that this proviso slipped into the bill without a remark.

Section 8, if carefully perused, would have saved several foolish cavils, as if the Directors were to blame for not electing Sir James Melvill, or Mr. J. Mill. The Directors had only power to elect a man who was actually a director at the time, or who had been a director formerly. The court could not, by the Act, have chosen Sir J. Lawrence, had he landed in England, as he no doubt will do, under one uni-

versal shout of applause and admiration. The court might, it is true, have chosen any or all of the Directors nominated previously by the crown. But was it not fair to assume that the Crown would avail itself of its own nominees, if deserving of re-appointment? Was it not simply carrying out the principle of election to its fullest extent, to elect from those only who had been chosen by the electing body, the Court of Proprietors? And would those writers also who denounce the Company for their selfishness and indifference to India, have acted, under the law of our common nature, one whit differently, or have, at such a time, been voluntary martyrs to such unusual Fabrician virtue? Add to this, that the elected directors are, all of them, competent men. It is the senile and the effete that have wisely taken their discharge on this occasion.

It is naturally objected that future vacancies in the elected portion of the council are only to be filled up by the elected members themselves, and that this is tantamount to perpetuating the old court in a new shape. Practically, however, the directors in their former births, as a Hindu philosopher might term it, had a great deal to say to the election by the proprietors. The votes or the interests of a member of a great bank, of colonel this, and Sir John that, when promised to a man who had been canvassing for seven years, made his return safe. The same kind of persons will now, of course, have an entire, and not a partial, influence in such elections; and the fact appears to be that unless the House were prepared to hand over all appointments to the Indian minister, which it was not, there was no resource left, but to empower the elected portion to recruit itself. There are, however, some safeguards against jobbery and favour. The major part of the persons to be elected, *must* have resided ten years in India, and there is some chance of a healthy competition between minister and council, as to which shall secure the services of the best men. We think after all, that the seven directors, who are familiarly termed the old leaven, are as likely to offer a post to Sir John Lawrence or to Sir James Outram as could be either Lord Stanley or Sir Charles Wood; and in a political home crisis, would a minister, for recruits, go to India or to the City?

The next two sections, 11 and 12, contain the provisions which, in our humble opinion, are the best securities for some eventual change. By the first, the members hold their appointment for life. By the second, they are disabled from sitting in parliament. Every Indian knows well to what longevity the *emeriti* of India attain. Many a man, it is true, has been cut off during his very last year's service by the

unfortunate desire of making up "the other lack." But with the fresh breezes of the Channel, and the first year of retirement, the pensioned servant seems to gain a new lease of life. How constantly is the eye attracted by the obituary notice of some ancient civilian, of whom, perhaps, only the oldest inhabitants of Bombay or Calcutta can now give the faintest particulars! It was only a few years since that passing remarks were elicited from the press on the death of a man at eighty-six, who had held the highest appointments during the early part of this century, who was the son of Lord Rockingham's Chancellor of the Exchequer during the well-known "short administration" of 1765, and who had lived on till the above very advanced age. What possible good could a man, under such circumstances, render to India, and what speedy means would there be of procuring the removal of such an effete member? for it would be inconvenient to make use of the only proviso of the bill, an address to both Houses of Parliament, because a member's faculties had become rusted by disuse or clouded by age. There is every chance, too, that members, as years tell on them, will ensconce themselves snugly in their easy chairs, raise no difficulties, carry out no one distinct course of action, and always vote with the minister. We really think that seven or ten years of £1,200 a year, with power to the minister to re-appoint if advisable, would have been enough to satisfy the claims of experience however varied, of services however eminent, and of reputation however wide-spread.

But section 12 is more ominous than the preceding. Whatever be the merits of the Lower House of Parliament, it is impossible to class among such merits an intimate knowledge of India. No person who has conversed for half an hour with any M. P. or who has attended an Indian debate, can have any hesitation in endorsing this opinion. The ignorance of the House, to speak plainly, is crass and lamentable. When the alarm of the mutiny, and the excitement of debate, shall have passed away, parliamentary superintendence will be what it was before. The presence in parliament of men with seats in the council might occasionally be inconvenient, unless such persons were bound either to resign or to follow the official rule, and speak only on such topics, and with such lines of argument, as the prudence of the chief might direct. Such men would naturally wish to enforce or deprecate with their voice any measure which they had either enforced or deprecated with their pen at the council table, and a disclosure, perilous to rapid administration, might now and then occur. But the risk of this, which may be exaggerated, seems to us small in comparison with

the danger of excluding from the debates of the nation, men of the most independent views, and the greatest knowledge: and we think with dismay, how, when some important Indian topic is uppermost, the policy of annexation, the employment of natives, the so-called attempts at colonisation, the Indian minister, if in the Lower House, which may not always be the case, shall be left to fight his battle against an ex-judge who is only a charlatan out of place, a disappointed advocate, and a retired solicitor known as one of the bores of the House. Possibly in such a case, the intuitive good sense of the House, which rarely deserts it, or the power and knowledge of the minister, backed by a strong party, may win the day; but then the Indian topic is made a party question; the fate of a province, of a large department, or of a great section of the native community, hangs on all the secret springs by which the machinery of party is put in motion; those who could give the seasonable word of explanation are anxious lookers on in the gallery; and we are no nearer than ever to that sound and good Government which springs from singleness of purpose and fulness of knowledge combined. In plain language we protest against the doctrine that Cornwallis Bobus is to obtain a seat in the council when fifty years old, with the chance of filling it peaceably for the next twenty-five years; and we equally protest against the unwise and unjust policy which avails of itself of the knowledge of such men as Col. Sykes, Mr. Mangles, and Mr. J. P. Willoughby, in one department, only by shutting the door against them in another, in which their views, if sound, could shed a strong light on the matter at issue, if unsound or impolitic, would be made public and would be mercilessly crushed. Besides, a councillor in the House who could not act with the minister, might easily be made to resign his salaried place.

Section 14 anticipates the possible reduction of the council; and sections 19 and 20 relate to the performance of business, and we know, have been fully acted on, the Council, like the Court being divided into revenue and judicial, political and military committees, and the like. Sections 23 to 27, and section 41, are important as defining the constitutional powers of the council, and are mainly to the following effect. Where there is a difference of opinion, on points where the Indian minister's decision is final, the said minister may record his opinion in writing. So may any member of council, with respect to any despatch sent to India. The minister must put himself on paper when he overrules the opinions of the majority. In urgent cases he may act on his own responsibility, without previous reference to the council, and where he stands

in the shoes of the old secret committee, he may never refer the matter to them at all. No grant of any part of the revenue of India can be made by the minister on his own responsibility, or *without* the concurrence of a majority of his council. It is the House of Commons, as regards supplies, put quietly under hatches.

These provisions seem to us good in that they clearly throw the onus on the right party. Neither minister nor council are required to waste their time in composing long minutes, nor are yet debarred from leaving necessary protests on record. When the minister either overrules his council, or when he does not refer to them till the despatch has issued beyond the power of recall, or when he thinks fit to keep them completely in the dark, the whole responsibility is thrown upon him. He may convert the Jumma Musjid at Delhi into a Christian Cathedral. He may write a despatch resuming every grant of land ever made by Hindu, Mahommedan, or Seikh government, for pious or charitable purposes; he may direct a fleet to sail for Bangkok on the one hand, and an army to march against the Khan of Kelat on the other. He may reject all experience, reverse all precedents, and despise a policy sanctioned by three generations of statesmen, and after the success or failure of his measures, he will be judged only by the Commons of England in Parliament assembled. Much, naturally, will depend on the personal character of the Indian minister. A Vernon Smith may rush in where a Dalhousie would fear to tread: or the one might palter, panic-stricken by vague fears, where the other would discern that the moment had arrived for independent and vigorous action. But whether the blame shall lie in excessive rashness or excessive timidity, we do not see how the minister can avoid taking it entirely on himself. He will have able advice, and the very largest discretion for action with or without it. It has been assumed by the leading journal on this side of India, that the first instance in which the members of the council shall show themselves as 'obstructives,' will be the signal for their dissolution. But it does seem to us, with all deference, that in such an event the grand consideration will be whether the council had wisdom and right on its side. Might we not now be thankful, had the determined protests made by some of the old Directors against the Affghan campaign, obstructed that cardinal error, which annihilated one small army, and, as some believe, laid the foundtions of mutiny and rebellion throughout the ranks of a large one? It may happen that even the powers of an administrator, like Sir John Lawrence, may not be thrown away in such dignified remonstrances as may preserve the framework of that

policy which he has been so successful in building up. Possibly, the weight of experience, which the council properly chosen must possess, may occasionally be directed to restrain the presumption which dictated the Oude despatch, or which might be urging us beyond the true limits of our policy, to take part in Persian disunion, or Russian intrigue. But, still, suppose the council to have once blustered successfully, when it ought to have been silent, and to have by the force of writing or talking, cabined or confined the minister, when engaged in some measure of just severity, timely retrenchment, or politic generosity! Grant, that in the elaborate minutes of the majority, the major premise should be inept, the minor impertinent, and the conclusion ridiculous! Is the council to be at once abolished, because the minister was too rash at one time, and too timid at another? This would surely be to reverse the ordinary presumptions of law and reason in regard to self-imposed liabilities; and the remedy for such a state of things seems to us, not to abolish the conclave of old gentlemen who had opposed Sir Forcible Feeble, but to remove Sir Forcible for a man of sounder judgment and of stronger nerves.

The general sense of men acquainted with India, as well as of men who reason by analogy and without knowledge of India, has declared itself in favour of a council to assist the Secretary of State. Such a body will be only performing its duty when it either aids the minister to resolve some knotty point, or to comprehend the bearings of a large Indian question, or when it shows good reasons why the crown should pause: if it travels into the "high sentimental latitudes," or sinks into twaddle, or writes essays when it ought to record short reasons for action, it is in the power of the Secretary of State to cut short its deliberation and to act for himself. The limits of his forbearance can be defined to him by common sense. The power to take advice as well as to reject or to dispense with it, is secured to him by statute in the most positive language. He must not complain if he dares not avail himself of his rights. We, in India, never heard that the strongest of Proconsuls was unable to carry his council with him, nor did we doubt whether, if necessary, he would have hesitated, under the well-known proviso of the charter, to have acted boldly in its despite.

On section 29, we were very near to a grand mistake. The Governor General the Governors of presidencies, the 'Law Lord' of our supreme council, if he be retained, and the Advocate General, will be nominated, we take it, by the Prime Minister of the day, in consultation with the Indian Secretary of State. The ordinary members of the councils of India and of Bombay and Madras will be appointed also from home, but

by the Secretary of State in Council. But our readers will recollect that it was for some time debated during the last session, whether the Governor General should not nominate his own council. On the principle that all local patronage is distributed in India, without direct interference or recommendation from home, it was suggested that the above appointment, as clearly local, might be equally well made by the chief authority in India. But the difference is obvious between the position of a member of council, and that of any other servant of Government, however high his station. A Chief Commissioner, a Secretary, even a Lieutenant-Governor, is yet subordinate to the Governor General. A member of council is, in some respects, his equal. He has not the chance of suggesting this reform, or of pointing out that "departmental exigency," but he has the right of recording his opinion in downright opposition to that of the Governor General. He may characterise annexation in language almost as vigorous as that of Sir G. Clerk or the late Colonel Sleeman. He may be the most avowed enemy to the real spirit inculcated in the celebrated despatch on education of 1854. He may protest in the Council Chamber, with the pertinacity of Mr. Lewin or Mr. Jones in the Court of Proprietors, on every conceivable subject, without hindrance or let. That this chartered opposition has not been exhibited in Calcutta since the days of Clavering and Francis, is owing to the good sense and taste of our councillors, as well as to the vigour and statesmanship of the Heads of the Government. But still with the chance of eventual defiance on any pet projects, it is easy to conceive what an interest the Governor General might have in selecting for his colleagues, men whom the official language designates as "safe," but whom the irreverent world might term sycophants. And still more probable is it that selection would generally be made from those men only who had stood in proximate and confidential relation to Government, who were imbued with certain traditionary principles, and who would bring into debate, little of that fresh knowledge and that healthy unbiassed opinion, which are acquired in many other departments, not in immediate dependence on the fountain-head. Those who have watched the appointments made by the Court of Directors, must be aware that such have been made without the slightest regard to the convenience of the Governor General, and with reference to character, independence, and honesty of purpose, as well as to mere ability or length of service. We much doubt, for instance, whether under any other system of selection, seats in council would ever have been conferred on Mr. John Lowis in former days, or on Mr. Ricketts lately, and on several others

whom we might name. We believe that, were the intentions of the Governor General the purest in the world, his character might occasionally be assailed by an outcry that the men selected by him were his own adherents, and that he was only turning subservient tools into subservient colleagues. We are tolerably certain that no practical inconvenience in the Government of this country has ever been felt within the last fifty years, from the continuance of the present system. We therefore rejoice that the patronage of the highest and in some respects, the most independent posts in India passes from the court to the council, and not from Leadenhall Street to Government House. There will be much less discontent amongst the Services in India; the reputation of the Governor General will have less chance of being needlessly vilified for undue partiality, and there will be more security for purity of election, where an absolute chief does not select his own associates in the cabinet, even though a cry should sometimes be raised that one member has been appointed because he is befriended by the Vice-president, and another because he has a near relation in the House, who votes with the party of the minister in power.

Section 32 empowers the secretary to make new regulations for the admission of candidates to the civil service, and premising that the competitive system will still be maintained we must wait to see what new "test of fitness" will be devised, or what new branches of knowledge will be prescribed for examination. We have sometimes thought seriously that a test of horsemanship or physical energy would not be out of place.

Section 35 amounts to a very fair reservation of one-tenth of the military cadetships for the sons of soldiers and civilians. No one will seriously be inclined to quarrel with this. Men who have spent thirty years in India, have clearly little chance with the rush of men who are blocking up the avenues to every profession at home. Few servants of Government in India now acquire more than a decent competence by the time they are fifty; and though we deprecate clanship and wide-spread family compacts, we think that the sons of men who have devoted themselves to India to the measure and force of their powers, have some slight claim to look to India for support. It is pretty clear, too, that for the sons of such men in many instances the choice lies, not between an Indian and an English profession, but between India and nothing at all.

Section 36 still leaves considerable patronage with the council, subject to endorsement by the secretary; and with the exception of one or two others, the remaining sections are occupied with the transfer of property, the reservation of existing rights, and the disposal of the revenues of India.

On the first point we do not see how, when the Company ceases to have political power, it could be expected that it should retain any stores, goods, chattels, or any emoluments of which it was seized. The accessory must follow the principal under the sound rule of law. The curious museum, the magnificent library at the India House, the munitions of war, the provision of stationery, from the gilt-edged note paper to the last bundle of red-tape, must all be handed over to the Crown, together with the power of making treaties, of acknowledging sovereigns, of recalling a Governor General, of approving of the revenue settlement which binds twenty millions of Asiatics, of granting thousands of miles of country for the extension of a railway, of rewarding distinguished merit, of beautifying ancient capitals, of annexing vast realms.

There is a great safeguard in section 41, which takes from the secretary his right of independent action in matters of revenue, and makes the grant or appropriation of any part thereof contingent on a concurrence of a majority of votes of his council; in section 43, which requires the signatures of three members of the council to all drafts or orders; in section 49, which empowers the secretary, with a similar majority in council, to issue bonds in Great Britain; in section 52 which provides for a proper audit of account by a well qualified auditor; in section 53, by which parliaments are to have annually before them an Indian budget, and a report detailing the moral and material progress of each Presidency in India, which however, it is no crime to assert, that nine-tenths of the House will only think a monstrous bore; and, finally, in section 55, which renders the consent of Parliament necessary before the revenues of India can be applied to military operations beyond the Indian frontier, except in the event of preventing or repelling the actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possession.

By section 56, the Crown is pledged to continue to the military and naval forces of India, the *same pay, allowances, pensions, and privileges* as enjoyed by them hitherto. But no such pledge is contained in section 58 to the advantage of the civil service, which section only guarantees claims to *pension* and claims on sundry annuity funds, and is silent as to *pay*. Obviously, this omission was meant to provide for a prospective reduction of allowances, should such appear advisable.

Sections 64 and 67 guarantee the continuance of all existing enactments, and bind Her Majesty to observe all treaties, contracts, covenants, and the like, and to accept all liabilities, either entered into or incurred by the Company; so our native friends, Baboos or Banians, independent and protected Chiefs, and holders of five per cent. paper may be easy on this head.

Section 70 puts an end, in all human probability, to those

quarterly meetings of the Court of Proprietors at which so much indignation was year after year expended on the wrongs of the Madras light cavalry, the annexation of the province of Sattara, and on other well-known grievances. Section 72 guarantees to the said proprietors their capital and their dividends, and the following section raises a point as to whether it would be advisable for the proprietors to demand the redemption of their dividends, secured to them by the charter of 1833; and legal opinion, as is well-known, has already been taken on this very question, being one to which it behoves holders of stock to pay attention.

The above are really all the sections of the remarkable Act which appear deserving of peculiar attention, with the exception perhaps of section 69, which, when fully carried out, will reduce the number of elected Directors to six, the nominated continuing to be nine; and thus with Her Majesty's widely-read and well written proclamation alluded to in the final section, with a blaze of fire works, a splendid illumination, and some real loyalty, the great Company passed into the domain of history on the first of November last.

The natural question asked by every one, but answered in various ways according to the bias and predilections of the speaker, is, what has India gained by this bill? And, without entering too deeply into all the speculations which men of various parties have formed as to the commencement of a new era, we think that the positive results may fairly be stated as follows. In the first place the Bill might have been much worse. We might have been committed to a fanciful theory of the representation of great towns, to which a parallel must have been sought in some of the dreams of French revolutionists. We were at one time threatened with such a careful and exact reproduction of all the departments and all the different Presidencies of India, by men who had served for a definite period in each, as would, in the working, have excluded all the best men, and have given us nothing but mediocrity, perhaps less than respectable. We have escaped the danger of too cumbrous a council, and the far, far greater one of a minister without any council at all. The principle of competitive examination for the best appointments is retained. Existing rights are guaranteed, and previous liabilities are accepted. The changes are neither too many nor too startling, and yet there is room in the bill for further changes still. The bill, we submit, is as moderate in tone, and as constitutional in scope, as was consistent with so real a metamorphosis.

In the next place the bill abolishes what has so often been complained of as the double Government, and places a single

person in the position of "the Indian minister." Whatever the merits of the late Court or Company, there is little doubt that this double Government was an intolerable nuisance, and that, practically, its existence had much damaged the reputation of the Court. The multiplication of documents already too much multiplied in India, the increased delay caused by the transmission of all papers in bulk from one end of London to the other, and the quantity of "previous communications" as they were technically called, were, in themselves, positive evils. The most practised trackers of abuses owned themselves at fault when required to hunt out a job. The Company were half afraid to hint, as they might have done, that the blame lay with the minister. Cannon Row was quite content, that the world should imagine the fault belonged to the City. Conscious of a frail tenure, not particularly anxious to promote enquiry, and aware that the very name of monopoly arouses the indignation of true Britons, the Court would compromise matters and would allow a minister, unless very wrong-headed, to have his own way. The spirited protests which occasional Directors made against pernicious measures, remained buried among accumulations of rubbish. With knowledge sufficient to have swamped the ignorance or the pretentiousness of many Presidents, with excellent intentions, large views, and exquisite reasons, they were sometimes turned away from a sound course of action by trifling opposition and by vague fears. It may be questioned, too, whether in spite of all our professions of pride and glory in our mercantile greatness, the prestige of the Company has not been lowered by the mere fact of its mercantile origin. The social tendencies of the nation are, after all, aristocratic, and when a late Prime Minister jauntily talked of a "mere company of merchants" as not carrying weight in India, he spoke what was probably true with regard to the weight which the Company could not carry in England. Against the Company were, then, their origin, their fears of not being supported in the event of a battle with the President, the murky atmosphere which surrounded their deliberations, the signal advantages which they possessed in regard to patronage, and the inevitable delay consequent in their position in which, as subordinates, they yet initiated every thing. It was easy to descry which party must give way in a tussle. And the best friends of the Directors will rejoice that they are at last freed from their anomalous position. The good which they might have done as Directors, they may yet do as Councillors. The evils for which they were considered alone to be responsible, will be imputed to them no more, or will be imputed with justice. Their deliberations will be more prompt, and ought to be no

less free and fearless. The unlearned will no longer grope in darkness for cause and effect. The Indian minister, if worthily chosen, will have those aids to deliberation on the one hand, and that power of independent and absolute action on the other, which give a rational hope of progressive good Government. The just and wise intentions of the Court may be enforced, as they have never yet been, by an absolute will. There is no denying that unfettered and yet knowing where to find information, the new Indian minister has a fine opening before him. He will not attempt to *govern* India, if wise, for India must be governed on the spot, and to do this the minister should be quit of the Council and the Cabinet, and establish himself in Government House. From Lord Stanley we augur much, with reference to the tact and firmness which he displayed in carrying the bill in safety through the House, as well as to his liberal tendencies, his oratorical powers, and the high tone of feeling which distinguishes the party with which he acts.

Again, the bill is a guarantee for striking ability of some kind on the part of the Indian minister. The existence of Mr. Vernon Smith, or of men of his calibre, in so prominent a position, becomes henceforth well-nigh impossible. Under the charter, a weak, but convenient or necessary member of the Cabinet, might be sent to preside in Cannon Row, just as in India, we sometimes see an indifferent Collector promoted to make as indifferent a judge. The President of the Board of Control could do but little harm. Beneath him was a conclave acting on settled maxims, and linking caution with experience; on them he might suffer the responsibility to rest. But the Indian minister will have no such scape-goat at hand. He must talk face to face with men of no mean capacities, who have made India their study. Whether he assents, or whether he overrules, he must be capable of expressing his views at the Council Board in a manner, which will command the respect, if it cannot ensure the conviction, of its members. And when he has disposed of, a tough question in Leadenhall Street, or determined on the principle of vernacular or of English education or of colonization, in the morning, he must be prepared to maintain his position in the House, in the evening, against the attacks of party, against the combinations of faction, against the presumptuous sciolism of some men who have studied India in a three months tour, against the crass ignorance of others who have not given to the study of an Indian question, that decent attention which they would give to the Bill for a new branch line of rail, or for the enclosing of the parish common, against the caprice of the English people, against the clamour

of the press. To fight such a battle the ministry must put a warrior in the van.

But we cannot disguise our feelings that there are dangers as well as securities under the new constitution. It is hardly to be questioned that men out of place will make India a party watchword, if no suitable, national or social topic be at hand. The minister with his own knowledge and with the weight of his council to back him, will have to face Parliament which is uncertain and impetuous, and which has no knowledge except of home and foreign politics. It is said, on this point, that Parliament having conferred power will scrutinise its exercise, and that the good sense of the nation displayed in its representatives, rarely deserts us and must ultimately prevail. This good sense, we fully admit, shines transparently at a national crisis, or when interests are at stake, the value of which every ten-pound householder can understand. It came out vigorously at the time of the Reform Bill. It was calmly exhibited to the eyes of convulsed Europe on the 10th of April 1848. It caused the quick pulse, and the mighty heart, of the nation to beat with one resolve at the Crimean war. It will silence faction, it will triumph over ignorance in high places, it will vindicate the national honour against the menaces of a despot, it will guard our coasts against the danger of surprise, it will make the people display that unity and independence for which they are renowned, whenever the subject demands, not the deep study of intricate problems, but that serious thought and reflection which can be exercised by any sensible Englishman. Where is the unity of interest which shall make all England think and feel with soberness on India? We cannot afford a mutiny every twenty years, to excite the genuine sympathies and the substantial benevolence of our fellow countrymen. That there will be abundance of opportunities for a partial display of feeling on India, it is unreasonable not to expect. There is some patronage still at the disposal of the minister, The mercantile community want more cotton, and if we are to believe reports, some Englishmen when comfortably seated by a coal-fire in London, are more ready to settle under the sun of Bengal, than they would be in Australia. The religious party can always act as a powerful lever. The House is, besides, never without a set of those disinterested patriots who try their prentice hands on works where failure may bring no discredit. There will be motions made from spite, from ignorance, from selfishness, from the hope of peace, from real but misguided philanthropy, from the love of display, from a desire to obstruct some English reform of importance. The minister and his party may be strong enough to defy all such as

fight under false standards. We may escape some egregious blunder by our national good luck. India may yet be governed for its own sake. But we shall attain these ends by as little as possible of the direct interference of Parliament: for, as for any legislation based on clear perceptions, prolonged interest, complete knowledge, and thorough impartiality, we agree with an able writer in deeming that for any such expectations "parliamentary interference will be the veriest sham."

To the above dangers of vexatious interference at home, there must be added those of corruption in patronage, and of the Electric Telegraph, as first noticed by a distinguished writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*. It is next to impossible that some taint of impurity should not affect the atmosphere of English politics, and it will be a miserable sight if the home influence of the ministry shall have more to do with the bestowal of Indian appointments in India, than had the so-called nepotism of the Directors. But who can assure us that it will be less? And what a temptation will there be for a minister, harassed by deputations, overborne by class interests, and not insensible to the claims of political adherents, to transmit electric hints to the Governor General as to war, or amnesty, or cotton, as to the course which he should follow in points of religion or caste, or as to the individual best fitted to inspect Her Majesty's cavalry, or to carry on the great work of civilization in Oude or the Punjaub! If hints or orders, unaccompanied by reasons, as must be the case, are to arrest or accelerate the progress of the Governor General, there is an end to that vigorous and unfettered action by which, at a crisis, our Indian Empire has so often been preserved. Of course it is easy to reply that the Electric Telegraph may be the means of checking a blunder, or of announcing the startling fact of an European war, at a time when hours may be worth regiments of soldiers and lacks of rupees. By the Telegraph, it may be said, the news of the mutiny at Meerut was sent to all important stations and to the seat of Government. It was the Telegraph which cancelled the ill-advised proclamation which Mr. Colvin's best friends will lament, but not justify. A Telegraph to England in May 1857 would have given extra confidence to every man that fought on our side. But what if the Telegraph had been brought to bear on the Punjaub, and had impeded the action of its chief, who was, literally, calling in a new Indian world to redress the balance of the old! What if the electric chain shall be made the channel of conveyance, not for news of importance, not for promises of succour, not for expressions of confidence, but for timorous doubts, for paltry interference, and for impertinent but plain suggestions, in which, for once aban-

doning circumlocution, the invincible spirit of jobbery knows how to take care of its 'Dowbs'! As much, we think, is to be dreaded from the attacks of Parliament on the minister, as from the minister's interference, by a short cut, in matters which he cannot comprehend. It is the danger of the Telegraph to which we desire beforehand to point, for the period which must elapse before India, by any possibility, can be thoroughly comprehended at Home.

At the same time we accept the dissolution of the Company, as a political fact, which circumstances had rendered inevitable, and with no mere lip loyalty to her Gracious Majesty, we congratulate one of her chief servants on the noble field for operation which partial successes, orations, triumphs, detected blunders, and the long legacy of experience combine to spread out before him.

We have endeavoured to answer the questions as to the loss or the gain conferred by the bill, and we shall now try to say something about the amount of good or evil done by the late Company. To attempt a full exposition of the policy of this corporation in a few pages would be absurd, but to let it pass unnoticed to its grave, would be a "frigid philosophy" from which this Review at least is very far removed. We cannot certainly envy the man or the set of men who have nothing but indecent exultation for the close of the charter. And those who can find no food for admiration in the events of the last hundred years, will assuredly themselves leave nothing behind them for the next generation to admire. Sneering now will teach others to sneer with justice at the close of this century, if not before. We observed with real regret some time in 1857, that the Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta needlessly dragged into the tail of a report, some undignified remarks as to the probable termination of the charter. Never had the representatives of commerce or of the middle classes presented to them achievements of which they have more reason to be proud. The most high-minded and earnest statesmen, the most brilliant orators, the most practised writers of the day, feel this. If the Company's knell was rung by determined opponents, it was by the same hands that garlands were hung on the sepulchre; the enemy that one night had laid the adversary prostrate, came forward, on the next, to speak the funeral oration of the deceased; and even that absolute journal, which dictates terms to despots, crushes pretenders, annihilates social abuses, and gathers to itself so much of intellectual power to expound public opinion, after it had tracked its victim to destruction, came forward with lilies by handsful, and scattered purple flowers over the new-made grave.

It was, in truth, the mightiest corporation that History ever knew. The great guilds of the middle ages, the mercers, the glovers, the dyers, the wool-combers, with kings for their wardens and princes for their grand masters, bound together for mere self-preservation, cannot for a moment be placed in comparison with the company of merchants trading to the East Indies. Nor was any thing so imposing in appearance, so enduring in effect, ever bequeathed to posterity by the league of those Hanse Towns, which extorted concessions from monarchs, and reached from Lubeck on the Baltic, to Cologne on the Rhine. No fur clad hunters bartering gold for skins, or building log huts amidst the cold and desolation of northern latitudes, can be compared with those energetic traders, who learnt war in the counting house, and on a factory established a throne. To find any suitable parallel, we must go far beyond the local or terminable interests of banks, or guilds, or corporations, and with the most brilliant rhetorician of the day, place our finger on the historian's language which tells us, how "on 'the extremity of that gulph where the Adriatic feebly imitates 'the tides of the ocean," a few islanders, fleeing from tyranny, and deriving a miserable subsistence from fishery, created a maritime republic, acquired territories, and made their country the bride of the ocean.

We cannot, in this space, attempt even a sketch of the gradual rise and extension of the Company's empire, with which every reader who honours us with a perusal, must be more or less familiar, or even point out how, as mercantile privilege was lopped away, the political grandeur of the corporation rose and dilated; how the clerk became an administrator, and the salt monopolist a maker of kings. This history has yet to be written: for the policy pursued in peace and war in India is not to be found adequately described in any one work that we know of. The internal administration is carefully kept out of sight in the six volumes which Mr. Thornton has dedicated to the god of war, and in which the temple of Janus is never closed. It is not fully set forth even in the striking but hastily written work of Mr. Kaye. It lacks fulness in the excellent volume of Mr. Campbell, which has certainly risen to the rank of a standard book. We may search for it in vain in the learned but heavy tomes of the unimaginative Mill. Lord Stanhope's chapters on India, though necessarily confined to our early struggles, are characterized by fidelity and clearness, but do not touch on internal questions, while for the fulfilment of Lord Macaulay's promise that he would tell us "how, in Asia, British adventurers 'founded an empire not less splendid and more durable than 'that of Alexander," the world, we fear, must wait a little time

longer. But if the Company's History yet remains to be w
we may at this commencement of a new year and of
administration, mark what appear to us the good and bad
ciples of our past rule.

First and foremost we hold the boast of the Company
they have governed India for the natives, and not for Eng
men either in India or out of it, to be that on which posterity will, on the whole, set its seal of admiration. In the discussions at the last renewal of the Charter, we well remember that a cry was raised that the Government and the civilians disregarded the natives, whose interests were cared for only by the independent Europeans. But now the cry is that the Government pays too much attention to what the natives think, and too little to the requirements of the Europeans. The fact, we believe, is, that the principles of our administration have been fixed and uniform throughout, though facts may be distorted and intentions misrepresented to serve party zeal. The natives of India, their rights and customs, their tenderest prejudices, their dislike of a regular system cloked under the plea of the practice of their forefathers, their very caprices, sometimes absurd and unreasonable, have been watched, and fenced and guarded, or suffered to run their own course unchecked, by all the carefulness which a council of men, whose sympathies were bound up with India, could inculcate through debates and despatches. We do not say that this principle has not been carried to excess. We used to be needlessly alarmed on the great question of caste. We have often permitted pleas dictated by pride or social arrogance to bar the free course of the executive. But anything is better than the defect or denial of this principle. By petting and pampering high caste men in vast numbers, we have perhaps produced a mutiny. By totally disregarding the feelings and rights of the natives we might, with more ease, have produced a social rebellion. India must be governed not for any Civil Service, not for the Horse Guards, not for the Press, not for English capital to be circulated by merchants, not for the laws, nor even for the language of England, but *first* for the good of the Hindu and the Mohammedan alike. Our primary duty is to them, and we take the Company's manly avowal in this respect to be an eminent virtue of which no opposition should make them ashamed.

Acting on this principle, they produced a race of administrators to which no other system has as yet given birth. The most signal success has been attained in this respect when there has been the widest field for the most vigorous action, unimpeded, but subject to an ultimate reckoning. The Company's servant always shone conspicuously where there was a treaty

to be made, or an interminable feud to be adjusted, or a wild tribe to be reclaimed from some custom repugnant to humanity, or a simple code to be promulgated, or patriarchal justice to be administered, or anything that required firmness tempered with conciliation to be done. Where Government wanted special talent for a particular purpose, that kind of talent was as certainly forthcoming, as a graphic and ready pen starts up at the bidding of the Thunderer, in Vancouver's island, or in the territory of Utah. For, the Government fitted the man to the office, and trusted largely to obtain liberal results. In many undertakings which required tact and diplomacy, ability to comprehend a social state ruled by different canons to our own, judgment to discern what might be enforced by law and what conceded by policy, the Company's servant made matters so smooth, that men were deluded into believing all work to be easy of accomplishment which was so easily done. There was a knack in governing aliens in blood and in religion, which was elevated into a science. It was not that the Company produced great lawyers, or men who were lights of jurisprudence. In judicial eminence, notoriously, there has been a want of first-class talent, but administrative or diplomatic ability of the very highest order has been never found to fail in all generations from Hastings, and Shore in the days of our grandfathers, Richard Jenkins in the days of our fathers, down to Bird and Thomason, the Lawrences, Cubbon, and many others in our own.

It is, however, undeniable that large as was the trust which the old Court reposed in its servants, their Government proceeded on a system of scrutiny and check in ordinary times, which was a serious obstacle to all speedy or vigorous reform. The error of interference in local patronage they avoided with self-denial and prudence, but the error of applying the maxims of the desk or the counting house to the Government of a vast Empire they deliberately perpetuated. Most jealously was this supervision exercised in matters of expenditure. To translate the homely English proverb into Indian parlance, the Directors were wise for annas, and foolish for rupees. Not ten rupees were ever spent in white-washing a cutcherry in their remotest province, nor fetid drains cleaned and repaired in a jail, nor an extra policeman retained for a fortnight to strengthen the executive at the time of the *Mohurrum*, without bills and statements being forwarded gravely for the approval of the Commissioner, or the Board, of the local Government, aye! even of the Supreme Government in India, and of the Government at Home. Sometimes the expenditure was sanctioned without a word, and sometimes warnings against extravagance in future

were delivered with a gravity, which reminds us of the Judge's charge to Mr. Weller at the trial, and the turn given to the subject by the reply of that unparalleled witness. The maxims of frugality in ordinary disbursements were so rigidly acted on in all the high departments everywhere, that Indian finance became a mere system of account and audit. The accuracy of the statistics was surprising, and the checks were almost perfect, but the result was that principle and progress were lost sight of in the mass of details. We do not believe that India ever had a financier, who taking a calm survey of debts and liabilities, could hit on a mode of replenishing the exchequer. The only idea of finance has been saving and paring; reductions of whole establishments as opportunity offered; and doubling up two offices in the person of one incumbent. To calls for generous outlay on public works, on canals, on irrigation, on roads, on a police establishment that for years has been numerically defective, or on native agency in important positions obviously underpaid, the present state of the finances, the exigencies of the campaign, and similar replies were constantly given. We do not say that noble works were not occasionally inaugurated, but it was only after an amount of representation and discussion that would have renewed or abolished a charter. For years the idea seemed to be that no great works could be undertaken till the finances righted themselves, or until we had a positive surplus.—To borrow for such expenditure was only devised within the last five years. Meanwhile in spite of warnings and circulars, and the lynx-like eyes of the Financial Secretary, as he was misnamed, the expenditure was on the increase. Because when a kingdom was annexed, or a treaty of new cession signed, the Governor General had only to take the subject out of the cognizance of the Financial, and place it under the Foreign department. In the latter he was supreme. No twaddling effusions could here restrain his politic generosity. The metamorphose, too, was as startling as a conjuror's trick, and the regular, quiet, staid Indian financier, looked on it with the amazed eyes of Harpagon looking on his servant changing from coachman to cook. In the financial office, without the concurrence of his colleagues, and the consequent previous reference home, the Governor General could not raise the pay of a sheristadar five rupees in the month, or establish a new police station on a river where boats were being plundered by scores, or appoint two more dawk runners in the rainy season anywhere; for all these disbursements would have come under the head of increase to existing establishments. But once in the foreign office, and *presto!* at the bidding of the untrammelled Proconsul, new regiments of irregular caval-

ry and of local police, rose up at a stroke of the pen. The memorials of ancient dynasties were saved from destruction; great lines of communication employed thousands of workmen; canals of unprecedented length were marked out; cantonments rose by magic; sinks of pollution were purified, and laks of rupees disbursed one day, almost in sight of the office whence one hundred rupees would have been denied the day before. The practical good sense of the Directors led them to sanction such expenditure: for they well knew the necessity of making annexation or conquest safe. But the sight of parsimony and magnificence in juxtaposition is curious. The same good sense which had approved of the local levies, the strong and well-paid police, the net-work of roads, and the healthy barracks in the provinces termed non-regulation, ought to have taught a company of merchants that there are cases in which to borrow for remunerative enterprises in older acquisitions, is the wisest policy; and that no Government, however pure its intentions, or mild its sway, can ever hope to defy the attacks of party, if it cannot boast of a police which protects and does not rob the people, of secure ways along which wheeled carriages can travel, and of speedy and cheap justice which may be termed the patrimony of the poor. Unluckily, in many questions of internal reform and progress, the Home Government discarded the maxims of legitimate speculation which become the British merchant, and retained only those of Tare and Tret, which had better have been left to the shopman.

Most fortunate would it have been for the Company as well as for India, if the exactitude in regard to repairs and salaries, though sometimes expedient and necessary, had been joined to that spirit of enterprise which looks to the future for repayment. Is it possible to calculate exactly what would have been the value of a railroad completed from Bombay to Agra, from Calcutta to Delhi, on the 12th of May 1857?

The mistaken view in finance which proceeded partly from ignorance and partly from fear of the controlling power, was accompanied by a more fatal mistake still—ignorance of the power of the Press. The indifference of the Government both at home and in India to what was circulated in print, has always seemed to us perfectly unaccountable, the more so as we have heard many exceedingly able men, skilled in the warfare of party, declare that Government ought to have some means of making known its views and action beyond what is available to it in the ordinary official *Gazette*. But for years the Court went on with its usual avocations, explaining nothing, vindicating nothing, defending nothing. It was only in 1853 that it discovered the mighty power that has sprung up since

the commencement of this century. The slenderest stock of legal knowledge teaches us all the mischievous consequences of allowing judgment to go by default, and the Company for years, was perpetually being arraigned, was abused by sharp-eyed detectives, and at best, was dismissed from the court with a warning. Injured innocence, that makes no sign, is quite beyond the comprehension of political partisans in England. The intentions of the Company, we conscientiously believe, were usually the best and purest in the world; but these intentions were constantly marred by slowness in execution, by neglect of opportunities, by an awkward silence, and by indifference to public opinion, or at least to what passed muster for it. In 1853 the Home Government at last awoke from its lethargy, and it fought manfully its losing game in the past year. But, like its own sepoys in the mutiny, this vigour in attack was exhibited too late. We do not mean that any Government should undertake, either of itself or through its servants, to answer every outrageous calumny, or blundering accusation that appears in print; but we mean that it should anticipate enquiries by prompt action, and, at suitable opportunities, should remove all misapprehensions as to what it had not done. The Press, in these days, is fully as much an instrument of Government, as a six-pounder field piece, the written fiat of a Chief Commissioner, the seal of a court, or the bayonet of a volunteer. The time for secrecy and checks on discussion is gone. The way for Government to deal with the Press is to enter the same lists, to rob malice of its sting, and by lucid expositions of its own policy, to be beforehand with the attacks of party. Neglect of this weapon, too many checks in routine matters, want of enterprise in great ones, did more harm to the Government here and at home, than half-a-dozen annexations.

There is, further, one other grand mistake committed in India for which the Company, as a body, are not more to blame than many of its best servants. We mean, of course, the retention of so vast a native army, levied on principles which every one can judge for himself to be erroneous. About its partial demoralisation we shall doubtless have fuller evidence eventually, and it seems now tolerably clear that matters have been going wrong ever since the Affghan campaign. Occasional outbreaks of temper showed us that all was not right, and we had here and there a warning voice against listening to the prejudices of the high caste sepoy. But such warnings were drowned in the complacent spirit of laudation in which we have been accustomed to speak and write of the army. The Press, the court, the ablest statesmen, the keenest soldiers, writers in periodicals, writers of books, one and all, are to blame. Revolt was never

contemplated but in the most general terms; and we would frankly ask any man accustomed to discuss military matters, be he official or independent, whether mutiny on so gigantic a scale had ever entered into his dreamiest conceptions? The officers who had longest commanded and best known the tall Brahmin sepoy, showed a chivalrous credulity which often cost them their lives. A Commander-in-Chief, of undoubted talents, but of headstrong purposes and unmeasured language, cried up the whole army as much as he had cried down a single mutinous regiment. Writers of all professions and politics united in eulogising the faithfulness of the sepoy. On what single statesman, on what particular epoch, is to be laid the blame of defiance to prophecy? There are, it is true, in all ages of the world, men who have an inkling of startling events, and who astound their contemporaries by intimations of mighty changes to come. A man was imprisoned as a lunatic, two centuries ago, for declaring that the vapour issuing out of the spout of a tea kettle would cause a revolution in travel and trade. Grant that a person of similar prophetic vision had depictured, ten years ago, the state of India in 1857, what would have been the inevitable consequence of paying the slightest attention to his intimations? Obviously, we must have come to what we are coming now, *i. e.* to considering whether the artillery should not be entirely European, whether all forts and magazines should not be garrisoned exclusively by Englishmen, whether the regular cavalry should not be entirely suppressed, whether the native infantry should not be reduced by one-third or one-half, whether the Home Government must not consent to lose a considerable portion of its patronage, whether flogging could not be re-introduced into the ranks, whether commanding officers should not be more largely trusted, whether natives could ever be trusted at all. Let us conceive by following out these denunciations to their legitimate conclusion, the complicated interests which such a reform would have embraced. What strongholds of prejudice and folly to be stormed! What darkness to be enlightened! What cherished rights and privileges to be invaded! What rough and unpleasant truths to be spoken, and then to be denounced as calumnies! What jealousies and recriminations, what angry passions, what excited language, what selfish fears! Let us imagine, too, the host of writers which such a contest, would have called into existence, say, five or six years ago. A series of able letters from the pen of *Centurion*, would have tickled the readers of the *Englishman*. Communications as able from *Miles*, but taking the other side of the question, would have graced the columns of the *Friend*. Bhawani Patuk would have vindicated the in-

tegrity of the Brahmin at Delhi, to be answered crushingly by a humble Moodelliar from Madras. The excellency of caste, as maintaining an upright bearing in a tall and soldierly form, would have been logically set forth in one periodical through the exertions of "one who had served under Lord Lake;" and the next month, a smashing reply to the same would have appeared in a magazine of opposite principles, by the "grand-son of an officer who had fought against Hyder:" while to crown all, long editorials would have dissected and laid bare the whole subject from beginning to end, under the guidance of Major Robert Wetherby, senior, of the 12th light cavalry, &c., &c., &c.

We write this in no mere spirit of *persiflage*. We firmly believe that so many bodies were interested in the maintenance of a large native army, so many strong positions were to be attacked and carried at the point of the pen, so silently and gradually had the native army become an intrinsic part of the Government of the empire, that any attempt to curtail its proportions or its privileges would have either ended in discredit and failure, or might have precipitated the catastrophe which it might have been designed to prevent. We have all, more or less, helped to maintain it as one of the traditions of the empire. It was a fatal blunder. It is unreasonable to make a scape-goat of any single individual or of any one class. The sepoy army must swell the history of human error, and go down to posterity as a warning, without reflecting the Company's shame.

On other questions of policy there will be naturally a considerable diversity of opinion. Whether the Government has been too active or too lukewarm in religion; whether it has actively or even passively opposed the free ingress of Europeans with their capital; whether it has been a progressing and improving Government; whether its system of education has not failed in its duty to the masses: on these and on several other topics which at present are more or less hotly disputed, we shall here give no decided opinion. Our business is with those points on which every one, with the exception of a few impracticable ranters, must acknowledge the Company's undoubted failure or undoubted success. On the question of high moral education, however, we must remark that when, in 1847, this Review (Art. V. No. 13, pages 215-16) advocated that the Bible should take its place in the schools of Government by the side if necessary of the *Shastras* and of the *Koran*, on the bare grounds of its being the purest and best book on morality that the world had ever known, the proposal met with condemnation not only by the functionaries of Government, but by

the leading papers, not excepting the *Friend of India.* But the question of English, vernacular, and moral education, of itself demands an article.

The incontestible merits of the deceased Company may perhaps be summed up as follows. It has, in the space of one hundred years, acquired an empire which is the dread or the marvel of foreign politicians, and which no other agency, though less anomalous and more correct theoretically, could have possibly acquired in the first instance or retained in the second. It has governed this Empire by its own servants till 1857, without ever exciting in the thronged cities, or the rich and cultivated districts, anything beyond a local and passing disturbance. It has removed all positive obstructions to internal commerce, if it has not actually supplied it with adequate means of transit. It has taxed its subjects, though unequally, by a standard to which all native Governments are strangers, and on many classes it has laid the very lightest burden, or even no burden at all. Whatever the errors that proceeded from haste or ignorance, or undue partiality for local objects, or from mere physical and moral disqualifications for comprehending Asiatics, the governing agents have been distinguished for striking integrity as well as for real talent, and the administration of justice, whatever its short-comings, in their hands has been untainted and pure. The Company has besides been the patron of science and of learning, and huge sums have been almost squandered on every work that had for its object the exploring of the languages, the laws, and the past history of India. These are facts which History will not let perish. And it is on this basis of past successes, as well as of patent errors, that, as we have already shown, the Crown has now to build.

When men are driven into a corner by some argument on the side of the late Government against which it is vain to contend, a common resource is, to admit the good that the Government has effected, but to ascribe it to the mere force of the system or to the weight and practical earnestness of the middle classes—the Tom Browns—by whom the Government has been carried on. The principles and policy, with these candid gentlemen, are all wrong, but the result, somehow, is good. The hands are the hand of Esau, the active, vigorous, and hot-tempered huntsman, the voice is the voice of the wily and deceitful Jacob. The unquestionable achievements of the administration are like rare plants miraculously appearing in a common kitchen garden, or as the wheat of Robinson Crusoe, which took root and grew without forethought on his part. In this admirable logic, all the praise is due to the instrument: none to those who set a-going the machine. The Company,

not entitled to one tittle of eulogy, may fairly take to itself every particle of blame. We submit that this sort of reasoning is as unfair to the past, as it will be to the future Government of India. Whatever is well done by the humblest official in India reflects credit on the Government which he serves. The reflection goes through every grade of the public service. It is the Government, obviously, which selects its workmen, which prescribes to them their line of action, which animates, directs, disposes of, and superintends the whole. No one has a right to rob the Company of any praise due to past progress. No reasonable man will grudge the Crown any credit which it may claim when its administration, in all essentials, shall have left its predecessor far behind in the race.

But what, we think, will be the bright spot in the Company's annals is its treatment of the civil and military servants whom it has reared. It is all very well to talk of nepotism, undue preferences, unjust exclusions, and the like. To be well served, a governing body should treat its officers well. Not then, to speak of the liberal salaries, the secure pensions, the attractive privileges, the boons gracefully conceded, and the grosser rewards of past services, the Court gave to all its subordinates that moral support which, to high and ambitious minds, was worth all the rest. The Carthaginians crucified an unsuccessful admiral. The Spanish Government put Columbus in chains. But the Court, with a true appreciation of difficulties which a Roman senate might have admired, sustained, applauded, and even honoured, the man who, in trying circumstances, had borne himself well in their despite. It stood by the first Hastings, with substantial pecuniary assistance, when the world still believed him a tyrant and a robber; and it relieved the thoughtless magnificence of the second Hastings, which after a career of victory had left him in penury. It disputed with Wellesley, but handsomely recognised his striking abilities. It hurled no foul scorn at the disasters entailed by the policy of an Auckland; it was the first to show a due appreciation of the vigour and statesmanship of a Dalhousie; it never, even in recalling Lord Ellenborough, struck the back-handed blow which that nobleman, in the vanity which has twice marred his grand opportunities, gratuitously aimed at the present Head of this Empire. The consequence of this generous support was that the Company's servants, great and small, over and above their allegiance to their masters, worked at their posts with an entire and hearty devotion to the business which they undertook. Putting aside sundry drones and incapables, they have been men of talent, energy, and assiduity in the drudgery of quiet times.

And when the crash came, the system under which they had been educated showed its choicest fruits. Of no achievements will the Directors be more proud than of those which their military and civil servants displayed during the mutiny. They may, it is true, be proud of the victories of the sword and of the pen gained in past years; of the determination which broke the Mahratta lines at Lasswari, and of the rapid forays which hunted down the Pindarries; of the gallantry which held the ruined rampart of Herat; and of the tact and skill which bound the lion of Lahore to our interests; of an unbroken series of political triumphs; of diplomacy not wholly divorced from equity and fairness; of the exertions which, in one generation, reclaimed one set of savages in the Rajmahal forests, and in our own time has brought another set to reverence a name, recalling the days of chivalry, throughout the wilds of Khandeish; of victories attained against great odds, of civil triumphs completed in spite of a host of prejudices; and of an administration generally, which partly living down or overawing the superstition of one sect and the fanaticism of another, has been the school of practical administrators as well as the "nursery of captains." But this retrospect is almost eclipsed by the deeds of the Company's servants on which, crowded into the space of a twelve-month, even the virulence of its opponents has not thought fit to cast a shade. The rapid discernment which saw our strength and our weakness, the fertility of resource, the undaunted front presented against increasing difficulties, the firmness which kept hosts at bay, the heroic patience that quailed not before heat, hunger, and martyrdom, have extorted admiration from those who would annihilate or supersede the system which, thus tried, had not been found wanting. The most merciless suppressor of the East India Company must, we think, feel like those banished cavaliers "who gave way to an emotion of national pride, when 'they saw a brigade of their countrymen, (Puritans) out-num-'bered by foes and abandoned by allies, drive before it in 'headlong rout the finest infantry of Spain, and force a passage 'into a counter-scarp which had just been pronounced impreg-'nable by the ablest of the Marshals of France." We leave the character of the Company, after this short sketch of its merits and defects, to History, which will have abundant means of forming an impartial opinion, and to Time, which in this case, will hardly surrender the rise and progress of our eastern dominion to that

> Wallet at his back,
> Wherein he puts things for oblivion,
> A great sized monster of ingratitude.

Perhaps the rule of a century, after all, was in one point of view not unfittingly terminated by a death-struggle where the Company kept an army in check, and a population in subjection, until the hosts of England were sent to the rescue by the Crown. Such another hundred years so ended, the most diligent student of history will probably fail to exhume. The funeral oration of the deceased power is best entrusted to the mute eloquence of those who wielded so well the swords of their profession, or laid aside the toga to take up a maiden sword; and if striking deeds were performed by those who sat near the cradle, not less noble have been displayed by those who will follow the hearse. What more fitting tribute could be offered to dying greatness, or in what could the Company find a more glowing eulogy, a more pointed epitaph, or a more solemn dirge?

ART. VII.—1. "*The Times.*" London. 1857-1858.

2. *British India, its Races and History.* By JOHN M. LUDLOW. CAMBRIDGE. MACMILLAN. 1858.

3. *How We Tax India. A Lecture delivered before the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.* By W. E. FORSTER. 1858.

LET India provide facts, England will find theories. Such is the division of labor which appears to have commended itself to our friends at home. And, truth to say, we have each labored in our several vocation. The most eager searcher for news could not complain that we Indians were chary of catastrophes and situations in 1857, and we may return the compliment, and say that the good folks at home have not been idle in fitting each event or rumour of event with an elaborate preface of cause and motive; and in situations where we could see nothing but blood and tears, finding "lessons," "warnings," "natural consequences," and whatever else is magnificent and philosophical.

English critics have differed largely with one another, but they have been all pretty well agreed in telling us Anglo-Indians that we have ourselves to thank for the mutinies. Politicians in parliament assure us that the Bengal army mutinied, because ensigns have begun to call natives "niggers;" writers in the *Times* say more cautiously that the growing estrangement between conquerors and conquered was the main cause of the revolt; sceptics declare that we brought the storm on our heads by subscribing to missionary societies; the armies of Exeter Hall shout aloud to us in the midst of our anguish that we are being plagued for our sins. Christian socialists, like Mr. Ludlow, read up Indian history in order to find facts to support a "Young India" brief; even wise, calm, and critical enquirers, like Mr. Forster, do not altogether escape the contagion of righteous indignation; they commence their enquiries by assuming that India has been misgoverned, and then proceed to ask—in what respect?—the difficulty which they find in answering the question never leading them, it would appear, to suspect the justice of their assumption. We have placed at the head of our present article the names of three publications which represent, so to speak, three schools of English criticism on Indian affairs. The *Times* represents, as it so audaciously yet so justly claims to do, "all England." Mr. Forster's pamphlet represents thinking, intellectual, radical, and slightly philanthropically tinged England. Mr. Ludlow's book does not, we are glad to think, represent England at all.

Affected in tone, exaggerated in sentiment, it may be recognized, notwithstanding the disguise of a style stolen from Mr. Maurice, as the mouthpiece of a party which we had thought discredited or dead for ever, but which the Indian mutiny has brought back to life, though happily not to credit—the mouthpiece of Young India.

There is a fourth school of criticism to which we shall not do more than allude here; the loudest, the most virulent, and probably in point of numbers, far the largest. We mean the so-called religious school. This school found ample utterance in the sermons preached on the day of humiliation in 1857. Anxious to avoid discussions which only cause bitterness, we will be content to pass over this without farther notice.

True to its nature, the *Times* represents faithfully the measure and the nature of the interest felt in India by the mass of the English people. So long as this country was the scene of such a tragedy as the world has perhaps only once before witnessed, India was the uppermost thought in the mind of every Englishman, and the *Times* accordingly ransacked sea and land for facts, and with its usual success framed such a narrative of the great events of the struggle, that Anglo-Indians used to learn for the first time from its columns what had been going on within a hundred miles of them. The crisis passing, the details of a straggling warfare and a perplexed and distracted Government offered little attraction to an audience sated with tremendous catastrophes; the French difficulty succeeded to the prominent part lately occupied by the Indian mutinies, both in the minds of men and in the columns of the *Times*.

Again, the *Times* has represented John Bull in taking an essentially English view of the whole affair. That the battle of 1857 was fought and won without aid from home, is a fact faintly conceded and speedily forgotten. The interest of the readers of the *Times* has been chiefly directed to those reinforcements which were sent from England, and their subsequent proceedings. So far is this carried, that the *Times* has frequently written as though we Anglo-Indians had a separate national existence of our own. "We," the Anglo-Indians, "had lost India, they"—the people at home—"saved us." "We must be content with any arrangements the people of 'England choose to make for us, seeing that it is to them we 'owe our preservation." "The Indian vessel having been lost 'by our incompetence, has become the lawful property of the 'salvors—the British nation." Such is the language of the *Times*, as if we Englishmen out here were a body apart from and opposed to the British nation.

Again, the *Times* with all its sagacity has fallen into the

very English habit of making gross blunders about India. This is not matter of blame or surprize, but it is none the less matter of fact. Able men sitting in London are quite as competent as we in India, and frequently more so, to form conclusions when they really know facts. The point in which nothing can supply the want of experience and local knowledge, is the power of determining the value of evidence. Much as the English have learnt of late years about the East, they have not yet discovered how little the Presidency towns represent British India. Accustomed to distrust official routine, and to regard official communications with jealousy, they do not understand that in India the only reliable view of affairs is the official one, that beyond official circles there is, in fact, little or no public opinion. Thus the *Times*, and the British public, fell alike into the snare of attaching absurdly undue importance to the Calcutta Petition. They were countenanced in this mistake by Lord Canning, who had himself at that time never been beyond the limits of the 'ditch.'

We mean no disrespect to the mercantile community of Calcutta, but we are mistaken if they would not themselves admit that they know as little of India a hundred miles from Fort William as they do of Vancouver's island; and certainly there are few bodies in India whose opinions on the politics of the empire would carry less weight with the majority of Anglo-Indians. The Calcutta Petitioners, as might have been expected, made a mess of their case. They omitted real grievances, and supplied their place with complaints which would not hold water. Of course the Government was glad to avail itself of the failure, to discredit all its opponents. The Press and the public in England were, however, honestly perplexed. "Here," it was said, "is the evidence of the Anglo-Indians;" and when it was found out that this evidence was untrustworthy, the *Times* was exceedingly angry at having been duped. The leading journal did not choose to confess that it had made a mistake in confounding Calcutta with India; but has rather chosen to revenge itself by treating ever since with affected contempt the evidence of all Anglo-Indians.

Lastly, it has been very characteristic of English public life and of the *Times* newspaper, that India has been made from first to last a party question. The Company was to be destroyed for the same reason that Hong-kong was to be taken—to support Lord Palmerston. The spoliations of the proprietors of Oude was to be justified in order to condemn Lord Derby. The Whigs were in office when the reinforcements were sent round the Cape. The most frightful mistake of the whole

war has therefore never been condemned. Reputations were made or obscured to order, according to the rise or fall of English party politics. Lord Canning was the nominee of Lord Palmerston, the friend of Lord Granville. Therefore he became the protegé of the *Times*, and by the force of that protection has outlived a career of continued failure. The Thunderer is loud enough now in its praises of Sir John Lawrence. The Palmerston era has gone, and the *Times* can afford to magnify the one man whom both India and England alike delighted to honor. But we cannot forget that for many eventful months, while the chief commissioner of the Punjab was cut off from the support, and denied the encouragement, of the Indian Government, the approval of his countrymen was equally withheld from him by the *Times*. To praise the policy of the Punjab was felt by a sure instinct to be a depreciation of the policy of Calcutta. It is not in human ingenuity to reconcile the wisdom of the man who gagged the Press, who alienated every Englishman, who allowed every disturbance to grow chronic under feeble treatment, with the wisdom of the man who sent daily bulletins to the newspapers, who united in himself the sympathetic force of every European in his province, who crushed out the sparks of incipient insurrection before they had time to burst into a flame. Because therefore eulogy of Sir John Lawrence was felt to be dispraise of Lord Canning, the organ of Lord Palmerston was not ashamed to suppress the unanimous evidence which reached it from every source in favor of the former.

Lord Clyde was sent out by Lord Palmerston, and the mantle of the ex-premier's protection was made to rest on him also. The *Times* therefore does not fail to pooh-pooh the letter of a "disabled officer," representing, as that letter does, the almost unanimous opinion of every officer of the army and every observer in India. From what we have seen during the last few months, we may judge what we have to expect in future from the *Times* and from the mass of the British public. The national honor will be upheld; we shall be supported in war; troops will be sent according to our need, and in spite of much shrieking it will not be long before the English treasury will expand itself to supply an Indian deficit. For all this let us be thankful. At the same time, we must be prepared to have these benefits as it were flung in our faces. And we must expect in lieu of them to have the services of Indian officers, who are that and nothing else, continually eclipsed by the inferior merits of those who have powerful friends at home to support them; and we must be content to leave the reputations of our heroes to posterity, knowing that for the present they will

be as much at the mercy of party politics, as men of reputation used to be in the much abused days of the last century.

Turning from newspapers to books, from the public at large to the narrower circle of those who read, write, and reflect on Indian affairs, we find that matters fare still worse with the unhappy Anglo-Indians. Doubtless this is a circumstance which ought to put us on the track of self-questioning. Ought we not to distrust our integrity if the mass of our countrymen have a bad opinion of us, and those who have made India their study a worse? Insomuch as English censure has a tendency to keep us all on the *qui vive*, we gladly welcome it as a friend to the cause of reform. But we cannot admit that it is just because it happens to be general.

The fact is that the subject of India has been taken up pretty extensively by the Liberals; including under that term both men of really liberal mind, and men who are technically called 'liberal', because of the party to which they are supposed to belong, though they themselves are often sufficiently churlish.

The real liberal by the bent of his mind, and the party liberal as a trick of his trade, have learnt to look on Government and the people as representing two necessarily opposite and antagonistic interests. English history has consisted till lately in the struggle of the people against the Government for freedom, and those who acquiesce with pleasure in the gradual triumph of the former, believe in their hearts that such must necessarily be the history of every nation, and such the ultimate issue of that history. Out of this radically wrong theory arose all the vagaries of Young India; hence have arisen, we venture to believe, the chief errors of all reforming philanthropists about India. It was clear that we had in this country the two elements of a history,—a people and a Government. The liberal had no doubt on which side to fix his sympathies. It being assumed that on the one side there was a people struggling for its liberty, on the other a Government conceding just as little as it could, and as slowly as it could, it only remained to pounce upon the particular points of restriction and tyranny, and then commence the familiar work of denunciation.

The English liberals have forgotten this essential distinction between Europe and Asia—or at any rate between England and India, that whereas you can scarcely govern the Englishman too little, you can scarcely govern the Indian too much. They have therefore looked for sins of commission when their real game should have been sins of omission. The greatest insult you can offer an Englishman is to over-

govern him; the greatest oppression you can inflict on a Hindustani is to let him alone. Liberals forgetting this have looked to the despotic acts of the Indian Government for a justification of their views. It is hardly too much to say that they would have succeeded better, had they fixed on those acts in which we have affected to aim at liberal institutions. An Englishman is so apt (Heaven be praised for the aptitude) to confound the words "despotism" and "tyranny," that he cannot understand that the greatest benefactors of the natives of India have been those who have acted most on the strength of their individual character—that is, most despotically. Nay the benefactors, when they go home and get accustomed to liberal phraseology, are apt, to forget it themselves. We doubt whether Sir George Clerk, who now talks about the natives of India in a style that might be expected from Lord John Russell, recollects how very little constitutional order there was in the rule which he exercised from the Sutlej to the Jumna. That his memory is cherished and revered throughout that region, we do of our own knowledge most gladly testify; but we know that it would not be so, were it not, that although it suits him now "to write like an angel," he acted in those days, like a great "hâkim," which means in plain English, like a despot.

Let us now see what the Liberals have to say about us. Mr. Ludlow undertook to enlighten the students of the Working-Men's College in London on Indian history and Indian politics. Mr. Ludlow informs us in his preface that he has no pretensions to Oriental learning; and we gather also that he has never been in India, except perhaps as an infant. His qualifications for writing two volumes on "British India, its races and its history" (Mr. Ludlow should have added if he wished to give an honest title, "its politics") appear to be that he was the son of an Indian officer, and had several relations in this country; that he had read Elphinstone's History, Macaulay's celebrated Essays, the *Times* newspaper, or some pamphlets; and lastly that he considered the subject a very important one. We do not complain of all this. We should have thought indeed that the number of able men who knew India personally, now resident in England, was so large, that it was needless to throw away the advantage of local experience in selecting for a College of working men a lecturer on Indian affairs. Still we are far from saying that Indians are to claim the subject of India as their monopoly, and equally far from desiring it. Mr. Ludlow indeed seeks to disarm criticism by saying that it has "nothing to teach to those who know India, but only a little to those who do not." This is modest enough,

and were all according to this beginning we might differ from Mr. Ludlow, but we should not feel disposed to quarrel with him.

But this modest preface is succeeded by two volumes, in which judgment is pronounced in the most ex-cathedra tone on every great act and every great actor in Anglo-Indian history. The judgments of Lord Macaulay are reversed sometimes with contempt, sometimes with a flood of quasi-pulpit oratory. And at the end of the book no less than one hundred and forty pages are devoted to the consideration of "questions of the present," in which all the points which perplex Indian statesmen, are debated in the most polemical, and decided in the most dogmatical, tone. The whole book is written in a style palpably imitative of that of Maurice. To imitate Mr. Maurice's style is as dangerous an experiment as to attempt to state his doctrines; and we cannot congratulate Mr. Ludlow on the success of his experiment. We have the same foggy language; we have a simulation of the earnestness, but the earnestness rather of a polemic than of a great preacher; we have the same constant appeal to the name of Christ, the same attempt to reconcile a firm belief in the facts of biblical Christianity with every development of free thought in the middle of the nineteenth century; and the result of it all is a haziness and doubt as to the author's real meaning, which is compensated for in the case of Mr. Maurice by the power of genius,—a compensation which is denied to us in the case of Mr. Ludlow.

Of Mr. Ludlow's historical lectures it is beside our present purpose to speak. Distorted throughout by strong partizanship they are nevertheless skilfully put together, and the great difficulty of making a narrative of Indian events interesting to an English reader, is not unsuccessfully grappled with. But it is in the third part of his book that Mr. Ludlow has courted criticism, by the overweening confidence with which he gives utterance to the most extreme opinions on difficult questions, and it is by a few notices of this part of his work, that we propose to show our readers in what spirit and with what degree of knowledge, Indian affairs and Indian public men are criticised in England by grave, thoughtful, and—we doubt not—good men.

Mr. Ludlow divides the "lessons of the mutinies" into three classes. The first class is that which teaches us that we must for the future keep up a stronger European force in India. Mr. Ludlow is on this subject, as on every other, very violent against the Indian Government, but will not let us know why. He declaims very indignantly on the folly of supposing

that India can be held by Europeans, or that we can afford to dispense with a native army. But the East India Company has never tried to hold India with Europeans only; and it is to the Company that the idea and experiment of a native army are owing. What is "the obvious honest military lesson" which Mr. Ludlow says, the mutiny is to teach us, and for not having learnt which lesson before he so bitterly smites the Government? The lesson consists apparently in determining to keep up a mixed European and native force, and not attempting to coerce India by foreign soldiers only. Is it meant here that Government has not done this; and to its cost overdone it?

Mr. Ludlow continues:—

"There is another military measure now talked of of a more sweeping character. We must disarm, it is said, the whole population of the North-west. Whether this be needful or not, it must be impossible for an Englishman to judge from hence. But if such a measure be indeed required, it tells surely a bitter tale as to the character of our sway. No native Government, Mussulman or Hindu that I am aware of, ever deemed this necessary to its preservation. We cherish in England the right to have arms as one of the proudest marks of our freedom; it is secured to us by the Bill of Rights. If we take it away from the warlike races of the North-west, it will show that our power is incompatible with their freedom, that we seek to reduce them to the level of the humbler races of the South."

This is just a sample of the absurdity, and we are sorry to add, the cant by which Mr. Ludlow's book is disfigured throughout. Is it not the veriest cant of liberalism to be pleading for the right of the manly races of the North to go about cutting each other's throats? If Mr. Ludlow were to go at large armed to the teeth, we doubt whether he would find that the Bill of Rights would save him from being brought up before a magistrate. And we are very certain that if public opinion did not in England prevent the custom of carrying weapons a great deal more effectively than any law; were it to become a fashion in any particular country for men to go about with sword and pistol, and were crimes of violence to multiply,—as they surely would in consequence; we should have all the sensible men of all the other counties calling on Parliament to pass an arms act for the eccentric district. The freedom of the North-west! Heaven save the mark. We did really think that amongst educated persons this cant about the "rights of men" had gone out of date. It is *not* one of the rights of men—in the North-west or anywhere else—to carry about sword and musket with a view to upsetting all Government on the first favourable opportunity. Civilized freemen give up the practice of carrying arms, and for that reason only,

need not be restrained from the practice by law. A population goes armed when society is partially barbarous, and Government is weak. Mr. Ludlow is quite right in one point. Neither Hindu nor Mohammedan Government ever disarmed the population. Neither was ever strong enough. Neither—we may add—cared sufficiently for the blessings of peace and security to life and property. That peace and security are cheaply purchased at the price of depriving the marauding inhabitants of the North-west, of one of the benefits of the "Bill of Rights."

Mr. Ludlow goes on to the religious lesson of the mutinies. We have scandalously denied Christianity, he thinks, and yet we have offended caste. What is to be desired is that we should respect caste, and at the same time allow missionaries free scope. One would really suppose that Mr. Ludlow was trying to describe the very policy of the Company. That conciliation and respect for caste have been part of the "traditional policy," is what every Indian knows; it is indeed the *cheval de bataille* of the religious opponents of the late Government. And the missionaries *have* been allowed to come and go from Cashmere to Comorin, from Peshawur to the Berhampooter. But it was written in Mr. Ludlow's brief to abuse the Government, and he must do so whether their practice fits or offends his theory. In two points only do we find that Mr. Ludlow is opposed to what has actually been the policy of Government with regard to religion. He would prohibit the consumption of beef, and he would suppress all attempts to educate the people. Because the apostle Paul would eat no meat if it offended a weak brother, therefore Europeans are to eat no beef for fear they should get their throats cut. The motives are scarcely identical. Because secular education tends to promote religious enlightenment, therefore Government should have nothing to do with secular education. In these views Mr. Ludlow certainly differs from the Government of India. If it is in support of these views that he rails, we are content to let him rail on.

Thirdly, Mr. Ludlow would have us learn from the mutinies the "lessons of race," which are these; to have more European officers of a good sort; to leave native princes in possession; and to open to natives offices of trust. As to the first we have no difference with Mr. Ludlow. It is one of those just ideas which he has picked up from Indian authorities, and distorted less than most which he has got hold of. It is evident indeed throughout his book that he has heard or read the testimony of several valuable Indian authorities; he seizes this point and that point, but is utterly wanting in

that knowledge of his subject, or strong native sense, which might enable him to reduce his points to consistency.

Mr. Ludlow is quite right in supposing that "more European officers" is a crying want of India. He is equally right in supposing that quality is of quite as much importance as quantity; that whereas one refined sensible educated gentleman is a reinforcement, a score of mere beef-eaters are a source of weakness rather than strength. It is a pity he cannot help marring with absurdity one of the few passages in which he has happened to fall on his feet. We must take leave to tell him, however, that the "insolent Yankeeism" of calling natives "niggers" has *not* been one of the causes of the insurrection. We have heard the same solemn prudery talked by Sir Charles Trevelyan and others who ought to know better. We are the last to justify or commend the practice of speaking disrespectfully of any class of our fellow creatures. No thoughtful and few elderly or middle-aged men ever call their poorer brethren at home, "the snobs," or the clergy "parsons," or natives of India, "cursed niggers." But only prigs require to be told that 'boys will be boys.' We cannot make up our minds to consider the matter so seriously if ensigns of the Queen's service call Ram Singh a nigger to-day, as assuredly they were calling honest Joe Hodges a snob a year ago. The English social system survived the impropriety, so with the Anglo-Indian. Let the ensign be reproved by all means. He will be wiser we hope a year or two hence. In the meanwhile we need not elevate his indiscretion to the dignity of a national sin. If Mr. Ludlow or Sir C. Trevelyan mean to assert that the tone of the Indian administration, or of Indian administrators in the humblest rank, is systematically insolent or disrespectful to the natives then we can only say that the assertion is made ignorantly we hope, falsely we know.

We have all heard who they are that rush in where angels fear to tread; and it will not surprise our readers that Mr. Ludlow has entirely settled the whole question of how native princes should be treated. With the exception of one rajah at whose court a relative of Mr. Ludlow was fortunately resident, the whole foreign policy of the Indian British Government in India has been crooked, treacherous and rapacious. We cannot but think that if Mr. Ludlow had only had a few more friends in the political department, we should have heard a better account of this chapter of Indian history.

Does it never occur to this enthusiastic calumniator that perhaps the cause of our apparent exceptional fair dealing with that one favored stall, may be—not that Heaven sent a Ludlow as political agent, but that Ludlow, the compiler, has look-

ed at the history of that agency through different spectacles? He has dropped his Young India brief out of deference to his worthy relative, and is astonished to find that for the moment John Company is not a monster. Mr. Ludlow talks the usual clap-trap on the subject of native Government which the events of the hour have made popular. "The native princes 'have been our salvation. Happy for us that Lord Dalhousie 'had not entirely consummated his policy of annexing; happy 'that there were still a few tall poppies left;" but it is still as true as ever it was that tall poppies are not safe. Mr. Ludlow boasts of what non-annexation did for us; he forgets to enumerate the help we received from annexation. Does he suppose—perhaps he does—but does any body who knows anything about the subject suppose, that we could ever have held the Punjab in 1857, if the great men had not been so unsparingly suppressed in 1848? The Rajah of Patialah was a useful ally. Perhaps in being so useful the Maharaja was not uninfluenced by the recent recollection of the inevitable ruin which had befallen those chiefs who chose to be the enemies rather than the allies of the British Government. We are not advocating, no man in his senses to our knowledge ever has advocated, a sweeping policy of annexation, because it is convenient. That is a language not to be used in any Christian periodical; it is a language which we have seen often answered, but never used except by those who set it up for the sake of knocking it down. Each separate act of annexation is to be justified or condemned on its own merits. What we say is that whether an annexation be right or wrong, the advantages of it may be fairly balanced against the disadvantages.

And we will also say this. Supposing these disadvantages much greater than they are, and the advantages much less, it nevertheless may often be, as it often has been, our plain duty and unavoidable task to annex, whether we like it or not. This touches a fruitful source of confusion in the arguments of such men as Mr. Ludlow, and even of men more clear-headed and better informed. They labour to prove that this or that act of the Indian Government was highly unpopular; they draw a vivid picture of the displeasure of the people at being jolted out of their old picturesque ruts; they throw in sentimental old men—*laudatores temporis acti*, they elaborate a fancy piece, "an Indian village of the olden time;" and having done all this, they proceed to infer, or more frequently to insinuate, that what is unpopular must be wrong.

Once concede that principle and we must quit India. Once abandon it, and disquisitions as to the unpopularity of a measure or a policy become impertinent to men discussing that

measure's or that policy's *morality*. Beef-eating is unpopular; the abolition of the right to become a Sati is unpopular; our absence of sympathy with caste is unpopular; the enforcement of the penalty of a broken treaty is unpopular; our presence in India is unpopular. What then? Let us kill no cows, says Mr. Ludlow. Very good;—let him follow out the line to which he has committed himself; let him advocate the restoration of the rights of the Sati; the proclamation of Brahminism rampant; the restitution of Oude; the abandonment of India.

We will let Mr. Ludlow into a secret. We annex not because we like it, but because we cannot help it. No amount of slippery rhetoric can disguise the fact that the aims, hopes, fears, desires, loves, and hates, of an Asiatic and a European, are opposed the one to the other. So long as we are in this country, our history will consist in making the Asiatic view of life bend to the European. If this is tyranny, let us begone. But if we stay, let us have no hypocrisy. We cannot and ought not to look on life with Asiatic eyes. Our tendency is and must be to Europeanize. Toleration, sympathy, tact may help, as they have helped, to make this process less obnoxious, because less palpable to the natives. But the process goes on and will go on. And with the people which has to yield it, it never can and never will be popular.

Thirdly,—Mr. Ludlow enlarges on the duty of opening offices of trust to natives. It is a little provoking to see good men get up from a two months' study of Indian history, and announce as a new gospel that which the Indian Government has for a hundred years been labouring to reduce to practice. Offices *have* been opened to natives, we fear at the cost of the people of India. Why debate a matter on which we are quite certain that all Indian authorities must be practically agreed? Every good administrator in India always has governed, does govern, and must for ever, by the necessity of the case, govern through natives. This is the art of ruling in India, and we are far from saying that perfection has been reached, though certainly great progress has been made. But to high offices natives cannot be admitted, because according to our ideas they are not to be trusted. Are our ideas or theirs to prevail? Doubtless the people would like to have native judges. The native judges would be frightfully corrupt, but this Asiatics mind a great deal less than we mind it for them. Shall we adopt the Asiatic view, put in native functionaries, and let corruption have full swing? We know in our hearts that we must not do so; that popular or unpopular, we must aim at the only justice we know of, the only justice we believe in; that no cant about "accommodating ourselves to the usages

"of the natives" must induce us to give up our crusade against bribery and fraud. So long as this is our faith we cannot employ natives in high posts more than we have done; the doubt is whether we can do so as much. Natives may be just as good as we are; their morality may be as pure as ours; but it *is not ours*, but something very different; and when the two moralities clash, we have expressed our opinion as to which must go to the wall.

We had intended to follow Mr. Ludlow through his four concluding lectures, in which he discourses *de omnibus rebus,* in a tone of sanctimonious scurrility which cannot be too severely condemned. But the work would be endless. We have liberally marked a gross error of statement in every one of 109 pages. Mr. Ludlow ventures to sneer at Mr. Mill, the historian, as never having been in India. But the fact of his own utterly personal ignorance of the country is manifest in every line of his book, nor is this inexperience redeemed by research, candour, ability, or modesty. For the remainder therefore of our remarks concerning English criticism on Indian affairs, we prefer to choose a more respectable text-book, and take leave of Mr. Ludlow, only expressing our sincere hope that he is not to be regarded as an average specimen of the teachers to whom the students of the Working-Men's College are taught to look for political and historical instruction.

Mr. Forster delivered a lecture on India to an audience of West Riding, Yorkshire-men, (and we doubt if an acuter audience can be found), on the platform of a society which prohibited the discussion of politics. Mr. Forster's first effort is to get rid of the cumbrous prohibition. He knows that to talk of British India, and not to talk politics, are conditions that cannot be reconciled. So he saves himself by saying that he will not talk party politics, for that happily in England, India is not a party question. It is not our business to enforce the rules of the Leeds Philosophical and Historical Society, but we must declare that Mr. Forster's vindication is utterly unsatisfactory. To him and to men like him, India is indeed not a party question, but so long as we are permitted to see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, we cannot cease to declare that by the British Government (Lord Stanley being an honorable exception) and by that large majority of the British public which is led by the *Times*, India was made from first to last a party question. Its fate was jeopardised, its destroyers have been justified, its saviours have been ignored, in deference to Whig prejudices. It is a degrading fact, but it is certainly true.

Mr. Forster proceeds to justify himself as a lecturer on In-

dian affairs. We can assure him that he requires no apology. Honest men in India welcome acute and honest criticism, as heartily as they resent ignorant scurrility, like that of Mr. Ludlow. What England takes from India in the shape of taxation, and what she gives back to India in the shape of good Government, are questions which an able English lecturer does well to ask, and a right-meaning English audience does well to consider.

Mr. Forster first reviews the taxation of India; that is how much does the English Government take. We take a crore and ninety-three lakhs of rupees, speaking in round numbers, for customs including the salt duties (as distinguished from the salt *tax*,) and Mr. Forster has gained sufficient insight into India from books to recognize, what is to the Anglo-Indian a matter of demonstration, that no attack can be made on the Indian Government in the matter of the customs. "I think," he says, "the customs must be considered moderate, and indeed when I have shown you how large a portion of the revenue is paid by the honest class—the agricultural, and how small by the richest—the commercial, I think you will agree with me that even an increase in the import duties would not be unreasonable, if it could be made without diminution of the consumption, which of course is very doubtful." In fact, Mr. Forster examining evidence with candour, arrives at sensible and true results. We know in this country that the great defect of our financial system is that it does not reach the commercial classes; that it is the hardest problem which the Indian Government has to solve at this moment, how to get at those classes. This is precisely one of the facts which *would* strike an intelligent and fair enquirer into the facts of Indian finance.

Secondly, we take from India four crores and eighty-seven lakhs a year for opium. Those who care to read Mr. Ludlow, may find how the very name of the opium revenue excites within him the wrath of a Young India declaimer. Mr. Forster came to the subject with all the honest prejudice of a Liberal, a philanthropist, a hater of monopolies, a hater of degrading vice, and a hater, most of all, of the idea of a great nation selling a vice for money. He examined the facts, and "was surprised to find the case not quite so clear against the Government as he had expected." In short Mr. Forster arrived at this conclusion, which an audience, which had probably listened frequently to Mr. Cobden, must have been quick to understand. The Government of India cannot, except by an act of the most energetic tyranny, such as the wildest philanthropist or the wildest annexationist would

scarcely recommend, *prohibit* the growth and export of opium. But in the interest of morality let the growth and export of the injurious drug be made as costly as possible. How is this to be effected? Let the West Riding answer—by establishing a monopoly. But a monopoly of sale is very difficult to enforce; it is always a question between the loss of a cargo seized, and the profit of a cargo run successfully duty free. But it is comparatively easy to monopolize cultivation. Fields cannot be planted, and tilled, and reaped in secresy. The Government of India therefore has taken the growth of opium into its own hands, and in henceforth following the instinct of a jealous trader, tempered by the benevolence of a just Government, has restricted the area of cultivation, and thus by the action of an inevitable law enhanced the price, and thus succeeded in doing probably the very utmost that human law can do to check opium intoxication; that is to say has brought the drug to the highest possible price which the patience of the Eastern world will bear. Abandon the monopoly, and the price of opium will fall fifty percent.; convert it into a prohibition, and you will have to carry on a chronic protective war, too dear a price to pay for compensating to sensual Chinese for the want of self-restraint.

We take a crore and eighteen lakhs for excise, our old friend the Abkari; and here Mr. Forster joins the opposition, and declares that by our Abkari laws we have created drunkenness. We absolutely deny the consequence, and therefore need the less speculate on the cause. Did we admit that drunkenness had greatly increased among the population of India, we should still find it difficult to understand how this increase could be attributed to the introduction of monopoly prices into the sale of liquor. Nor would Mr. Campbell's explanation, that the monopoly had created rather than restricted the trade, go far to satisfy us. But we deny the fact, and call for evidence. None better is afforded than general opinion. We have seen an official correspondence in which two able officers have contended that drunkenness has increased, and other two able officers have contended that it has diminished under our rule. So much for general opinion. Drunkenness never was uncommon among the lower classes of Hindus in North-western India. In the peaceful valley of Kangra, fairs are annually held at which every man and every woman has been accustomed to make a conscience of getting drunk for generations, long before Abkari laws were dreamt of. We have ourselves ridden through twelve miles of drunken people. Warren Hastings is quoted as an authority for Hindu temperance. Brahmins doubtless are very temperate; but in upper India,

Brahminism does not represent the population. Hastings only knew Bengal and Behar. That Mohammedans get drunk is as notorious as that the Koran forbids them to drink.

The natives of India are, we allow, very much more temperate than the inhabitants of northern Europe, but of the lower classes, those who can, often do drink and get drunk. Most of the statements about the increase of drunkenness are founded, we suspect, on observations taken from the limits and neighbourhood of military posts. That our system creates a class of camp followers, that these camp followers are drunken and debauched and prone to imitate every European vice, we allow. Camp followers have a bad name all over the world. They are one of the evil consequences of camps, armies, and wars. But they can hardly be included as belonging to the population of India. They are a separate and a small class. It might be true that "to have taught the natives to drink would have been an evil exceeding all the good we have taught them," but the good may well outweigh the necessary evil of having brought in our train the usual complement of disreputable camp followers.

We take from India two crores and forty-eight lakhs on account of the salt-tax; and here Mr. Forster joins full cry with Sir John Pakington, Mr. Ludlow, and all the rest, and denounces this great oppression. Our only answer is—*where is* the oppression? Honestly and truly we never saw it, and after much enquiry never heard of it, except in the House of Commons and books written in England. Many a melancholy tale did we indeed listen to in the Commons' House of Parliament about the state of the population of India's bowels. So urgently moved was that House by the pathetic picture of a hundred and eighty millions of men all dying of scurvy for want of a little salt, that it incontinently voted away two millions of revenue, so far as that could be done by a threatening resolution, and it took some trouble and some time before the resolution could be reversed, as it ultimately was, with proper contempt, in the Lords. We have lived for many years within a hundred miles or so of the great mines of salt in the Punjab, at the mouth of which all salt is taxed by Government. We have discoursed with many hundred natives of all classes about the Indian Government, its virtues and its vices. Punjabis are not very mealy-mouthed, and when at their ease have very little scruple in saying what they think. Many faults have we heard ascribed to the Government, but of this matter of short commons in the article of salt, never a word. We will not ask too much credit for personal experience, though we do not

find any much better evidence offered on the other side. But enquire where we will, the answer is still the same. The secretary who reviews all the details of administration as they pass under his condensing and discriminating view, the financial commissioner who controls the revenue of a wealthy and salt-taxed province; commissioners who have spent active lives in promoting the cause of reform in different parts of India,—we have in perfect good faith appealed to all. We have begged to know whether this frightful grievance has come to their knowledge. To a man they profess ignorance. We have asked native after native. We have besought him to conceal nothing. We have hinted at scurvy. We have darkly alluded to bowel complaint in connexion with the price of salt, but the man's bowels are always right, and salt he considers rather cheap. We utterly disbelieve in the salt grievance. That it is felt in Bengal we may admit, knowing that there every thing is felt. So miserably poor is the Bengali, that to him the salt he eats and almost the air he breathes is dear. We do not deny the poverty, and God forbid that we should make light of it; but it is not the result of the salt-tax.

We take from India fifteen crores and ninety-one lakhs on account of the land-tax; and here of course Mr. Forster finds his "pièce de resistance," and initiates his Yorkshire hearers into the mysteries of ryotwari, zemindari, and perpetual settlements. So far as Mr. Forster accuses the Indian Government at all in this matter of the land revenue, his accusation amounts to this, that we made a good many blunders in India before we hit on the right path. Utterly opposed as is the village system to all English notions of property; unwilling and slow as the English are to adopt notions with which they are not familiar; it is not surprizing that we plunged into many quagmires to right and left before we found the *via media*. It is not any more surprizing that the *via media* itself should become, in a progressive age, the object of heretical enquiry.

The Thomasonian system is trembling, and many leading authorities do not disguise their belief that ryotwari, as reformed in Bombay, is, after all, to carry the day. It will be seen that we avoid even the outskirts of discussion. But we cannot but ask Mr. Forster why he allows himself to become an accomplice of the perverters of history, by using the language of extravagant censure with regard to the faults of inexperience? It is almost within the last decade that England has learnt the doctrine of free trade. But prudent writers do not allow themselves to expatiate on the gross iniquity, the national sin, the deliberate tyranny of the Anti-Peelian era; they do

not denounce all English statesmen who lived before 1846 as fools or knaves; they do not say that the English Government was a bad and oppressive Government, because it believed in Protection as the very gospel of state-craft. They rather say that England made progress, that statesmen lived and learned. It is only with reference to India, that reformers think it necessary to go into ecstasies of righteous indignation, directly it is discovered that political science has in that country as elsewhere been a progressive science. It is admitted that the progress has been steady and sure, but men affect to be terribly shocked that there should ever have existed a state of imperfect knowledge, in fact that any progress should have been required.

We cannot but think that Mr. Forster is particularly unreasonable when, after denouncing the ryotwari system of Madras in just, vigorous, and lucid terms, he proceeds to praise Lord Harris. Why praise Lord Harris? The ryotwari system was the great mistake of a great man. It has been perpetuated, because a mistake, especially when made by a great man, is not found out in a moment. But it was found out at last, and is now condemned, as Mr. Forster justly observes, "by every Anglo-Indian authority." But what does Mr. Forster do? He condemns Sir Thomas Munro; tenderly indeed, for he is not the man to maltreat a great name; tenderly and justly. He condemns the perpetuators of the system under the very general title of "the Indian Government," very severely, and in our opinion, very unjustly. The perpetuators were feeling their way. They were so many Peels before the Irish famine. But the one man he praises is that Governor who, coming at a time when the ryotwari blunder was fully found out, when "every Anglo-Indian authority had condemned it," still found nothing better to do than *report* upon it. We submit that Lord Harris was paid as Governor to *abolish*, not report on abuses condemned "by every Anglo-Indian of authority." We have little respect for "reporting" Governors. Lord Harris has endeavoured with far too great success to establish a cheap reputation in this line of business. He "reported" on the "torture system," as if it was a new fact that native police had continually to be restrained from tyranny; and as if it were not the duty of a Governor to suppress an evil which every body knew to exist, and not merely to write essays about it. And now Lord Harris will get rid of the ryotwari difficulty by "reporting" on it! To do him justice we believe fully that it is all he is capable of; we would not be hard on him; he has, we believe, got up some very pretty exhibitions at Madras; he has written a treatise on the liberty of the Press,

which has amused all Europe; these are services to be taken into account; we would not condemn him for having done nothing more, for leaving the ryotwari system and every other great abuse in his Presidency just as he found it, duly reported on and duly flourishing; we do not blame—but in heaven's name why praise the man?

In the same way we do not altogether differ from Mr. Forster in what he says of the injurious effects of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. What Anglo-Indian, who is at all "to the front" of Indian politics, will deny that the revenue system, and every thing else in Bengal, requires reform? But why belabour so assiduously that abstraction "the Indian Government?" The old civilian system, if we may so designate that rule of gentlemanly indolence under which Behar is disquiet and Bengal is misgoverned, was a very good sort of rule in its day. As we moved on, it became unfit for the position. More energy and self-devotion were required, and in our newer territories energy and self-devotion were supplied *ad libitum*. Only in Bengal, vested interest—the vested interest of overpaid luxurious inefficiency,—is still currently reported to linger. What should English reformers do? They should not denounce the crimes of the "Indian Government;" a denunciation which is so general that it can easily be answered, they should join with Anglo-Indian reformers in condemning the "regulation system." Instead of abusing the Manes of strong men long dead, but not forgotten, they should cease to flatter living noblemen, whose presence in India is vitality to the regulations and death to reform. They should abandon broad-cast abuse of the Indian Government, which is a good, and always has been emphatically, a reforming Government, and join the liberal party in India in waging war against the next and still the next succeeding object of reforming aggression.

We will, by the way, warn Mr. Forster against the mistake of trusting so much, as he seems disposed to do, to the testimony of the missionaries. Mr. Forster respects the missionaries. So do we. But is a mistake, which the good men are, we think, too fond of encouraging, to suppose that they live as Mr. Forster says, "among the people." The missionaries live in British stations, generally in large and comparatively civilized stations. They belong essentially to the British, not the native society, and they mix less with the natives than do active civil officers.

Mr. Forster, having stated what we take from India, proceeds to tell his hearers what we give to India. His views on this point are summed up in the following remarkable passage:—

"I began with quoting two opposing estimates of the condition of India under British rule. With which of these estimates, then, you may ask, do I agree? Now I must at once acknowledge that I cannot adopt the positive tone of either Mr. Kaye or Mr. Ludlow; but this much I think I can say, that notwithstanding all our sins and short-comings, that spite of the salt-tax and the Abkarry, of the absurd and cruel mistakes of the permanent settlement, and of the grinding exactions of the ryotwari system, I do yet trust that the balance upon the whole is in our favour; that is that taking the whole of India, we *have* improved the circumstances of its inhabitants; that while we have worsened the condition of many, we have bettered the condition of more; but let us not therefore take overmuch credit to ourselves; for after all, the great boon that we have bestowed upon India is one that was the necessary condition of our continuance there. We conquered and we keep India because we are stronger than the Hindus; by reason of the same strength we keep it in peace, and this one word, peace, covers a multitude of sins. It may seem a strange word to use, with our ears still ringing with the cries of conflict, and of terror not yet quieted; but the horrors and devastations of this mutiny, exceptional and extraordinary as they are under our rule, would have been every day occurrences under that of our predecessors, and may well remind the natives of what without as would be their normal state. This one priceless but involuntary gift of peace, is, I say, the good we give to India, outweighing all evils. Well that it is so; for against almost every other boon our detractors can set off an inquiry.

"We have abolished the transit duties, but we have invented the salt-tax. We have made some few roads and other public works, but we have allowed others to fall into decay. Our merchants have increased the commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, but our manufacturers have stopped the looms of Delhi and Surat. We do not lavish in India the money of our subjects, as did the grand Mogul, in pageantry and processions, peacock thrones and mausoleums; but we drain it to England to be paid in pensions and to stock-holders. We have put down widow burning and are trying to put down child killing; but we have introduced spirit drinking. We have cleared the Peninsula of Thugs, but we filled its eastern provinces with oppressive landlords and extortionate money lenders, and its southern with servile informers. We govern well the eight millions in the Punjab, but who can deny that we have misgoverned, and that we still do misgovern the sixteen millions in Madras? We raise more revenue than did Akbar, or any of our predecessors (with the exception, perhaps, of Aurungzebe for a few years) and yet while they had almost always vast sums in their treasury, we have saddled India with an enormous debt. Even the advantages arising from our strength are not without a countervailing evil. The white man is stronger than the Mogul or the Mahratta to preserve order, but he is stronger also to tax. The native tax-gatherer was unjust and cruel; the rich man feared extortion because he was rich, the poor man expected it because he was poor; but neither

rich nor poor ever lost the hope of resistance or flight. But from the British tax-gatherer there is no hope of escape, no refuge; for he is backed by all the power of England and all the valour of her soldiers."

Now it will be observed that Mr. Forster sets out by conceding that we have given to India protection for life and property. That is to say the Government is allowed to have done that which constitutes, in the opinion of many respectable authorities, the one duty of Government. We do not care to dispute with Mr. Forster about the motive of this gift. The best deeds which a nation does are those which it performs instinctively, without craving to seek too curiously for a motive. But having made this large concession, Mr. Forster is so far possessed by the feeling that it was right and decorous to bring in a verdict of guilty against the Indian Government, that he sets to work to find a set-off against every benefit we have bestowed on India (protection to life and property excepted) in the shape of some corresponding injury. We cannot but think that he must have been a little pressed to make up his tale of antithetical sentences.

The Indian people will not easily be persuaded that they have lost in the salt-tax what they have gained in the remission of the transit duties. That we have been very slow in our public works is true; that Americans would have had railways, where we have bridle paths, is true; but it is a mere waste of ingenuity to try to prove that in the matter of public works of *general utility*, the people of India have not been gainers under our rule. We could not have secured that peace which all the enemies of Government acknowledge, had we not made those roads which, bad as they are, all the subjects of Government bless, as better than any they ever knew before.

Does Mr. Forster really think it fair to pit 'peacock thrones against pensioned servants?' Does he suppose that the Mohammedan rulers had not pensioned servants as well as peacock thrones; and a good many pensioners of a class less reputable than honest worn-out servants?

The charge that the British Government has introduced spirit-drinking, we have already denied. That the Thugs have yielded to our rule, but that cheating merchants have more than supplied their place in the cause of rascality, is but to reiterate a very old charge against civilization. That under the protection of strong laws, the rogue of the pen and desk rises, while the villain of the sword and spear subsides, that Turpin yields to Redpath, is a reproach which the Indian Government may afford to share with every Government that yet broke in upon "the good old plan."

"Our merchants have increased the commerce of Calcutta

'and Bombay, but our manufacturers have stopped the 'looms of Dacca and Surat." And was it to a West Riding audience that Mr. Forster ventured to make this piteous appeal in favor of protection to native industry? If the Dacca looms are stopped, it is because the thousands of men and women in Bengal and Behar can obtain better and cheaper muslins from England, than they used to obtain from the labour of few scores of superseded workmen on the banks of the Ganges.

We raise more revenue than Akbar, yet we run into debt. Akbar was a great sovereign, yet we doubt whether he always paid his coolies. And besides, civilization is expensive. But great expenditure in a country, if not on a civil list, or for the unproductive pleasure of the ruler, is not a source of oppression.

The native tax-gatherer was a scoundrel, but could be bribed to keep his distance and cheat his Government. *Our* tax-gatherer makes a just claim, but insists on being paid. This is stated as a grievance of British rule. We really do not know how to answer the charge otherwise than by thus re-stating it.

It is not by calumniating the great name of the East India Company that the cause of the reform in India will be assisted. If English Liberals, in or out of the House of Commons, approach the India question with a preconceived idea that, in the wantonness of exiled independence, Anglo-Indians have been rack-renting India, and that the purity of English benevolence and the energy of English rectitude are required to reclaim us into the path of virtue, they will make not only ridiculous, but we fear, dangerous mistakes. Our anxiety as to the future prospects of India has been much relieved by the gradual development of the Tory India bill. John Bull has been humbugged and India has been saved. The Court of Directors has been abolished in name and retained in fact. A great reform has been effected in the office arrangements of Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row, and for the rest, the revolution may be summed up in the words of an old Sheristadar who, after hearing the provisions of the bill explained, expressed his apprehension of the extent of the innovation by remarking "khair—Governor General Sahib ke report malikin kefasjawenge—bus:" The Governor General's reports will go to the Queen instead of the Company—*voilà tout!*

An immense mass of official knowledge and experience will still be interposed between the fate of British India and the doctrinaire ignorance of the House of Commons. But our anxiety for the future of India would be still further assuaged, if those Englishmen who are in the van of English thought and opinion on Indian subjects, would approach the history of our Eastern empire in a less polemical and a more reverent spirit.

We have been told lately in the eloquent pages of Mr. Merivale, how the virtue of Rome lingered in the firm and truly Roman Governments of the distant provinces, long after it had disappeared from the degraded precincts of the imperial city. There were still great proconsuls when Emperor and Senate were sunk in a common infamy. God forbid that we should seek to compare the England of Victoria with the Rome of Domitian. But an analogy does exist so far as this, that England abroad is stronger not weaker, better not worse, than England at home. Exiles and fighters live in a less luxurious, a less pleasurable, a less seducing, and a far more bracing atmosphere, than their brethren at home. What Peshawur is to the Punjab, what the Punjab is to India, that India is and long has been to England. Depend upon it, the holders of an advanced post are men to be honored and upheld, not suspected and traduced.

For many years while the heart of England seemed to be waxing feeble; while in those gloomy decades which succeeded the close of the great war, the life at the centre seemed in danger of being stifled under the pressure of a fierce reaction of selfish and brutal Toryism; the distant pulses still beat true and healthfully; and in India the revenue system was revolutionized; the rights of women were vindicated from the tyranny of priestly association; innovation followed innovation, while Lord Eldon and the "gentlemen of England" were risking the existence of their country in their timorous desire to stand upon the ancient ways!

There is plenty of room for reform in India, but none whatever for self-complacent indiscriminate censure. Let Englishmen by all means study the history of British India; but they will misapprehend that study, and they will mispraise their country, if they approach the subject with an air of patronizing virtue, ready to be scandalized, eager to redress imaginary wrongs. Let them rather regard the conquest and organization of British India as the best and greatest exploit of modern England. There is nothing in this view to promote vanity. Vanity ensues, when we read of great actions in a spirit of contemptuous superiority. Of this at least we feel persuaded, that those who know India best, those who care for India most, those who work for India hardest, are those who, while ever planning some new reform, ever working out some fresh improvement, feel it at the same time most utterly impossible to speak of the British Government in India with rancour, or to regard the British rule in India as other than a blessing.

ART. VIII.—1. *Topics for Indian Statesmen.* By JOHN BRUCE NORTON, Madras. Edited by G. R. Norton. London. Richardson. 1858.

2. *India as it may be; an Outline of a Proposed Government and Policy.* By GEORGE CAMPBELL, *Author of 'Modern India.'* London. John Murray. Albemarle Street. 1853.

IT is the nature of man always to expect perfection; it is his fate to be invariably disappointed. Bacon's profound description of poetry, which culminates in the well-known phrase that it "conforms the shews of things to the desires of the mind," is applicable to other arts and sciences; nay to all the more elevated of human pursuits. The loftier the character of an individual or a race, the more constant will be their endeavor to redress the balance of destiny; to temper and mould the sluggish elements of the practicable with the living fire of heaven. Nor all in vain; the standard will never be attained; but the long centuries bring amelioration to such, and to such alone, of the tribes of earth; and ideal exertions come to be looked on in anything but a contemptible light. Napoleon Bonaparte, in his worldly self-sufficiency, may think that he brands with an ineradicable reproach such thinkers as Madame de Stael, when he speaks of them as "ideologists;" but we may feel sure that, if indeed angels be the audience before whom is played this drama of ours upon the theatre of the universe, the pity of those holy spectators is very far removed from scorn, when they see the dull incidents of mortality encountered with a divine enthusiasm; and the weak and straitened creatures of a day toiling towards that inly felt eternity, where truth and beauty and good are all to be merged in ONE.

Neither ought we to suppose that these yearnings and half effective struggles are confined to any one place or period. The trite saying of the royal preacher is still the text of the truest philosophy. There is still nothing new under the sun. The thing that has been is still that which shall be; the thing that is done here, the thing done elsewhere. Hence the interest with which the sympathetic thinker must ever regard history; and hence it is that men, surrounded by the grim difficulties of their own day, turn again and again for experience and consolation to the thoughts and doings of their predecessors, to find that others have borne and done before them as they are doing and bearing now; and that the errors introduced by their own too ardent speculations have their

counterpart in the baffled dreams and broken purposes of the past.

Turning so to great empires of a bye-gone day, we find:—

> "That all beneath the moon decays,
> And what by mortals in this world is brought
> In time's great periods shall return to nought,
> That fairest states have fatal nights and days.*

And thus we may look to arrive at many rules of conduct for ourselves; what to do and what to avoid. If, for instance, it should appear that in Assyria, in Persia, in Rome, in the French monarchy, in the old colonial empire of Britain, there was always some one fatal disorder which sooner or later engendered ruin; and then, turning to the present state of India, we should find it working with baneful effect in our own system, of what shall we not be deserving if we do not hasten to expel the poison? Watch the phosphoric splendors of an empire's corruption; see every man striving to become a courtier, and the court attracting to its own pleasures or personal ends, the arts that were meant to decorate, and the skill that should have informed, the entire being of society, high and low; or else, like a student who works his brain until the hands and feet lose all power, concentrates to itself the vigor that should have been displayed at the extremities.

Britain lost the finest half of her American possessions, and learned in time, though slowly, a truer colonial policy. But there have been two empires in modern times which have fallen in irremediable collapse before the influences of two different sorts of Centralization; the evils of each of which have been long combined in our own Government of India. Let us examine—

1*st.*—The break-up of the Bourbon monarchy in France.

2*nd.*—The fall of the Mogul empire in India during the same period; and

3*rd.*—Should any reader follow so far, he will be in a position to form his own application to our own present difficulties; and if he should be led to admit that circumstances, apparently diverse, were alike influenced by the abstraction of life from the extremities, and alike ended in the paralysis of life at the heart; it will then be for him to decide whether the administration whereof he is, as the case may be, a spectator, a subject, or a member, has not been jeopardized by like mistakes, and led to the brink of similar disasters.

Europe, like India, contains a number of races, not necessarily divided, in the first instance, by the geographical limits

* Drummond of Hawthornden.

which demark what we are accustomed to consider "nations." There is reason to believe that the continent of Europe was once occupied by beings such as are now known by the name of "Esquimaux," traces of whom are now only to be guessed at in the Cagots, and a few like outcasts. Soon, wave after wave poured in the warlike vagrants of Central Asia, the Pelasgi, the Tyrrheni, the Picts (Pathans) Scots (Scythians) Celts, Cimbri, Sacæ (Saxons), Goths (Getæ or Juts), Teutones, and Huns. Some in one region, some in another, the earlier arrivals dispersed or expelled the aborigines and their successors, then were subjugated by later comers, with whom in process of time, they fused so as to appear themselves autochthonous; till, at last, some fresher hordes, stronger perhaps in wisdom than in numbers, established themselves everywhere as the paramount caste of a particular tract. Thus, precisely what happened once in India, in Egypt, in Canaan, in Greece, and in Italy, seems to have taken place in later (though less minutely recorded times) in France. And thus, the Frankish nobility, a military class exclusive and tolerably numerous, sprang from a conquering stock, and added to the privileges of position and wealth, some advantages which, originating in superiority of blood, are long preserved by superiority of food, lodging, raiment, of education, and traditional pride. This class long was held down the restless Gaulish nation by the very sword with which they may be said to have been entrusted for its defence. The burghers protected themselves as best they could, the rural population were either serfs or *métayers*, paying either in labor or in kind every item that could be spared from the absolute necessities of existence, if sure of even these. By one institution alone is the Europe of those dark days distinguished from Asia. It was the Church which protected the poor toiling millions; watched them, and taught them, till the time came, and they were fit for freedom. A priceless service, though bought by the dearest birthright of the served; other protection was not to be had; for this the people paid all liberty, not merely of speech, but of thought. But if the poor man was only permitted to commune with his heavenly Father through the medium of the priest, was there not in the king a more present deity, an earthly parent, less mighty perhaps, but then less jealous or more accessible? This feeling probably produced that loyalty to the person of the monarch, which has cemented in Christendom so many long-lived despotisms. In the king* the people saw the enemy of

* "Upon the king let us, our lives, our souls, &c.
So Shakespeare, K. Henry V. iv. 1.

their enemies; bearded by his haughty peerage with the like insolent impunity that overrode themselves, but yet a visible Lord round whom they could hope to rally. Of this Richelieu learned to take advantage, and founded the mutual relations of the three estates as we find it under Louis XIV., the western Aurungzeb. The aggressive wars of this splendid monarch like those of his Indian contemporary, gave glory to his throne, but ushered in the beginning of the end. The centralization of Paris, however, now gravitated to an apparent solidity, just as that of Delhi hastened to a visible decay. The French noblesse, being exhausted by war and hereditary extravagance of living, freed at the same time from the foreign dangers which, before the formation of the modern political system, had kept in vigor their martial skill, and deprived of those local powers which had been exercised by their fathers in feudal times, retired from their imposing attitude before the levelling tendencies of the time. Their own weakness, the growing strength of the *roturiers,* weapons no armour could resist, and a disciplined infantry no cavalry could conquer, standing armies, the balance of power, foreign and colonial commerce, domestic industry, these were among the peculiar elements of an ever-progressive European civilization, and the power of the greatest feudatories found narrow limits, and saved the kingdom from being lacerated by their contentions, or parcelled out under their encroachments, as occurred in India. Their privileges indeed remained, and with them sufficient *political* importance and weight at court to cause their preservation. Instead of surrendering, as they should have done, advantages their class had held as wage for functions they could no longer perform, they retained them with increased tenacity, as a last means of plundering both crown and people. No longer called on to support the oriflamme with feudal levies, and deriving ample return for any services they still rendered by a monopoly of rank and emolument in all honorable professions, they should have been at least stripped of that exemption from the fiscal burthens of the state, which had belonged to their ancestors under another system. What must have been the feelings of universal France—among whose plebeians were men like Voltaire, Rousseau, Lavoisier, Bailly, Diderot, D'Alembert—in contemplating the barrier, (to be now and then partially surmounted by wealth and luck) which separated the man of such men from dignity and success in court, Army, Church, Law, Politics, while it drew a hard line between the poor tax-payer and the rulers untaxed. All prizes and exemptions reserved for an ill educated class of *porphyrogeniti,* for whom no one could entertain respect when once the

gilded coats were off their backs. Yet of such was the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of heroic enterprize and manly sentiment, the Corinthian capital of polished society! Meantime the work of Government was being done, and the science of administration practically studied, by the despised and plundered proletarians. While an aristocracy answers to its name; while, that is to say, a dominant race preserves its advantages over the conquered—those advantages physical, moral, intellectual and social, whereby was gained the first ascendancy—so long and no longer, can it hope to keep its privileged position.* But these all Centralization must destroy. We shall not find the Mussulman nobles, such as they were, giving way before this gradual growth of true nobility; but in France it was undoubtedly so, and the aristocracy there was overthrown by a plebeian class resolved to share in all privilege, while in so doing they inaugurated the pure principles by which alone the Christian world now permits itself to be ruled. *Sic vos non vobis!* Fighting, themselves, for their pockets, the French learned to raise, through meanness and crime, a nobler flag than ever floated over the feodal Ban. A great cause leaned upon their arms, to make them victors. Wherever we find high aims in public life, or breathe the healthy, windy, air of freedom, there we have reason, over and over again, to bless the authors of "the great event of modern time." Far different was the Mogul empire of India, both in its strength and its decay, in the causes of its fall,† and the new system which succeeded. It is true that the Mohammedans, like the Franks, partially amalgamated with the subject race; and that their aristocracy was likewise founded on official rank and duty. But this despotism did not, like its European congener, lay the foundation of bureaucratic efficiency, any more than the official aristocracy became hereditary feodalism; neither was the monarchy overthrown by the spread of intelligence among its subjects, nor by the diminished power of its local subordinates.

By the word "Mogul Empire" must be understood that *régime* which, originating in the dominion wrested by Akbar from the glorious usurper Shere Shah, was inherited by his line for several generations; and boasted of four of the great-

* The one possible alternative is believed to be available only under certain rare combinations such as exist in England. It is a peculiar blessing of that free nation, looking before and after, to link an onward movement with the traditions of a great Past. Here the patricians, continually descending to lower ranks, while men from these are rising to the higher, we lose so much that is invidious in class-privilege, that what is left remains as a stimulus to merit, not an immunity for race.

† This does not refer to the late galvanized struggle ending 14th Sept., 1857.

est and ablest monarchs who have ever succeeded one another in lineal order or any throne.* Their method of rule is thus described in general terms by Mr. George Campbell:—

"The Mohammedan polity is distinguished from the Hindu 'as altogether wanting the republican element, and, to a great 'extent, the disposition to hereditary possession, of the 'Hindu; and their tendency has always been to the formation of great empires, having nothing feudal in their composition, but everything centralized, the only aristocracy 'being official, and the officials the creatures of the sovereign. '—*They had not,* like the Hindus, *local ties,* and *local strength.* 'Under their system, the only hereditary offices were those 'held by Hindus.—The ministers were the servants of the 'sovereign, raised by court favour, and often falling as suddenly 'as they rose. Under the greatest emperors, who exercised 'personal authority, there were different ministers for different 'departments, Hindus as well as Mohammedans; but in later 'days, when the emperors were the creatures of successive 'revolutions, power was generally exercised by one prime 'minister, who rose for the time to the top of the political 'wheel. There was a certain imperial regular army, principally 'cavalry, and large numbers of local troops or retainers were 'entertained for local purposes by governors of provinces.

"The empire was divided into the great provinces.....which 'are known to the present day.....The governors were of the 'same class as the ministers, *seldom selected for any local 'qualifications* or connection, but despatched from Delhi, and 'recalled at pleasure. Probably the emperors were jealous 'of the formation of any local influence, and for this reason '*frequently changed the governors,*† *and exercised a very immediate control over them.* At any rate, anything approaching to hereditary succession to governorships was absolutely 'unknown, and all the viceroys whose families have now become hereditary princes, were but very recently appointed, 'and by mere accident found the control from above withdrawn, when the empire went to pieces."

The bow, in fact, being overstrained, the Governors of districts took every advantage of its consequent weakness. But it was long before they were enabled so to act, and in the meantime the formation of independent states, as was afterwards done by the Mahrattas and Seikhs, was staved off. For

* Baber and Humayun being added, there is a line of *six*; this unusual series was partly attributable to the mixture of blood caused by their Hindu marriages.

† For Emperor read Lieutenant Governor, and you have a leading feature of the late Mr. Colvin's Government exactly described.

we are told, "the centralization of the Moguls was effected by maintaining a sufficient control over the Governors, *not by diminishing their power*. So long as he held office, a Governor was the delegate and representative of the emperor; and *united all powers*. This was a grand piece of statesmanship, only flawed by the excessive jealousy of the persons of the subordinate rulers, and the consequent tendency to excite them to counter-intrigue. The details of the system were very much what we followed ourselves for a long time after our first obtaining sway, and the relaxation of which, as will be presently shewn by instances, rendered a revolution inevitable. "The Governors themselves managed revenue and ordinary police matters." (This was the duty, formerly, of the district officer with us.) "But had under them commanders of the forces charged with military discipline, and the keeping of the public peace." [We shall see, hereafter, how a hint might have been also borrowed, here, from our predecessors.] "Also judges for the trial of cases, civil and criminal. Lines of posts were established for the prevention of crime along the grand trunk roads, and military detachments were employed for the suppression of violent crime or disturbances." [Yes, but we do not find that the civil and military commanders were forbidden to inflict corporal punishment, to ensure to the criminals a power of appeal.] "The ordinary police and revenue duties, and in fact the general charge of the country, while all remained quiet, were entrusted to one establishment." [Fifteen is believed to be the number of departments employed for these purposes by the English, previous to 1857.] "The Governor appointed his agents or kārdārs to different districts, *the smallest* sub-division being that called a Perguna, containing perhaps one hundred villages" [townships; a modern collector and magistrate could not nominate or remove the lowest officer in revenue or criminal charge, without interference from the centre.]

Mr. Campbell then sketches the position of the zemindars, Canoongoes, and village officers, through whom the kārdār, under the local magistrate, carried out the details of administration. The system was very much that of the British a quarter of a century ago. He then proceeds—

"Such were the different instruments through whom the Moguls governed. In the prime of the empire, the object was to centralize all accounts, &c., and so guard against abuses, the object was that all payments should be made in money ..... but in the decline of the empire" [when one minister had monopolized all power, and jobbed local appointments for money and favor] "the reverse of the system prevailed, vil-

'lage officers held lands exempt from revenue. District and 'provincial officers received assignments of particular revenues '..... The whole official system was also subject to many irre-'gularities. Besides the open conquests of Hindu confedera-'cies, and rebellion of Mohammedan governors, enlarged func-'tions and powers were usurped under the name of legitimate 'offices." And thus, as he shews, arose once more that host of petty principalities (against which centralization seems always doomed to strive in vain) which finally broke up the whole empire, and left it a prey to English conquest. Centralization had failed, the delicate nerves had been cut, by which the connection with extremities had been maintained, and no homogeneous principle existed whereby they might be again united.

Such were the feodal and the Mogul results of centralization; we have united in our system some of the faults of either, with a farther peculiarity similar to that which lost us the United States. Not content with taking away nearly all real power from the local officers, and leaving the military and civil authorities of different departments only sufficiently to themselves where so doing can cause them to clash; we have removed the central control from the capitals of the dependency to that of the mother country. Like the ancient lords of Europe, like the Mussulman rulers of India, we are aliens, ruling, more or less on our own behalf, a mighty mass of men from whom we jealously (and no doubt our instinct is right) withhold what rule we can ourselves exert. But if there be any truth in the maxim "might is right;" if the universal feeling of mankind in favor of the king or parent be just, which leaves power and privilege to him that has them—as long at least, as he can exercise or retain their use—then is there a wide difference between us and them. But not only so, look to the future, and say what possible elements of amelioration lie there in reserve. The fall of the Franks broke up Feodalism; the collapse of Mogul dominion led to the abolition of anarchy; but with us it is indeed *aprés moi le déluge.* The scenes which followed the temporary depression of British rule in Central and Upper India; the cruelty, rapine, and social dislocation which instantly became general, sufficiently mark the second grand distinction, and shew that, as far we may venture to predict the doing of Providence from what we know of the past, no such fate can fall to our lot for many a long year. Only let us be true to our great mission, and while hoping ever for better things, be ever aware both of administrative quackery, and administrative listlessness. To rule with diligence is a precept of high authority, but there is a

restless activity, an over-governing of the ruled, which does more harm than any ordinary amount of neglect. It seems tempting to say; "come, let us build a stately fabric whence 'shall issue inevitable fiats; let us reduce the inequalities of 'place and the hazards of caprice to one standard of right;" and again, "away with distinctions of faith and descent" is sure to be a favorite cry with people governing a distant dependency in which they have no immediate personal concern, also "let justice be done, though the heaven fall;" but history seems to shew that nothing of this will, in the long run, form a safe substitute for careful, conscientious study of detail; and a persevering attempt to scale the steeps of circumstance, not by patent air-balloons, but mounting, crag by crag, the difficult ground before us.

It will be well, therefore, to examine a little into the transition from practical to speculative legislation since "India Reform" first set in. Well aware of their delicate position, our early conquerors founded a policy which long formed the tradition of the India-House. The basis was discouragement to European settlers as individuals, combined with careful provision for all prerogative that could be desired for the race. They seemed unwilling to provoke or precipitate the clash of such antagonistic elements, as long as it could be postponed by the two-fold expedient of repression to British immigrants, and the apotheosis of those whom they were compelled to admit. This was one way of meeting the greatest of all the difficulties that can beset the governors of an alien race, much behind themselves in intellectual and moral progress; it was probably necessary for the formation of the empire; and as the empire grew, the policy might have healthfully developed with it. But the apathy of the conquered population misled its masters; and previous legislation having "brought India more under the direct control of the Crown," opportunities ensued which were not to be neglected. The expiry of the old Company's charter, the successful struggles of reformers in England and in France, and the personal peculiarities of Lord William Bentinck, conspired to give a marked character to the period of that nobleman's sway. India became a curious toy; a mixture of the petted object of philanthropic fondness, and the *corpus vile* of political experiment. A perfect fever of reform, indeed, broke out here as elsewhere—such disorders being often epidemic—and the assertion of native "rights" was loud and frequent. From 1831 to 1836, no less than eighty-two laws were passed—nearly half of which have been since modified, superseded, or repealed—including reforms of judicature, civil and criminal; the entire revenue, from land and

This course of legislation was all reversed in a few short months; the death struggle of 1857 witnessed the restoration of authority to regimental officers, the legalization of corporal punishment, the restriction of the Press, the practical exclusion of natives from offices of trust. But, till then, the restraints on local authority amounted to nothing short of fetters. Not only was the military Commandant rendered a cypher in his corps; but in the districts the power of the civil rulers was circumscribed in every direction. Increased jurisdiction was given to appellate courts, and to the Board of Revenue; prisons were put under central management; coinage was equalized, and provincial mints were abolished; and the system of "nugshas"* introduced, by which countries as large as the Austrian empire were to be governed in a study hung with maps. In 1857 things had come to that pass that a district officer had no less than fifteen different superiors calling on him for statements weekly, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, and yearly;† while presenting to the people the old appearance of a visible providence, an idol only found to be hollow when struck.‡

India, in fact, had begun to be governed by Ideas, instead of Principles. It is only when Idea is wedded to Fact that true principles can be produced, but this rule was not observed. There can be nothing nobler, in the abstract, than the notion that all men are equal; but it is obviously a mere theory, applicable to an imaginary state of society, never found strictly true in the world of Reality. It may not be easy to get at the etymology of such words as "Quack" or "Charlatan;" and the original root of "Empiric" is often lost sight of in practice; but one cannot be far wrong in applying those names to persons who, not content with expounding Ideas in writing, seize a remote, and apparently helpless dependency, and, in utter ignorance of the true data, introduce their Ideas wholesale. And to what purpose?

In times of peace a kind of dynamic action may be produced, but no chemical or assimilative operation is performed. Mischief brews; the patent machinery is powerless—except perhaps for evil—the storm becomes a hurricane; and the ill-planned, ill-joined redundancies are swept away in an hour; tearing with them portions of the actual structure, together with a troop of the luckless understrappers. Such times of

* Tabulated returns.

† *Calcutta Review*, May 1857. "The District Officer."

‡ The writer knew a magistrate's life attempted in his own district in 1849, on the alleged ground that he "was of the nation who permitted the slaughter of beef." The culprit was imprisoned for five years!

from external and internal customs; the coinage, and the Press, (which was completely freed from restraint, and, practically, from control). Regulation V. of 1831 extended the powers of Moonsiffs—the lowest judges of first instance, and declared natives of India eligible for the office; VII. of the same year ordered monthly jail deliveries; III. of 1832 declared the freedom of slaves; VI. of the same admitted natives to the jury-box; by VII. it was provided that, under no circumstances, "English or other foreign law" was ever to be followed in the civil courts; VI. of 1833 afforded comfort to laboring convicts; II. of 1834 abolished corporal punishment; XI. of 1835 freed the Press, native and European; VIII. of 1836 declared natives eligible to the highest bench of first instance; and XI. rendered Europeans subject to their jurisdiction. Many of these enactments, it will be perceived, proceeded on ideas, in themselves honorable and generous, and those subsequent to 1843 at least were introduced directly in accordance with parliamentary legislation. But a little observation of local peculiarities will tell us, especially after recent events, that India was not and is not ripe for the gratuitous introduction of those ideas. The abolition of corporal punishment, for instance, which was about the same time extended to the native army (as doing away with a practice deemed degrading, which was in the meanwhile constantly and *publicly applied to European soldiers*)—was not this a master-stroke of Centralization, and did it not serve to strengthen its parent? A culprit may be sentenced to imprisonment, or a court-martial may dismiss a sepoy from the service; for these are punishments which superior authority can remit. But a man flogged has little practical inducement to appeal. He might as well have been hanged almost; no authority can remove from his back the stripes inflicted by the lower court. Again, a disaffected, intriguing soldier was the very last man to come under the notice of a court-martial; consequently hundreds of such accumulated in regiments, well-known in many cases to the regimental and Company officers, but not to be controlled or dismissed for lack of power. Some checks might have been easily thrown in the way of individual caprice; a Commandant might have been required to obtain to his order dismissing such soldiers, the counter-signature of the adjutant and the officer in charge of the Company; to flog a sepoy the sentence of a regimental court might have been required; no civil prisoner need have been flogged, but by the sentence of a quorum of their magistrates; but in the long run the education of an English gentleman, the interests and responsibilities of command, and the prospect of assassination, would surely keep officers from any very gross abuses.

divine judgment try and search *every* man's work; but woe be to the bunglers who reiterate their errors—though they may think it is not at their own risk.

It may seem arrogant; readers may take offence; but it can be proved that the facts of Indian life, whereon our system should be reconstructed, are not dreamed of by many of those who are foremost in the work. Surrounded by people who have passed through the peculiar influences of Greek poetry and philosophy; of Roman jurisprudence; of Christianity with its motley elements and universal brotherhood; of Teutonism, with its mystery, woman-worship, chivalry, and self-devotion, how can the untravelled Englishman comprehend, or sympathize with, a couple of barbaric civilizations, like those of Manu and Mahommed, where every principle is opposed to anything of which he has experience? Time was when such statements would have been treated as egotistic pedantry; but now all who run may read the rules on which is formed the Hindustani character. Recent events have shewn the natives of India to be, as a mass, treacherous, cruel, cowardly, and imbecile to a degree which persons long resident among them, would formerly do their best to ignore. Look at the past and present then, ere you seek to legislate for the future! As far as any one cause can be adduced to account for the sudden and wide-spread disaffection and insolence of the once submissive Indian population, can we not all see that it is to be found in the depression of the European name and dignity by doctrines emanating from London and Calcutta? Even in the heat of the outbreak, councillors could be found in Calcutta to legislate against the Press, and for Arms in a manner which placed the same restraints on Europeans as on Natives, and when Lord Ellenborough—who joins to local experience a sagacity which never misleads him unless wilfully divorced therefrom—draws the attention of the House of Peers to this dangerous pedantry, we find noble Lords rising in all parts of the assembly to support Lord Canning, and to denounce the opposite principle. The last great deed of the Government before the fatal month of May was the completion of a scheme whereby native judges would have been empowered to sentence Europeans, without the intervention of a jury, to imprisonment—with or without labour, for two years. But Διος ετελειετο βουλη. The lawyers at home were planning, and the settlers in India petitioning, the missionaries casting their pearls before swine; the Government calling for statements; and Parliament pouring forth its philanthropy, when the windows of the hell were opened, and the fiery flood broke forth.

The facts of India are certainly not easily learned; though we have now, by a countless price, obtained enough to shew

us that the Asiatic and European require separate courses of legislative treatment. Sir Charles James Napier, when Commander-in-Chief of the Indian armies, and proposing plans of military reform—for which he has had far more credit than he deserved—could think of no better check to Hindu usurpation than the entertainment of 40,000 Goorkhas. Now, in the first place, it is perfectly notorious that we cannot obtain the tenth part of that number; and in the second, to oppose them to Brahminism shews that—as he indeed confessed—Sir Charles knew "nothing of their tenets." But he might have learned them, and in his position; they are known by all who have anything to do with them, for rigid Hindus, subservient to their Brahmins, are so far from being "indifferent to the sex 'of a beef-stake" that no slaughter of the sacred animal is permitted at Dehrah Dhoon, one of their cantonments where scores of European families reside!*

Is it not then apparent that whatever ideas may be originated at the primary or subordinate centre of Government, they cannot generate into healthy life without a process conducted by the local and technical knowledge to be supplied on the spot? The primary centre of our system must be the imperial parliament of Commons, Lords, and Cabinet; but the opinions of clubs, and of journalists, and the sentiments of the constituencies supply the imperial parliament with a mass of notions from which it cannot depart. And who will be bold enough to assert, this day, that the affairs of India should be entirely conducted by the clubs, the Press, and the ten pounders?†

But, it may be asked, are the subordinate centres—Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, Lahore—any better or safer? Is the illustrious Obscurity nominated, from fear or favor, to be Viceroy for five years, during the first half of which he depends for information upon a clique of elderly gentlemen who never cross the Mahratta Ditch, is He the proper person for our Universal Dictator? Such men have their uses; they give an English tone to policy, a dignified lustre to administration; but can it be hoped that they will be entirely free from a disposition to govern Asiatics by the experience—or as above, by the ideas—of Europe? It is often said that the English are not an idealistic race; but we are becoming cosmopolites, and we learn to think it very wise to blend a little pure philosophy with what looks like experience, but is only so when employed with the facts from which it has been inducted. If it were otherwise, there could not, certainly, be a single

* And of these 40,000 strictly united brethren and brave soldiers chose to rebel?

† Observe, moreover, that Indian Reformers are usually in favor of a great extension of the suffrage.

word to say against their application to India; if such rules were not of purely European value, nothing could indeed be plainer than our duty to shed abroad their splendor over the darkness of the East.

But, alas, the answer is loudly rendered from every part of an empire shattered, because it was too highly finished, from every groaning functionary of a system too good for its purpose, who has barely escaped from the wreck alive; and who sees with a shudder that the re-fitting is likely to proceed on the same principles, and in the same docks which built the old vessel. Shall we cite the Press? and Englishmen may speak the thing they will, because all Englishmen have an interest in bringing about the welfare of the state by free discussion; in this country the natives in general are nearly quite apathetic, and those natives who take the trouble to conduct a printing press make it a medium of obscenity, of personality, or of disaffection.

Shall we take jurisprudence? The *Natura ad summum producta* of Westminster, introduced bodily at the Presidency, and hardly less fatally into the Mofussil Courts, has broken down the landed classes* from Calcutta to Kurnal; from the semi-regal Zemindar of Bengal to the cottier Rajput of the Doab: thus furnishing to the men strongest in hardihood, numbers and local influence, an irresistible temptation to take advantage of the temporary weakness of Government that they might vent their wild justice alike on the authors of the system, and on the monied classes to whom, alone, it had been beneficial.† In Criminal procedure, again, how futile has been the introduction of that exclusive marshalling of evidence required of the Courts, which is founded on the principle, admitted at home, that in a Court of Law it is more likely that a man will speak truth than falsehood; but against which all the habits of orientals entirely and (to *us*) notoriously militate. Here, a Court of Law is the last place in which the usually untruthful native will think of truth. Of prison reform, and the abolition of corporal punishment (the best of all corrections for orientals) mention has been made above. European ideas could alone produce such weakness. Prisons in the North-west have now reformed themselves; and corporal punishment has been legalised.

* Such landholders as Raja Man Singh were required, on the annexation of Oude, to shew the *titles* on which they held their Estates!

† The Mahajuns were the people who had, by mortgage and sale, ousted the agricultural proprietors; and were everywhere robbed, tortured and murdered, in 1857. Ought land to be transferable in India, except to the State, for political offences?

Turn to Political Economy. Rulers in this country are afraid to interfere with forestalling and regrating, or to regulate prices when starvation and mutiny have been the alternative; because English science says—"leave the markets alone." But why does it say so? Because facts have shewn that *competition* will keep them level. Among the grain-dealers of this country, united by the strictest conformity, social and religious *combination* is the general rule; and is it not clear that combination can always defeat laws for the freedom of trade formed on the opposite basis? "Thou shalt not press labor" is the eleventh commandment of Calcutta (actuated no doubt by English philanthropy,) for a most just and beneficent modification of which a conscientious and able district officer was punished, some years since, with ruinous severity. Now it happens that in the part of India where lay the sphere of his administration, there are no professional laborers, and that the system (declared by M. Le Play to exist, even now, in some parts of Europe) is in full operation; namely, that the laborer is a predial serf of the land-owner, at whose bidding alone he works cheerfully. The Ganges Canal works were at hand, and must be carried on; the Collector was called on to provide laborers; he had likewise to keep up the road-communication of his district. To do this he thought proper to regulate the supply of labor, and to obstruct the oppression of the native subordinate through whom he had to work, by a plan almost identical to what has been rendered law by the Supreme Government at the beginning of the present year. Such is the fate of fair-weather legislation; such legislation as must be expected as long as English law-givers are allowed to proceed, in India, upon English ideas. The only English idea we want, indeed, is that of Induction; form your rules here, as you do at home, from the facts of the case before you.

Not only has the European race been injured and degraded to a dangerous extent by the gratuitous assertion of native equality,* but let it be further remembered that familiarity has necessarily a tendency to diminish admiration; the frogs, in Phædrus, learned to leap upon king Log. And, yet further, there is (as Mr. Helps has shewn in his reflective book on the Spaniards in America) a continual demoralization of half-civilized men, when they are brought into close personal contact with a conquering race of superior knowledge and better habits. Remember, likewise, the constant diminution of power, salary, pomp and retinue which has been lowering in this

* An idea totally opposed to native notions.

country the visible greatness of English officials for the last thirty years, so that a General of Division or a Chief Commissioner of the present day, presents no appearance of dignity in the eyes of his subjects. Even in practical England, the circuit judges enter a town with javelin men and sheriffs' processions; at an Indian court the British envoy is not allowed an elephant, and the Judge proceeds to Sessions on a twenty-pound hack.

Sic volo, sic jubeo; a present despotism, surrounded by signs of strength, and enforced by stern consistency, with punishment and reward equally certain and summary—this is the system best known to Asiatics, and which might not have been inconsistent with the most adequate control and upright integrity; while a very considerable amount of the sweets of (subordinate) office might have found their way into the mouths of the subject races. *That* of course, they have, by their own conduct, rendered impossible for many a day, but we need not forget that it was thus the Moguls, in their palmy days, treated the Hindus, and thus that Runjeet Singh ruled the Punjabee Mussulmans, who were placed in charge of large districts, and in commands of high military responsibility, *but never petted.*

But no auspicious precedent seems to support the advocates of a remote despotism, conducted on revolutionary principles, freakish in operation, and undermined by an endless ramification of appeal, and such has been the system which has prevailed in British India, more and more, for a long period of years, and who can wonder if that system is at last crashing in every direction?

We have seen the results of two systems of Centralization; in Europe the destruction of local authority, in Asia its usurpation. Of the two the latter is the system best suited to oriental habits and existing institutions; and, when wielded by foreigners situated as we are, is free from the dangers to which it succumbed, under the later Mogul rulers. But the principle should be modified; a new word must be coined to express that principle—simple though it be. For "Centralization" we must substitute "Unifaction," a word unknown to lexicographers, but containing, it may be, the germ or text of our duty in this country. To weld into a whole, having life in each part, should be the steady practice, as it has, by fits and starts, been the theory of Indian administration. The results might lack that comprehensive completeness so charming to those who regard Government as one of the fine arts; but they would be fruitful in happiness to the subjects, and in honor to the rulers. This is not the place to enter into a minute exposition of what should be the details of such a plan;

doubtless the collective wisdom of the different Presidencies will be employed in their adaptation to local peculiarities. All that the modest scope of a paper like the present, can embrace, is the protest of one who has seen the mistakes of the past, in their results, on the spot; who has shared the suffering of the time; and has earnestly bent himself to study the feeling and opinions of those around him, native as well as European. He protests in their name against three things chiefly; first, against the inconsistent treatment of India by the people of England, their occasional unsympathising criticism, and equally mortifying intervals of neglect; second, against the wholesale importation of English ideas—however suitable at home—especially during the present period of excitement; thirdly, against the weakening of local authority by endless central control.

Part of such a scheme may involve the discontinuance of a special service for civil duties of administration. It is not requisite that one should here support, much less confute, the usual accusations brought against this body of public officers, either by the tradespeople and barristers of Calcutta, or by the barkelings of India Reform in London. They *may* be universally given to believe and support the natives; or they *may* be in the habit of robbing them by slow torture; *both* charges are at any rate not likely to be commonly true: by those who judge without passion or prejudice, they seem to be held able and high-minded; and the cries that have been raised against them have been generally considered traceable, for the most part, to personal feeling, not creditable to their authors. But, looking to history, we must admit that there is a basis of truth in the complaints of their military *confrères*. No instance occurs to memory of a military power, in which a special service has had the precedence of the army; great satrapies might be civil employments, but from Ninus to Napoleon, they are usually found in the hands of successful captains. Now, whatever controversy may have existed in former days, it cannot be doubted that, for some time to come (at any rate) India must be ruled by the sword; and to have district officers with the power which they would exercise according to the views set forth in the present article, yet wanting in military experience, and in that influence over their military subordinates which such an experience can alone ensure, would be likely to lead to much dispute, scandal, and weakness. On the other hand, some appointments—and good appointments—are now given as rewards to soldiers, which might be much better filled by civilians; not so much on account of greater business aptitude, as by reason of advantage to discipline in the army. It seems to be allowed on all hands that military preferment should be the stimulus to military merit, which,

however, in the Indian army has been hitherto often encouraged by the bestowal of such posts as are to be found in the Commissariat, the Audit Office, and the Clothing Board. Such employ, together with judicial and revenue appointments in districts which are not in a position to be disturbed, should absorb the existing civil servants, with whom Government cannot break the faith implied in their covenant. But the command of inflammable districts should henceforth be military command, the presiding officer uniting the control of *all* departments therein. Two branches of the staff might in future exist—the regimental and the executive; the former for officering the native corps, *to which no man should be hereafter posted until he has given satisfactory proofs of efficiency,** *the purely* civil departments being kept totally distinct from either, as is the case in England.

As above said, details are beyond our province, but it seemed proper to point out a practical application of our principles, that we might be protected from the charge of being mere visionaries. We disapprove that character no less than the other of a mountebank herald of empirical nostrums, whereof the value has to be tested by the fate of Empires, and the advance or retreat of human improvement and human happiness. The subsidence of the rebellion has presented us with a clear development of Centralization. It now seems certain that not only had our system erred in depressing the Civil and Military Local Authorities, but had perniciously affected the native *noblesse* also. While on the one hand the Zemindars of Oude, upon whom we had, in a spirit of blind pedantry, striven to force proprietary rights they did not want, were unable and unwilling to hold aloof from—much less oppose—the Talookdars who had risen to recover their own claims and avenge the spoliation; on the other, those who shewed any systematic adherence to their own fallen fortunes in the N. W. Provinces were usually members of the comparatively small body of tenants-in-chief, whom Mr. Thomason's settlement had spared. So closely does one form of despotism resemble another in its tendencies, and so nearly did the British Rulers of India complete the fatal parallel with their Mogul predecessors, and with the ancient monarchy of France.

* This is emphasized. The dangers and life-long banishment of such duty will depress it enough, without the degradation sure to follow if it have no compensating advantage over the European branch of the service. What respectable young man will serve with treacherous Asiatics, with no chance of exchanging into a home or colonial corps, unless his service become in some degree one of selection and merit ?

Absit Omen! It is not too late in Oude, and the policy pursued there leads us to hope the opportunity will not be lost, to organize this useful body of political auxiliaries. Even in the North-west something may still be done. The utmost that can be expected by a peasantry too ignorant to recognize their well-wishers, is protection to life and property —the common right of all subjects. But the large estates, at any rate, should be kept in the hands of men who fully understand their position, and who will not usually be so fool-hardy as to face the consequences which can easily be attached to the commission or concealment of heinous crime, or the withholding of the Government demand. May we not go farther, and hope that the best of this class may become deputy magistrates, gradually imbued with some of the principles of British justice, in districts to be divested of some of the worse features of British Regulation and Red Tape? That associating with European officers on something like a footing of official equality, they may be gradually led to substitute feelings of patriotic friendship for motives of selfish fear; and form some day that sensitive but faithful link between governors and governed, which the Governmemt of British India has hitherto failed to establish? The natives have a proverb which tells us, that the trees intercept blessings intended for the lowlier growth of the soil. Let us teach them that a dome of crystal admits light while it wards off tempests.

NOTE.—[It may be thought a practical difficulty attaching to the patriarchal system here sought to be applied to each district, that with such a multiplicity of districts confusion of practice might arise. To this objection great attention is due; but it is believed that much of its force would be abated if the number of the districts were fewer, and, of course, larger than at present—the commissionership of the present system is too large again for one man's management—about half the present number of districts, say fifteen for the North-west, and so on, would seem a fit arrangement. And farther, so much control from the provincial Government as would ensure attention on the part of the prefect (or by whatever name the local Governor was known) to a simple code of procedure, turning in judicial cases, upon a general use of *arbitration*. But the prefect *must be trusted*, or his authority will not stand.]

THE DEHRA DOON AS A SEAT OF EUROPEAN COLONIZATION IN INDIA.

ART. IX.—*A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company, and of the Native States on the Continent of India.* By EDWARD THORNTON, ESQ., Author of the "History of the British Empire in India." London. W. H. Allen and Co. 1857.

IN this unhappy country, the habitation of degenerate Mohammedans and quibbling idolaters; *sub curru nimium propinqui solis in terris domibus negatis;* where the intolerable heat of the climate renders impossible the active labor of Europeans out of doors, or even their permanent settlement as inhabitants; where Portuguese and Armenians have begotten an offspring which shares the worst physical and mental characteristics of the indigenous native; it may seem to many of the best informed that the very thought of colonization by Englishmen is the idlest of chimæras. In the plains which form the greater part of Hindustan above the tropic, the heat, whether from purely natural causes or not, is of the most frightful character for two months in the year; and during the monsoon is only partially relieved by the deluges of rain, which leave the saturated soil to reek with malaria throughout the greater part of September and October; the land moreover is highly cultivated and shewing symptoms of exhausture, while every square foot is literally fought for by the teeming population and by money dealers of the greatest possible shrewdness and personal frugality, (qualities which render them most formidable competitors to any outsider inclined to speculate in land.) In the hill-districts evils of an opposite character prevail; uncertain seasons, an inconceivably sparse population, poverty of soil, distance of markets.

And yet the instinctive eagerness with which so many of us, both here and in England, are seizing on the idea, proves that Indian colonization must possess at least speculative advantages; while it is undeniable that the cultivation of Indigo in Bengal is carried out to a highly advantageous extent by Europeans. Now, what is the inference fairly flowing from this one ascertained source? Surely that the profitable employment of European agency for this country lies in *supervision, direction, and control.* Thus it is in all other walks of life; we require a large Native Army, but it is nearly useless unless governed by European officers; Civil Government, Railway, and Canal Works, all alike proceed on the same basis. Precisely similar is the principle at work in the slave states of the American Union, where white labor is so debased and unprosperous; nay,

it is so strong a law that, when Toussaint L'Ouverture had subjugated the island of Hayti, he positively took the greatest trouble to retain the unfortunate French planters in a position of respect and influence, that they might continue to manage the plantations of which they had once been the owners. This law then assumed, it seems to follow that the only sort of European settlement desirable in this country, in view of the interests alike of India and England, is the substitution, by fair means of course, of English for native landlords: that is, connection with a certain class of staples of a kind which, from high price in proportion to bulk, will pay for the extra cost of European superintendence. This is not likely to take place on a large scale in our oldest provinces, where property has been long settled, or in the Punjab where many of the Sikh gentry have a firm footing; but it may take place in districts where the Government has the command of large estates greatly increased by the confiscations involved by the late rebellion. Still more possible does it seem to be in the lands below the Himalayan range, where at present the wealth of waters is chiefly wasted on swamps and forests, the home of the tiger and alligator. Here material wealth exists in its most valuable forms; the hills abound in fine iron, magnificent timber, and excellent limestone; plentiful streams and a rich virgin soil stretch for hundreds of miles along the lower land; while far above, a climate of delightful temperature, bracing breezes, or eternal snow, are matters respectively of height and distance. All these elements can be utilized by capital, enterprize, and skill of an order superior to what is usually possessed by Asiatics. It is to one of these, which we believe to unite these advantages with some more peculiarly its own, that we wish now to draw attention.

The Doon * of Dehra is a valley naturally bounded on the north, east, south, and west, by the Himalayas, the river Ganges, the Siwalik Range and the river Jumna. The eastern drainage runs by the local rivers Song and Soosowa into the Ganges; and the western into the Jumna by the Asun. The town of Dehra is nearly on the crest of the watershed between them. The two parallel mountain ranges are drained by streams running perpendicularly into these tributaries; and thus abundant means are provided by nature for the irrigation of the soil.

The area of the valley is 673.8 square miles, while the population (as estimated in 1852) is 32,083 souls, considerably

* Doon is a Hindee word for the sloping land at the foot of a mountain range, connected by Sir H. Elliott with our "Down," &c. The affectation of writing "Dhoon" is unwarranted either by etymology or native usage.

less than fifty per square mile ; and it contains only about 225 townships, while the total proportion of townships to square miles in the territories under the Agra Government, is about 82,117, and the population upwards of 290 to the square mile. This remarkable difference is to be attributed chiefly to the following causes—

1st.—To the comparatively small temptation presented by a forest country in the eyes of original settlers.

2nd.—To the oppression of the Goorkha Government at the beginning of the present century.

3rd.—Perhaps most of all, to that rooted adherence to ancestral seats, which kept the people of Oude from emigrating in any great numbers during the worst misgovernment of their late king, and which would, *a fortiori*, prevent people coming into the Doon from the plains of British India. In times of distress the natives of this country will wander incredible distances in search of temporary employment ; but they leave their families at home and return to them as soon as they conveniently can. We shall come, hereafter, to a curious illustration of this, in considering the history of the first English proprietors. But the causes we have noted require an earlier investigation, and we can hope to be excused from the retrospect only in consideration of its unavoidable necessity.

Of the early history of the district, little is known. In a passage from Ferishta cited by Elliott,* it is recorded that about the end of the eleventh century of our era, Sultan Ibrahim, the son of Masood, marched to a place in the neighborhood called Deyra, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khorassan, and were banished thither with their families by Afrasiab. They were cut off from intercourse with their neighbours by a belt of mountains of difficult passage—this corresponds to the Doon. But it was remarkable for a fine lake of water about a Parasang and a half in circumference. No such now exists, though it is not difficult to suppose that even a larger sheet of water may have been near the source of the Soosowa, or Asun, or in the valley of the Song, under different circumstances from the present. But on the whole the balance of probability seems in favor of the name being derived from the Dehra or Gooroodwara of Gooroo Ram Ray, a Lahore saint, who was buried here about two hundred years ago, and whose shrine—built in the style of the Emperor Jehangeer's tomb—is still the scene of a considerable pilgrimage from the Punjab in the spring of the year.†

* Historians of Mohammedan India, p. 205.

† For a picturesque description of this temple see Bayard Taylor's "India &c." p. 198. Mr. Taylor's. "*facts*," however, regarding the Doon must be taken *cum grano salis*,

The building and its attendants are further supported by landed estates, the gift of preceding Governments, which are under the control of the Mahunt or chief priest, who appoints his own successor.

In 1660 A. D., Sooliman Shéko, the eldest son of the unfortunate prince Dâra, flying from the pursuit of his usurping uncle Aurungzêb, took refuge with the Raja of Gurhwal, and was by him inhospitably seized and surrendered to the *de facto* Emperor. In compensation for this treachery, the Raja received the Dehra Doon in *jagheer*. In this family it remained, and is said to have been very flourishing till 1744. Unfortunately no statistics of this period are available. There are said to have been four hundred and eighty-three townships, and the numerous groves of ancient mango-trees scattered over the valley, shew that it must have been well occupied, as this description of plantation is usually confined to the neighbourhood of villages. The land revenue is also variously stated to have been from 50,000 to 100,000* rupees annually, which may express a yearly *out-turn* of about three times the amount.

In 1744, however, the Doon was overrun by the Rohilla chief Nujeebood-Dowla, whose incursion, by the way, furnishes another proof of the richness of the country, for its natural difficulties present otherwise small inducement for an Asiatic invader. To the Rohillas it remained subject for sixteen years, when they were in turn expelled by the Mahrattas, at that time all but omnipotent in the provinces immediately subject to the crown of Delhi, which was by that time a bauble in the hands of these marauders. These were in turn succeeded, for a brief interval, by the Raja of Sirmoor, a neighbouring hill chief. From 1785 to 1788, a period of anarchy intervened, during which the Sikhs held a brief occupancy. It was then recovered by Purdooman Sah, Rajah of Gurhwal, who was in turn conquered and slain by the Goorkhas in 1803.

"The invasion of the valley by the British in 1815 during the Nepal war, was marked by the obstinate, though ineffectual defence which the Goorkhas made at Kalanga or Nalapani, and by the fall of General Gillespie, and a considerable number of men under its walls."† It then became a British district, but under fluctuating arrangements; sometimes attached to Kumaon, sometimes to Saharunpore, and its poverty and unimportant general character seem to have been admitted on all sides. In 1820, the town is discribed as small and poor; eight

* Herbert, as quoted by Thornton, says £8,000

† Thornton's Gazetteer of India, *in voc.*

years after it was chiefly remarkable for its cantonments; M. Jacquemont calls it a very large village; in 1842 it had become a large town.

But in 1823 the heights on which now stand the Sanitaria of Mussoorie and Landour had been visited by tourists from the English station of Saharunpore, and the convalescent depôt and civil station were gradually established. A European population of fully 2,000 souls, with barracks, shops, churches, schools ,and other institutions, naturally gives a stimulus to the traffic of any town which may be its emporium, and Dehra now imports yearly goods, in grain, cloth, &c., to the extent of about £40,000 from the plains, besides what goes direct to the hill stations. The station of Dehra is moreover permanently occupied by a regiment of Goorkhas, and about twenty Christian families; so that it is now a populous and thriving town, in which masonry buildings are rising daily.

Far other is the state of the district which, whatever it may have been under the earlier Gurhwal government, shews sad traces of the subsequent devastation and misrule to which it was subjected. The subjoined statement, taken from an official publication, * shews that full three-fifths of the culturable land in the district was uncultivated ten years ago:—

Cultivated.	Uncultivated.		
	Barren.	Culturable.	
		Waste.	Lately abandoned.
34,327	1,19,895	48,157	5,833
		53,990	

The total area of the district is about 4,31,000 acres.

The portion at present covered by forests was always probably more or less, such as it is now, and is here set down as barren. The remaining portion of fifty-four thousand acres, a large portion of which is entered as lately abandoned, is what was available in 1848 for the purposes of cultivation, but lying waste for want of capitalists and laborers. The present accounts stand thus :—

* Mr. A. Ross's Settlement Report of 1848.

Unassessed, or Government Land.			Zemindary, etc.	
Forest.	Lately abandoned.	Other culturable Waste.	Forest.	Cultivated.
1,89,130	13,133	28,673	1,19,895	75,285

It must not be supposed however that all this land has fallen out of cultivation under British management, or that less land is occupied now than in 1816, when we first obtained the district. On the contrary, it is only a portion of some 48,000 acres recently taken up, that is between 1837 and 1848. It is no doubt melancholy to find any of this land abandoned, and that too, after great sums had been spent on its clearing and preparation, and the fact may seem ominous for the fortune of subsequent speculators. Yet it must be stated, in its full significance, before any inference can be safely drawn.

During the period above specified, various speculators, chiefly retired European officers, struck with the many advantages and attractions of the district, its proximity to the hills, the vast amount of vacant land, the fine scenery, and the abundance of game, entered into arrangements, on terms believed to be very favorable to themselves, for the cultivation of extensive areas. The rent was to be free for the first three years, and to rise by slow degrees, till in the course of years, it was to reach seventy-five rupees (£7-10) per 100 statute acres. At the expiry of fifty years the land was to be open to a fresh settlement. These terms, more or less modified by later orders, were found sufficient to lead to the land being eagerly taken up for cultivating purposes on clearing leases; the timber was nearly valueless in the Dehra market, as any one might cut where he liked, and nothing was paid until it left the district. Subsequently timber became scarcer, and the Government having resolved on preserving it, the grantees came forward, and asserted their rights at any rate to protect themselves against trespass. This was conceded in the form of prospective manorial rights to what stood on the grants. The point of mesne profits, for which the grantees next sued, is *adhuc sub judice lis*, and likely to be decided by the English courts. An order was likewise issued from home prohibiting the holding of land by the officers of Government; many of the grantees had thus to sell their farms at a short notice; the bulk of their *assamees* or cultivators deserted them sooner or later; the crops planted failed from a variety of causes; the machinery erected was too expensive, too complicated, or too heavy; and

in the eastern Doon the grantee of the "Endeavor Farm"—a Mr. Vaughan—perished with his family, victims to the malarious fever of the neighbouring marshes.

Doubtless this, however plainly told, is a sad story, but it would surely be worse than idle to make it a text for accusation and recrimination. There were probably faults on both sides; and the Government paid handsomely for any loss they may have caused by the forced sale of grants held by the prohibited class. Moreover it may be questioned whether this prohibition and the consequent transfers would of themselves have done the cultivation any great harm, while the circumstances connected with the timber are of still less relevance. The grants were given for the purpose of cultivation, and the grantee had full right to cut whatever timber he required. But in 1840, this was the only use he could make of it, and it stands to reason that, had timber possessed any other value at the time, one or other of the contracting parties would have appropriated it by a distinct clause in the agreement. Deprivation of what is worthless can hardly be called a loss; when the timber became valuable, the grantees were allowed to protect it.

The remaining causes of failure to be considered are—

1st.—The large size of the grants.

2nd.—The flight and death of cultivators.

3rd.—The inexperience of the grantees, and

4th.—But connected with the preceding.—The illusory nature of the expectations, and of the supposed advantages, held out by Government.

With each cause, a remedy will probably suggest itself; so that the failures of the past will, from the very nature of their treatment, become guides to the future. Now, the three Hope Town Grants which were sanctioned in 1840 to Messrs. Smith, Gwatkin and Maxwell, in one common lease, comprehended a tract of nearly nineteen thousand acres, of which nearly ten thousand acres were to be cleared within twenty years on pain of forfeiture, and on which they laid out in the course of a few years no less a sum than four lakhs of rupees, £ 40,000 sterling. They further acquired by purchase two enormous tracts lying north and south of these estates.—"Attica and Innisfail,"—a large tract—"Markham," in the eastern Doon, and also took up a vast grant in the Saharunpore district. With the latter there is here no concern, except to note that it must have been a great addition to the responsibilities of the grantees, who had, up to near the end of 1843 obtained "no return" from the undertaking, which had "swallowed up yearly much more than it had yielded." And be it remembered that, though the warrant bears date in this very year,

1840, some of the land had been held by them as early as 1837. It is of course impossible to say what returns the grantees might have ultimately obtained from the lands, but it is pretty certain that their successors, who got them for a very small outlay, have realized nothing; indeed the grant villages have notoriously fewer inhabitants and less cultivation than ever, at the present time. Obviously in a thinly-populated country, one of the great aims of a settler must be to obtain cultivators; let us see what progress towards this object was made by the holders of these large and almost uninhabited tracts. In a letter forming part of the series under review, the grantees stated that "the clearances extend to 8,000 acres and upwards, and that they have settled a population of 4,200 souls" (memorial of grantees, appendix F, page 13.) To this paper is annexed an extract from an address by the Board of Revenue, dated September, 1839, in which the Board express their regret that "a heavy loss has been incurred by the grantees, as a large proportion of the cultivators thus hospitably entertained deserted as soon as more favorable seasons encouraged them to return to their former homes." In another address,* the Grantees state that the difficulties which have interposed to prevent their obtaining any return from the lands are, first, "the unhealthiness of the tracts which was the cause of the inhabitants of the Dhoon (sic), never settling on them;" second, the absence of available population for the purposes of cultivation; third, the extreme and firmly rooted prejudices against the place which were entertained by the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts; and "last, not least, the utter absence of experience and want of data to refer to." They proceed to say that about two thousand of their cultivators, after a period of deadly fevers, left the grants, others having meanwhile died.

Now there is nothing here that bears on the defence of the policy of the Court of Directors in enforcing the sale of these unfortunate farms; nor should any blame be inferred on the conduct of the grantees, further than this, that 40,000 acres (which is the extent of their holding admitted in the letter under notice) formed far too large a tract to be profitably worked, where there was not only no certainty of obtaining laborers, but every reason to believe they would not be obtainable. Taught by these results the home Government of that day resolved that no grant of more than four thousand acres should be given in future.

We have seen that the first three of the causes above enumerated are patent from the admission of the grantees them-

* To the Political Agent. September, 1852.

selves. What was the nature of their error as to the advantages to be derived from the possession of the grants?

The terms of the warrant, as subsequently interpreted by the Honorable Court, contemplated the grant of land on a clearing lease for fifty years, to be open to fresh arrangements afterwards, and it was moreover ruled that covenanted officers could not hold them. But the leases were taken by a Company, most of whose members were covenanted and commissioned officers of the military and civil services; and under an impression (as appears from various passages of the above cited letters and memorials) that they, the grantees, were entitled to the use of the timber, not only to apply to the purposes of the grant, but to sell,* and that they would reap the benefit to themselves, and their heirs or assigns for ever, of all the capital they might expend. They seem to have expected that Government would make canals wherever they might be required for the irrigation and drinking-water of the grants; and that the production of cereals and sugar would be sufficiently cheap, plentiful, and marketable to return them a reasonable profit.

It would serve no purpose to revive long-buried disputes in regard to some of these expectations, or to attempt to apportion the share of blame due, respectively to the grantees and the Home Government. It appears to us more important to point out the lessons gained by all this sad experience; so that while, on the one hand, Government should lay down such clear conditions, that no one can misunderstand them; on the other, future settlers may know what limits of possibility or expedience should bound their desires. Prudently undertaken the settlement of the Doon may yet make it, in the language of the grantees, "the Garden of India."

The prospect it holds out to the settler is this. In a country 2,300 feet above the seal-evel, sheltered alike from the parching blasts of the Indian hot season, and the cutting cold of winter; abounding in water power, timber and lime, with the pleasant and healthful watering places of Mussoorie and Landour close at hand; abundance of forage for cattle, and no lack of game for sport; with a made road running down to the head of the Ganges Canal at Hurdwar, whence goods can be sent by water to Calcutta; there are a few thousand acres of land to be settled. This land the Government offered on terms which it now appears were not understood; and the work is to do again. As far as in them lay the revenue authorities have been anxious to retrace their steps. It is believed that two thousand acres will be the largest grant made to any one concern in future, but that the maximum of grant rates will be fixed not at 75 rupees per 100 acres, but *at the*

* It has been already shewn that this is at least doubtful, as timber was not marketable in the Doon at the time.

average of the neighbouring estates, which is often much less than this, and certainly forms a fairer standard of appraisement. What the neighbouring estates have paid for years can be paid by a prudent grantee, when he has had time to bring a small handy grant into work; the three years free and the commencement from three *annas* (4½*d.*) per acre to remain in force. Disputes about the timber will be very rare, as the forests have now been pretty sharply defined and separated from the cleared land. There is little or no land *actually* barren or unculturable in the Doon; the name is given to land covered with timber. Now inasmuch as this timber could not be cleared without great expense, and is moreover far more valuable than cereal produce (which latter can be procured with very little difficulty or expense from the Saharunpore district, twenty miles off) it is clearly desirable that the forests should be preserved, and cultivation duly confined to such places and such crops as will be profitable for a continuance.

Timber is something not easily obtained elsewhere, and growing very profitably in the Doon. It seems therefore the obvious interest of the state to retain the right to those tracts, which however might be farmed out for tolerably long periods to persons engaged in the timber trade, to plant, and to work on certain conditions; it would further be proper to respect the right of all existing zemindars and farmers to the timber that may be growing on their lands; and to give out in future nothing but culturable, that is, nearly cleared land on agriculturable leases. The probable nature of such leases has been glanced at before, but it may be asked what crops could be profitably grown, and by Europeans, on so small a piece of ground as 2,000 acres?

To answer this question it will be proper to compare the capabalities of the best Doon lands for producing each kind of crop, with the corresponding produce on the Trans-Siwalik plains. The subjoined table shews the comparison in the three great staples for Dehra and Saharunpore, two districts separated by only a low range of hills:—

	Sugar per acre.	Rice per acre on maunds.		Wheat mds.
		Irrigated.	Non-irrigated	
Zillah Dehra.....	45 Rs. worth.	15	10	7 or 8
Zillah Saharunpore..	90 to 100	25 to 50		15

[N. B. The Sugar produce is shewn in money value, the rest in bazar maunds of 82 lbs. *av.*]

In other words, the productiveness of the soil in regard to the three commonest food crops is about one-half that of the nearest district in the plains. Now, when we add to this that labor is scarce, and that the subsistence of a European family absorbs a vast expenditure compared with that of natives, it will appear at a glance that the production of cereals is not likely to be remunerative to the settler. No doubt seed might be improved; and a higher style of farming might possibly be introduced, manure might be more used, and the deficiency of labor to some extent supplied by machinery; but after all, wheat is grown in abundance close by, and flour often sells as low as a maund for a rupee. Ten rupees an acre would not yield a fortune with that speed which colonists would no doubt desire.

But when we turn to Indigo, Coffee or Tea we find the case widely altered. Here are crops not produceable without enterprize and skill; requiring delicate and watchful treatment, rather than profuse and perpetual labour: and in all these respects offering positive advantage to Europeans. Five years ago, Mr. Mark Thornhill, the then superintendent, exerted himself most earnestly to stimulate the growth of tea by the native land-holders, offering them land on most advantageous terms, and similar conditions for the purchase of the raw leaf. *None* would undertake it, they simply shrank from the delay, and the small sum which would have to be locked up till a profit was made. At the same time Colonel Elwall (Retired List,) with another gentleman, took a few hundred acres of land at Hurbunswâla, as a farming speculation. It may be doubted whether either of them had ever before *seen* a tea-plant. The first year little or nothing was done; some three or four acres were planted, but probably no great skill or care was used, for half the plants died. In the four succeeding years, however, some hundred and thirty acres were filled in, and we understand that the crop for 1858 is estimated at ten thousand pounds *av.* We cannot speak with any degree of certainty as to the outlay; but we believe from common report that, with the present rate of ruling prices, a return of upwards of cent. per cent. may be fairly assumed. A visit to this plantation has enabled many persons to form an opinion on the subject of tea-growing; and although there are natural limits to politeness on one side and curiosity on the other, sufficient information would, doubtless, be afforded by the managing proprietor to any one duly introduced, such, that is, as to enable the visitor to understand the scene before him. He will find bushes of five years old being picked, and yielding three or four hundred pounds of tea per acre, which will sell on the spot for five shillings a pound; the seed plots with their young plants; the blinds of straw stretched over the

capital, and will treat them with firmness, judgment, and due consideration, then the two crops of tea and coffee may be grown to an enormous profit. Excellent roads cross the district; irrigating canals are already numerous; there is an extensive demand at Landour, Mussoorie and Dehra; and the Ganges Canal, whose head at Hurdwar is only twenty-five miles from Dehra, conveys goods to Cawnpore at a rupee per maund, a little more than fifty shillings a ton, so that even if the markets *here* were glutted, a profitable sale could still be commanded down-country.

It remains to consider the question of salubrity. The climate is temperate for India, as will be seen in the annexed thermometrical and meteorological statements; but there is a widespread and somewhat substantial suspicion as to the healthiness of the district as a place of residence either for natives or Europeans. The failure of several of the grants has been partly traced above, to disease and mortality; and certainly no race of men, either workmen or masters, will long remain engaged in an unequal combat with bad "air and water."

Now Dehra and its environs, standing on a well drained ridge, are not by any means unhealthy. When cholera was raging in the N. W. Provinces two years ago, there were only 230 deaths in the town—possibly two per cent.; but the mortality in the Goorkha lines, which were ill-drained and out of repair, was five per cent., while only one man in the Civil jail was attacked and he recovered. The total proportion of reported deaths in the district to the total population was exactly one per cent. In the Allygurh district at the same time the per centage was 1.6.

The healthiness or otherwise of any part of the Doon will be found to depend chiefly on simple sanitary precautions. Undrained marshes, intercepted ventilation, and bad drinking-water, are common in forest countries; and in those parts of the valley where it does not pay to remove them, human habitation is almost impossible; the villages are deserted; the elephant and the tiger alone disturb the solitude. In more open spots a light breeze is constantly blowing. Ice forms in winter, and man and his business prosper well. There is nothing then, in this department of the question, to set aside the views already advanced, and which are now recapitulated. First, that about three quarters of the total area is to be viewed as perpetual forest, and to be preserved, for the public benefit, as timber-ground; second, that of the remainder, about one-half is available for the occupation of speculators and offers peculiar attraction to Europeans; third, that the Government is likely to lend a favorable ear to applications for a permanent settlement at low rates; fourth, that works of irrigation are either in existence, or could be easily made.

To these may be added the mention of one or two other facts of considerable importance. This district alone, of all the sub-presidency of Agra, or the North-Western Provinces, was totally undisturbed by the political hurricane of 1857. A slight scarcity of funds was felt, which was promptly supplied by the issue of a local and temporary paper currency; otherwise nothing occurred to shew that the whole country was convulsed, and a prey to fire and sword. Farther, at Mussoorie there are admirable schools for children of either sex, and the shops furnish every comfort of life at moderate prices. A small convalescent depôt of European troops adds to the sense of security, and to the "Home" air which is so pleasant to the exile.

The temperature, as found by comparison of observations for many years, is as shewn below—

Mean winter.	Mean summer.	Total Mean.
57° Fahr.	88°	72-5°

The average rain-fall for the last fifteen years, for the station of Dehra is little, if anything, below eighty inches. In April and May, and in October, November and December, rain scarcely ever falls; the greatest fall being usually in July and August. From about 20th September to 20th October, the drying of the soil sometimes generates malaria, and the climate is then most relaxing.

No mention has been made of the Government tea-plantation at Kaolageer. It was begun as an experiment, under the orders of the Supreme Government, and no expense has been spared upon its organization. It would not, therefore, furnish correct data for our purpose. A full report is expected soon to issue from the press, and to that the reader may be referred. We would only submit that the plantation having led the way and proved the suitableness of the Doon for tea, should now be made over to any Company which can give proof of stability, and of a disposition to supply seed, and to shew that consideration for the public welfare which has always characterized the Government garden.

Nor has anything been said of the interesting experiments on the rearing of silk worms, in which Captain Hutton has been so long engaged, and to which the Government has lately given support. These, being conducted at Mussoorie, are beyond our present province; as is likewise the fertile hill tract of Jownsar, where turmeric, red pepper, ginger, walnuts, honey, potatoes, cassia, and opium, are produced in abundance.

In other words, the productiveness of the soil in regard to the three commonest food crops is about one-half that of the nearest district in the plains. Now, when we add to this that labor is scarce, and that the subsistence of a European family absorbs a vast expenditure compared with that of natives, it will appear at a glance that the production of cereals is not likely to be remunerative to the settler. No doubt seed might be improved; and a higher style of farming might possibly be introduced, manure might be more used, and the deficiency of labor to some extent supplied by machinery; but after all, wheat is grown in abundance close by, and flour often sells as low as a maund for a rupee. Ten rupees an acre would not yield a fortune with that speed which colonists would no doubt desire.

But when we turn to Indigo, Coffee or Tea we find the case widely altered. Here are crops not produceable without enterprize and skill; requiring delicate and watchful treatment, rather than profuse and perpetual labour: and in all these respects offering positive advantage to Europeans. Five years ago, Mr. Mark Thornhill, the then superintendent, exerted himself most earnestly to stimulate the growth of tea by the native land-holders, offering them land on most advantageous terms, and similar conditions for the purchase of the raw leaf. *None* would undertake it, they simply shrank from the delay, and the small sum which would have to be locked up till a profit was made. At the same time Colonel Elwall (Retired List,) with another gentleman, took a few hundred acres of land at Hurbunswâla, as a farming speculation. It may be doubted whether either of them had ever before *seen* a tea-plant. The first year little or nothing was done; some three or four acres were planted, but probably no great skill or care was used, for half the plants died. In the four succeeding years, however, some hundred and thirty acres were filled in, and we understand that the crop for 1858 is estimated at ten thousand pounds *av.* We cannot speak with any degree of certainty as to the outlay; but we believe from common report that, with the present rate of ruling prices, a return of upwards of cent. per cent. may be fairly assumed. A visit to this plantation has enabled many persons to form an opinion on the subject of tea-growing; and although there are natural limits to politeness on one side and curiosity on the other, sufficient information would, doubtless, be afforded by the managing proprietor to any one duly introduced, such, that is, as to enable the visitor to understand the scene before him. He will find bushes of five years old being picked, and yielding three or four hundred pounds of tea per acre, which will sell on the spot for five shillings a pound; the seed plots with their young plants; the blinds of straw stretched over the

seedlings to temper the rays of the summer sun until they are dug out and planted in the garden, and a certain amount of artificial irrigation applied during the hot months. These labors he will find performed by men, mostly from Oude and the eastern districts, on monthly wages of eight shillings, who are housed in the village, supplied with tools by the estate, and tended in sickness by the managing proprietor. No Chinamen are employed, in the small, but neat and inexpensive factory; the process of making the tea is successfully carried on by the Hindustanis attached to the concern, and the article sells at the prices averaged above. The whole expense of thus managing one hundred acres of tea garden may be estimated at £800 annually, besides the subsistence of the European manager, and the interest on the capital invested. In the first year the return is almost *nil*, and it is not till the fourth that it begins to exceed the outlay; but from that time all is plain sailing. The rough calculation given below represents what would be realized, under favorable circumstances, and with proper care and skill.

Expense per 100 acres.		*Yield per* 100 *acres.*	
1st year	£800	Nil.	
2nd year	£800	1,000 lbs. at 5s. p. lb.	250
3rd year	£800	5,000 lbs. at 5s. „	1,250
4th year	£800	30,000 lbs. at 5s. „	7,500
Four years interest on (say) £1,000 at 10 p. ct.	£400	Deduct profit ... „	5,400
	3,600		3,600

[N. B.—This calculation is for one hundred acres in an equal state of forwardness: not planted piece-meal and gradually as was done at Harbunswála. It is quite conjectural, and is higher than would be realized in practice.]

Now a profit of even half of £5,400, leaves a handsome subsistence for a European family for their first four years of struggling; but we must remember that thereafter the yearly account is, for extraordinary luck and management, represented by a gain of £7,500 on an expenditure of £900, or upwards of six thousand a year on one hundred acres. A Company with a joint stock of £5,000 could work an estate of far more than five times this extent, because in fact the expense would not increase proportionably to the extension of land. With reference to Indigo and Coffee, statistics are less accessible, and it is not easy to say more than this, viz.: that these articles grow well in the Doon. But there can be little doubt that, if Government will give grants of one to two thousand acres to an European proprietary on a moderate rent and a perpetual settlement, and if the settlers will lay themselves out to procure laborers, will support them from their

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES:

AND

LIST OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

Christian Education for India in the Mother Tongue. A Statement on the formation of a Christian Vernacular Education Society. London, 1858.

Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. Occasional Papers, Nos. I and II. London, 1858.

The Educational Destitution in Bengal and Behár; and the London Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. Calcutta, 1858.

THE Christian Vernacular Education Society for India will be, if fully and successfully carried out, as its projectors warrant us to anticipate, the most glorious result of the Rebellion, which has so directed the attention and the prayerful energies of the English nation to this land. Beginning as it now does with small things, it may yet form the first wave of an under-current of Christianising and civilising influences that, though for a time they may not bulk largely in the eyes of the world, will result in changes higher and more thorough than our rulers have hitherto dared to dream of, changes which many of them have pronounced both wrong and impossible.

The first two of these publications are issued by the Society itself, with the view of explaining its objects, constitution, and modes of operation. Its Provisional Committee numbers among its members many of the best and wisest of those who have always shewn an intelligent interest, or have personally lived and laboured, in the country. It embraces retired Civilians and Military officers, as well as Missionaries and Lay Secretaries of Missionary Societies. At its head stand the names of Shaftesbury, Kinnaird, and Culling E. Eardley; while its Secretaries represent the four leading Missionary Societies in England —Church, Baptist, Wesleyan, and London. It will, and has already, put itself in connexion with practical men in India, with the view of at once receiving advice, and calling forth co-operation. Its occasional papers are composed of the letters of such, and of such information from India as will lead the Society in England to increased and wise effort. Union, and a resolution to walk together as Christians, and to work together, so far as they agree, are to characterise all its acts.

It sets out with the acknowledgment, which all seem now to have

agreed in, that the education of the young is all important, but that it should, in all its details and low degrees, be conducted by professional teachers under the superintendence of ordained missionaries, whose time will thus be mainly devoted to evangelistic work, while that which is purely educational, and we think quite as important, will be better done than hitherto. Their objects are thus thoroughly educational and thoroughly Christian, while in themselves they are mainly two.—"Institutions for training masters to teach in their mother tongue, 'and the preparation of Christian books, in the various languages of 'India." Taught by the failure of Government Education, the Society will concentrate and intensify its operations, confining them at first to a few centres, and to the two objects that will most affect the whole of education in the land—Teachers and Books. As we read the manly and frank statement of the Society, we cannot help feeling with some degree of bitterness, that a scheme for assisting and promoting education in every way so admirable as that enunciated in the Education Despatch of 1854 has been burked, nay, directly set aside by every act of the Supreme Government of India since it was issued. The Grant-in-Aid system there so strongly recommended, and so wisely and beneficially carried out in England, would have solved the 'Religion' difficulty for ever, and yet have been the most effectual means of Christianising the country. Such a Society as this could then have claimed and received large assistance, on the ground of the secular instruction imparted, and thus have become a direct teaching body, spreading its blessings over a large extent of country. When the Government learns, as they will soon do, to adopt the policy of the Despatch, a policy reiterated by every Educationist lay and missionary in the country,—a policy earnestly recommended by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and again, in spite of ignorant reproof, advanced by the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal; when it ceases to be itself the School-master, to monopolise native education, to educate badly and non-morally, to discourage all efforts but its own, and drive all as interlopers off the field; when it is no longer directly connected with any college or body of schools, but expends the large sums that it squanders on such, in encouraging all who will undertake the enlightenment of the ignorant and the elevation of the degraded; when it is honest and does not oscillate, as now, between two contradictory policies; then will it be, what God has established every Government to be—His instrument for the true civilising of His people. And by this scheme also it will adhere to the most thorough *neutrality;* it will abandon its present *intolerance* to its own creed. Such acts as have recently taken place in its educational operations, will never be repeated. The Court of Directors will not refuse or delay aid to a Missionary school, on the ground that its own college supplies sufficient education for a district, and then at once establish, under the orders of the Court of Directors, an "orthodox" Hindu school in the same locality; it will never again condemn the Santhals to barbarism, because Christian Mission-

aries had the civilising of them, nor will it again issue such an order as its " last"—that the already miserable expenditure for educational purposes be not increased—for it is dead.

The English Grant-in-Aid system is the best and healthiest—we had almost said most necessary—concomitant to such a Society as this, and its influential committee should direct their keenest efforts to the healthy establishment and carrying out of it. If the old Puritan spirit of England awake to the whole question of a wise Christian Education for India, with God's blessing it will be done. At present the time is auspicious and the motives noble.

" A Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, originated while yet the war of the mutineers continued to rage, supported on a scale worthy of England's wealth and India's magnitude, and aiming at ultimately giving every child in India a Christian teacher and Christian books, would be a memorial of a crisis that can never be forgotten, on which we may humbly trust that the Lord of all nations would smile."

The third pamphlet is a report given in by Dr. Duff to the Missionary Conference of Calcutta, on the subject of the formation of this Society. It shews what India's part in the effort must be, and points out in detail, and with much wisdom, the preparations that must be made, and the means that must be adopted, to carry out the plans of the Society, under the heads of the Agent, Principal or Headmaster, Locality, Pupils, Boarding Establishment, Monthly Allowance, Wives, Non-Christian Students, Studies—Medium of Instruction—Subject Matter of Instruction, Employment after being trained, and the Organization and Superintendence of the common vernacular schools.

General Introductory Lecture delivered to the Students of the Calcutta Medical College at the opening of the Session of the 15*th June,* 1858. *By Thomas Thomson, M. D., F. R. S., Surgeon Bengal Army, Professor of Botany. Calcutta,* 1858.

ANYTHING from Dr. Thomson, on the subject of Education for his own profession, must be received with respect by all who know his character and abilities. With most of the counsels to his native students, and statements as to the mental training necessary for the medical profession, we quite agree. He himself sees the wisdom of confining himself to the consideration of what is necessary for a purely professional education, but cannot resist the temptation, so common to most medical and scientific men, of having a fling at the purely literary or general education, on which all hopes of success in that which succeeds it must be based. In seeming to charge it with defectiveness in methods, he in reality attacks it on the ground that it is not, what it does not profess to be and will ever strive to avoid being, more external, observing, in fact utilitarian. The present cry for more of this element in education, is now ruining it

introducing mere superficiality, sciolism and empiricism, where formerly there was accuracy if not extent, intensity of not wide diffusion, sterling and honest pride with solid, if not ability to prate about, many acquirements. It is the absence of what Dr. Thomson condemns, the want of a thorough and more lengthened general education, *without* superficial sprinklings of this physical science and that, which makes such bad professional men, and deluges our professions, and especially the medical, with men of whom our forefathers would have been ashamed. Apart from his remarks on this point, Dr. Thomson's Lecture should be carefully read by every native student. If he sins on this question of education, he sins as his brethren Hartley, Thomas Brown, and Abercrombie have done, in materialising philosophy. The ideal and non-utilitarian cannot co-exist with an enthusiastic love of the medical profession.

My Journal; or what I did and saw between June 9th and November 25th, 1857; with an account of General Havelock's march from Allahabad to Lucknow. By a Volunteer. Calcutta, 1858.

THIS modest little Journal, which was not at first intended for publication, is winning its way to public favour. The first impression is exhausted, and a second is called for. It has no pretensions to literary merit, being evidently the first work of a young writer. It scarcely touches on questions of military strategy or politics, contains no vivid or picturesque sketches of sieges or battles, gives way rarely to any thing like enthusiasm or deep feeling, and is written throughout in a simple, unaffected, almost prosaic style.

But there is a nameless charm about it, which attracts as much the refined and fastidious, as the rude illiterate soldier. In the barrack and the Hospital, no book, that we could offer, was more heartily praised, or more eagerly sought for. The escape from Salone in open day through the regimental lines, the guns drawn up so as to sweep the road they had to go, the sepoys, armed and accoutred, scowling on them, as they passed, some standing by the guns with lighted port-fires in their hands, would have tried most men's nerves. But not a word was spoken—not a shot fired—the Lord preserved them. Then comes the episode of Hunowant Sing, like a page cut out of Froissart. This fine old chief was an Oude Talookdar, who had been deprived of the greater part of his estates, and thrown into Jail by the British Commissioner, for certain very doubtful arrears of revenue. That officer was Captain Barrow; but it was done with no will of his, as the old chief knew well. In their hour of need, it was he who warned Captain Barrow of his danger, met the fugitives outside the town with 200 of his followers, took them into one of his forts, fed and entertained them liberally for weeks, escorted them to a

place of safety, made over to the British authorities Government money which he had rescued, and refused to accept a cowrie of the 5,000 Rs. which Captain Barrow offered to him, either for himself, or his followers. This noble-minded Hindu has since been in arms against us. If he be still alive, we trust his chivalrous conduct will not be forgotten. There is yet hope for Oude if it contains men like him.

On reaching Allahabad, the writer formed one of the volunteer cavalry,—one of that band of eighteen, many of them boys, and all of them officers, who constituted the whole of General Havelock's cavalry, on that marvellous march unexampled in history, when, with 1,200 men of all arms, he drove 20,000 like sheep before him, defeating them whenever they ventured to make a stand, and striking a terror into their hearts, from which they have never recovered.

He was present through all the first advance, the retreat, the bloody entrance into Lucknow, the struggle in the streets, the world-famous siege, the last relief; then with Outram in the Alumbagh; and there 'my Journal' ceases. Any narrative of such events by an eye-witness must be interesting. That which adds to the freshness of this is the fact, that the narrator was a young officer, for the first time under fire, and passing at once from a quiet civil office into the very 'hell' of battle. He writes down his own sensations from day to day, with a frank truthful simplicity, and without a word of boasting, until you feel as if you were his comrade on the march, and saw all that he sees; stood with him by the well at Cawnpore, and charged with him in the *melée*, when Outram galloped before the men, knocking down the enemy with his stick. The impression it leaves of the writer's character is one of the pleasantest connected with the work. You might desiderate more life, brilliancy, and point; but you feel that he is a true brave man, worthy to have fought with Outram and Havelock, and of like mind, if of lower degree.

Ex Oriente. Sonnets on the Indian Rebellion. London, 1858.

THE Rebellion has not yet found its Poem. It must be a great Epic, even though the Unities be violated. It has more than Homeric heroes, a greater than Achilles, though alas! no Odysseus, two Troys, and full many a scene exceeding in pathos that of Hector and Andromache. It has elements that no poet has ever had, that Homer lacked, that Milton could not have imagined. Sonnets will not do as descriptive. In this work they are put to a wrong use. The Lyric is purely subjective, the Poetry of unconsciousness. This author, smitten by a love of Petrarch, has given us, in a series of Sonnets, a sort of history of the leading outlines of the Rebellion. As the expression of what was felt by an Anglo-Indian, when God seemed to have hidden His face, they might have been valuable, and the Sonnet would have been the proper form, but as historical descriptions of certain scenes they violate Art, and seldom rise above the prosaic. They are

correct in form, and in many cases elegantly cold ; in a few a vivid imagination might fancy it saw the dim outline of poetic thought and expression. We give three as specimens—the first two for their subject, the third as a test, a *crux*, by which to try of what poetic stuff the author is made :—

LORD CANNING.

" And what did he, within whose hand was placed
The guidance of the empire? A great name,
The high inheritance of a father's fame,
Were his, and at the first were not disgraced.
The laws, too nerveless for the times, were braced ;
New powers were granted, as such crises claim ;
And from all sides to quench the rising flame,
The British troops were summoned up in haste.
All efforts were exhausted to dispel
The Sepoy's mad delusion ere it grew :
Measures of stern repression passed, to quell
Those bent on mutiny ; and he withdrew
A doubtful proclamation : so far well,
And praise shall not be stinted where 'tis due."

THE PRESS ACT.

" It was an act of vigour : such things go
Unheeded at such times, 'neath such a phrase.
What time Rebellion stalketh in the ways.
Their dearest licence loyal men forego !
Such vigour the affrighted cit would show,
Who, when the burglars enter, and there bays
His faithful watchdog, the poor sentinel slays.
Vigour, my Lord, were best against the foe.
The act was ne'er Lord Canning's own ; the field
Of English politics ne'er such teachings gave.
But when his better instincts he did yield
To narrow Councillors, the mind misgave ;
His was not the unswerving hand, to wield
O'er rebel peoples England's brandished glaive."

CAWNPORE.

" Sudden the rapture fadeth from each eye ;
Rose the wild woman-shriek, the infant's wail,
And men grown used to battle's horror, pale ;
The bravest hearts are numbed by Treachery ;
The murder signal has been sounded ; ply
The guns on either bank, and the quick hail
Of musketry the huddled groups assail ;
No chance is left to combat or to fly.
The boats are all brought back unto the shore,
For sentence such as Nana Saib may deem
Fit for the living few ; ten miles or more
One boat alone still struggles down the stream,
Pursued by Troopers, drunk with English gore,
And three men live to tell that ghastly dream."

" Death for the men at once—Death, Sovran balm
For the crushed heart, with 'whelming anguish rife ;
God must protect the little ones and wife.
A holy man amongst them, bravely calm,
Readeth aloud the solemn funeral Psalm.

"I am the Resurrection and the Life!"
O brothers, ye have passed from the strife!
O martyrs, ye have fairly won the palm!
One noble wife beside her husband died,
They could not tear her from him; all the rest
For further days of woe are placed aside.
Mothers still clasp their infants to their breast.
Are not all forms of agony yet tried?
And must still more be suffered?—God knows best."

Will He marry Her? A Novel. By John Lang, Author of "Too Clever by Half," "The Forger's Wife," "The Wetherbys," etc. London, 1858.

This story certainly attains the first object of all the class of Literature to which it belongs—it amuses. But it does so at the expense of probability, of unity, of Art, of all that an author who values his previous reputation, or seeks to increase it, generally values. Its wit degenerates into burlesque, its pathos into mere rant, while throughout the whole, there is no evidence of anything like a high moral tone, or purpose. Even the purely Indian passages, the description of the Sikh battles, are neither in themselves pieces of fine writing, nor true to fact. Mr. Lang has abused the powers which he certainly possesses, and while in all his works, you feel that he never does justice to himself, this is most painfully the case in the present. When shall we have a true Indian Novel, such an one as Thackeray would have written, had he spent more than his mere boyhood in the country?

Le Général D'Orgoni—Sa Mission, en France et à Rome et Plan de Campagne pour une Croisade Française en Indo-Chine et en Chine. Nancy, 1858.

The above is the pretentious title of a little *brochure* we have chanced to come across, and which, from its gasconading mendacity and bitter spite against "*les pauvres Anglais*," whom Monsieur——we beg his pardon, *General* D'Orgoni, is pleased to consider his "mortal enemies," has afforded us some amusement. It is ostensibly the work of a M. Prosper Dumont, styling himself a retired officer, but he has evidently received his inspiration from the *soi-disant* General himself.

M. Dumont commences with a glowing description of Indo-China, that "veritable pearl of Asia," which he says is—

"Eminently worthy of the attention of France, and a country, 'which our Government might obtain a large share of, would they 'but enter upon that course which the English pursue with so much 'perseverance in Hindustan. Without exactly declaring it to be a land 'flowing with milk and honey, it is at least a region remarkable

'for the beauty of its sky; the prodigious fertility of its soil; the 'magnificence of its tropical vegetation; the immense variety of its 'productions; the richness of its forests, where all kinds of valuable 'timber abound; for its fluvial system; its chains of mountains; its 'admirable conformation, and its marvellous resources. Were I happy 'enough to see the French Government take up the position, if not 'of an enemy—at least that of a rival of the British and Dutch Go- 'vernments, in those seas where our flag has never yet been remarkable, 'except by its absence—if I had the happiness of seeing France 'firmly resolved to found a powerful colony in that semi-barbarous 'country, which the breath of civilization would speedily animate, 'I should rejoice, I should pride myself, on having been one of the 'first in our days to point out the immense advantages which our 'country would derive from the occupation of Indo-China."

Passages from M. Huc's work "*Le Christianisme en Chine—en Tartarie et en Thibet*," and from a work entitled "*Voyage autour du monde de l'Astrolabe et de la Zélee, pendant les années*, 1837-38-39-40," are then quoted in favor of the scheme of establishing another Algeria in Indo-China, and the Eastern Archipelago, after which our author dwells upon the particular importance of the Burman Empire among the nations of Indo-China, and the importance of General D'Orgoni's mission.

"It seems that France has long had a presentiment of the great 'things to which she will one day be called in Indo-China. Up to 'the present time however, there have only been individual attempts 'to take possession of the trans-gangetic peninsula in the name of 'France. Some of these attempts, which have nearly all proved 'successful, may be related here. Towards the close of the last 'century, Mgr. Pigneaux de Bebain, Bishop of Adran, the able 'and honest minister of Gia-long, emperor of Annam, with the 'assistance of some French Officers, re-organized in a very short 'time the fleet and army of that monarch, fortified several of his cities, 'and added a prestige to his arms, which they had never before 'possessed. Had not the labors of those Frenchmen, who were sent 'out to Cochin-China to carry on the improvements of Gia-long, 'been lost sight of during the revolution of 1789, there is no doubt that 'the empire of Annam would have had an incalculable influence on the 'destinies of Asia, and perhaps even on those of France herself. That 'influence unhappily was annihilated by the preponderating power of 'the English, and by the death of the Bishop of Adran. In the 'beginning of the present century two other Frenchmen, MM. Chaig- 'neaux and Vannier, following up the noble tradition of Mgr. de 'Bebain, organized anew, after the European model, the army of the 'Emperor of Annam. They fortified his towns, enlarged his arsenals, 'and superintended the construction of a very considerable Indo- 'Chinese fleet. More recently Général D'Orgoni has settled among 'the Burmans, to try in his turn to introduce our arts and sciences to 'that interesting race, and at the same time to light up the civilizing 'lamp of the Christian religion."

Then follows a short account of the extent and present condition of the Burman empire, with a more detailed history of our author's hero. As a good deal has lately been said about the antecedents of the *soi-disant* General, and that generally of no very favourable character, we will give a slight sketch of his history, as related by himself, or rather by his own special biographer, without however in any way vouching for its correctness. Louis Charles Girodon D'Orgoni was born in the canton of Blaisois in 1811. All his relations had been soldiers of Charrette, and he was therefore nurtured among military traditions, and at the proper age provided with a place in the body-guard of Charles X., when that monarch was driven from his throne by the Revolution of July 1830, D'Orgoni followed the fortunes of the Royal Family, and resided with them for some time in England. He took a part in the insane attempt of the Duchess de Berry to raise an insurrection in La Vendée in 1832, and was lucky enough to get back to his refuge in England, with only a broken leg and a wound in the head.

We are then told that he espoused the cause of Don Miguel, by whose hands he was decorated for his gallant exploits, with the order of Christ and that of the Tower and the Sword. After the convention of Evora, he received permission to return to France, and had moreover several brilliant offers made to him by Louis Philippe, but he would neither re-enter France, nor respond to the advances of the Citizen King, having "no sympathy with the *bourgeois* and Voltairian 'Government of the son of Egalitè."

He then marries the daughter of a General Court Bouvet de Logier who brings him some property in the Isle of Bourbon, whither he accordingly proceeds. This lady having died, D'Orgoni espouses her sister, but being unfortunate enough to lose her also a few months after his marriage, he sallies forth to peregrinate the world, and thus soften the poignancy of his grief. He traversed South America, spent some time at the Cape of Good Hope, penetrated into Madagascar, and actually, we find, rivalled Livingstone by ascending the Rio Zambeze to a distance of 500 leagues from its mouth. And now, his biographer tells us—"the audacious Frenchman, as the Anglo-'Indian Journals style him, resolved upon the realization of a pro-'ject he had long cherished in his mind—a project, the results of 'which are destined to exercise an immense influence, not only on the 'progress of civilization in one of the greatest and richest countries 'in the world, but also upon the commercial interests of France."

This important project, we are surprised to find, is merely a resolution on M. D'Orgoni's part to travel leisurely through Hindustan, and examine carefully the condition of the people, and also the political and military organization of "that gigantic establishment which 'is still officially termed, the factory of *John et Cie*'"—such is M. Dumont's mode of Gallicizing the familiar soubriquet of the H. E. I. Company. Upon the veracity of M. D'Orgoni's biographer up to this point, we cannot speak with certainty, but judging from the

glaring mendacity of all that follows, we are inclined to think that the whole of our hero's career, as described by M. Dumont, must partake greatly of the apocryphal. The needy adventurer, who on his arrival in Calcutta pestered the authorities, but without success, for some assistance, and then found his way to Pegu, where he was equally importunate and equally unsuccessful in his proffers of service to General Godwin, is said to have spent several years in a "*voyage d'agrement*" through India, where he acquired such a reputation as a talented, enterprizing, and withal dangerous Frenchman, that his very name acted as a sort of *nightmare* on the Governor General, and the Anglo-Indian papers represented him as "*le Scipion Gaulois*"—"*le mauvais genie d' Albion.*" With such a reputation, we are not astonished at learning that the Emperor of Burmah solicited the aid of D'Orgoni, to defend his kingdom against the unjustifiable and iniquitous aggressions of the English:

"He could not say nay to such a glorious summons, and from that 'moment he was pursued by the hatred of the British. As soon as 'it was known that he had quitted Calcutta, and gone in the direction 'of Ava, the Governor General despatched a steamer in pursuit to 'seize and bring him back. Having escaped as by a miracle, he 'resolved to baffle his pursuers by making the best of his way to 'Ava, through savage populations, infuriated to the last degree against 'all Europeans whom they confounded with the detested English."

The appeal from His Majesty of the Golden Foot, and the pursuing steamer, are of course merely phantasies of M. D'Orgoni's brain. One of the Hon'ble Company's vessels conveyed him to Rangoon, where he staid for several months, supported mainly by the hospitality of some English merchants, being also no unfrequent guest at the Messes of several British regiments, where there certainly was no display of that "haine Britannique" which is said at this time to have been pursuing him. At the close of the war he found his way to Ava. When the news of his arrival there was received, "the rage of the British," we are told, "was extreme, the Governor of India tried every 'expedient to possess himself of the fugitive—he determined to 'have him dead or alive, and a price was put upon his head. But 'by the Burmese, Captain D' Orgoni was received as a liberator. 'He was welcomed with ceremonies and distinctions almost fabulous. 'He was immediately created General of Generals, and set earnestly 'to work to organize a defence for which no serious preparations had 'been made: from that time he became the *omnis homo*, Commander-in-'Chief, and Prime Minister. His reforms and his decisions extended to 'all departments. Before long—after several severe combats, in which 'the General appeared to have communicated his own intelligence and 'energy to the troops placed under his orders, the invasion was com-'pletely arrested, and the Anglo-Indian force found itself shut up and 'blockaded in a few places, which were protected by their artillery, 'and victualled only by the aid of their steamers.* * * Then came an 'armistice, soon converted into a peace—and the Burmese Empire

'was saved from the dismemberment, not to say complete subjugation, with which the British powers had threatened it. This happy deliverance was the work of General D' Orgoni, who had instructed the Burmese in a new style of tactics, and had alone conducted the war. As a recompense for such services, he was created a Prince of the Empire with ceremonies of the most striking description." Then we are favored with a full, true, and particular account of the ceremonial, which it is hardly necessary to add, is as purely fictitious as the preceding part of the narration.

"Before midday on the 4th January, 1854, the General D' Orgoni proceeded to the palace of the Heir Apparent, to whom he was presented with all due formality. After the usual exchange of compliments, the Prince with a numerous cortége accompanied him to the Emperor's residence. When they arrived at the entrance hall of the golden Palace, the general was obliged, according to the usual *etiquette*, to wait with his Interpreter and other attendants, until he was summoned by the Grand-Master of the ceremonies to the Emperor's presence. On his passage through the numerous apartments which led the throne-room, he found a double row of Officers whose costume and gold swords formed a dazzling *coup d'œil*. His Majesty was seated upon a magnificent throne, surrounded by the princes of the blood, ministers, and nobles. Having most carefully observed the different salutes and marks of respect required by etiquette, the General proceeded to occupy the place assigned to him immediately behind the hereditary Prince. For five minutes there was a solemn silence. It was broken by the Emperor, who addressed the General in the most condescending manner, saying he was about to invest him with a title which had never before been bestowed upon any European. Upon this, an Imperial Secretary read with a loud voice an Edict, setting forth the reasons which had determined His Majesty upon bestowing this distinction, and detailing the honors and authority attached to the title. Then a herald advancing to the middle of the Hall pronounced, with all the power of his lungs, the following words : '*D'Orgoni-Neh-myo-ti-he-zi-ah !*' which in the Pali or Classical language signifies.—'*D'Orgoni, Cousin del' Empereur—Homme de belle apparence—General de la Victoire.*"

Truly the Pali is a most comprehensive language ! ! The ceremony of investiture was not complete without an audience of the white elephant, which intelligent animal is said to have presented the newly made 'Cousin of the Emperor' with a silver statuette of itself. Immediately after this M. D'Orgoni returned to France, charged with some secret political errand, and it is mentioned as a proof of his great audacity that, on his way, he actually passed through and staid a month in Calcutta, "where his most mortal enemies resided." Having revisited Ava to report to the king the result of his mysterious mission, he has again returned to Paris, but this time as "ambassador extraordinary from H. M. the Emperor of the Burmans to H. M. Napoleon III. charged with a mission of which the following are the

' principal points :—1st, to conclude with the French Government, a ' treaty of commerce advantageous to European interests ; 2nd, to ' create a mercantile Company in France, on the model of the E. I. ' Company, but one which will make *honorable* use of the immense ' riches of Burma, and introduce into that as yet little known country ' French civilization ; 3rd, to make arrangements with the Pope fo ' the protection of the Catholic population of Indo-China ; 4th, t ' engage some young and zealous Frenchmen, capable of organizing the ' Burmese army."

We are not informed when General D' Orgoni anticipates being able to return, with all the objects of his mission successfully accomplished, to resume his place among the high dignitaries of the Burman Empire, but when he does come, we may expect the sun of England's glory to set very shortly afterwards, for "then" we are told.—

" Les oies de Londres ne sauveront pas le Capitole William, qui, a ' cette heure, encore, eléve sa tête superbe, audessus de Calcutta, ou ' plutot audessous de l' Hindostan."

In M. Dumont's plan for a French Crusade in Indo-China, which i comprised in a few pages at the end of his work, the chief rôle of course is assigned to D' Orgoni, who is to throw himself at the head of his Burmese Guerillas, supported by Europeans, through the passes to the north-east of Ava, from which, M. Dumont imagines, it will be easy to strike at the heart of the Chinese Empire, and even penetrate through it as far as Canton itself ! ! We have certainly never seen any attempt at eulogy, which, by its absurd exaggeration, so utterly defeated its own object. A would-be panegyric, it is a real burlesque. And yet, perhaps, to the majority of the readers of this pamphlet, who will not be in a position to judge of the correctness of the facts, D'Orgoni will appear as great a hero as he wishes to make himself out.

LIST OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

History of the War in Affghanistan. By John William Kaye. New edition. Revised and corrected, 3 vols. London. Bentley.

The Anglo-Indian Word Book; being a Familiar Exposition of Current Terms, to which is added a companion to all the Maps of India. By H. Downes Miles. London. Shaw.

Settlement in India and Trade with Central Asia: Speech of W. Ewart, Esq., M. P., in the House of Commons. March 23rd 1858. London. Ridgway.

Madras, its Civil Administration: being rough Notes from Personal Observation, written in 1855 and 1856. By Patrick B. Smollett. London. Richardson.

Three Visits to Madagascar during 1853, 1854, and 1856, including a Journey to the Capital; with notices of Natural History, and Present Civilisation of the People. By the Rev. William H. Ellis, F. H. S. London. John Murray.

Buchanan's Christian Researches in India with the Rise, Suspension, and Probable Future of England's Rule as a Christian Power in India. Edited by Rev. W. H. Foy. London. Routledge.

The Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe. By John William Kaye. New and revised edition, 2 vols. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

The History of British India. By James Mill, 5th edition, with Notes and continuation, by Horace Hayman Wilson, vol. 7. Cheap edition. London. Madden.

Familiar Epistles of Mr. John Company to Mr. John Bull. Reprinted with additions from Blackwood's Magazine. Edinburgh. Blackwood.

How we tax India: a Lecture on the Condition of India under British Rule. By W. G. Foster. London. Bennett.

Autobiography of Lutfullah, a Mahommedan Gentleman, and his transactions with his fellow-creatures. Edited by Edward B. Eastwick, 3rd edition. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

Fleurs de l'Inde, comprenant la mort de Yaznadate, Episode tiré de la Ramaïde de Valmiki; trad. en vers Français; Avec le texte Sanscrit en regard. Paris.

Japan Opened. Compiled chiefly from the Narrative of the American Expedition to Japan in the years 1852-3-4, with engravings. London. Religious Tract Society.

The Quarterly Review, No. 206. April.
Article 6.—Siege of Lucknow.

The Quarterly Review, No. 207. July.
Article 8.—The Condition and Future of India.

The North British Review, No. 57. August.
Article 9.—Our Indian Army.

Essays by Free Church Ministers. Edited by the Rev. Dr. Hanna.
No. 9. The Future of India. By the Rev. Thomas Smith, Missionary. Calcutta.

The North American Review, No. 179. April.
Article 6.—TheBrahmanic and Buddhist Doctrine of a Future Life.
Article 8.—The Rebellion in India.
The Edinburgh Review, No. 218.
Article 8.—The Conquest of Oude.
The Review, No. 219.
Article 4.—Canning's Literary Remains.
Article 10.—The Hindu Drama.
British Quarterly Review, No. 54.
Article 9.—Commerce with India.
British Quarterly Review, No. 55.
Article 8.—India and the House of Commons.
Christianity in China, Tartary, Thibet. By M l' Abbé Huc. vol. III. London. Longman and Co.
Wanderings in the Land of Ham. By a Daughter of Japhet. London. Longman and Co.
Two years in Victoria. By William Howett. Second and cheaper edition, 2 vols. London. Longman and Co.
Handy Helps to Useful Knowledge, containing:
3. Sir Colin Campbell.
4. Races of India ; their Creed and Caste.
5. The English in China.
6. Sir Henry Havelock. London. W. H. Angel.
The Life of St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the Indies and Japan ; from the Italian of Bartolio Maffei. By the Very Rev. Dr. Faber. London. Jones.
L'Inde Anglais. Par le Comte E de Warren. 3rd edit. 2 vols. Paris. L. Hatchette and Co.
Remains of a very Ancient Recension of the four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe. Discovered, edited and translated by William Cureton. London. Murray.
Jottings in Australia, or Notes on the Flora and Fauna of Victoria. By Samuel Hannaford. London. Groombridge.
Views in Lucknow, from Sketches made during the Siege. By Major MacBean. London. Hogarth.
Murray's Hand-Book for Travellers in Egypt, including description of Alexandria, Cairo, the Overland Transit to India, &c. New Edition. London. Murray.
The Rise, Progress and Present Condition of Australia and Tasmania. By D. Puseley. 5th edition. London. E. Wilson.
The Great Sieges of History by William Robson : with the addition of Delhi and Lucknow, by Capt. Thomas Spankie. New edition. London. Routledge.
Our Rule in India. By George Combe. Edinburgh. Simpkin.
The Speech *in Extenso*, the substance of which was delivered at the East India House March 13, 1858. By John Cook, Esq., against the Transference of the Company to the Crown. London. Whittaker.
An Indian Retrospect : or what has Christian England done for Heathen India. By the Dean of Carlisle, D. D. London. Seeleys

Iniquities of the Opium Trade, Nos. 1 to 3. By the Rev. William Tate. London. Wertheim.

The Letters of Indophilus to "The Times." Third Edition complete. London. Longman and Co.

A Manual of the Chaldee Language, containing a Chaldee Grammar chiefly from the German of Professor G. B. Winer; a Chrestomathy, consisting of Selections from the Targums, with an Appendix on the Rabbinic and Samaritan Dialects. By Elias Riggs, D. D., 2nd Edition revised. New York.

Weller's Calculations and Tables of Equivalents at various Rates of Exchange of Exports and Imports, &c. Also Asiatic Money, Weights and Measures compared with Imperial Standard. London. Richardson.

Sermons Preached at Marlborough College. By Dr. Cotton. Bishop of Calcutta.

A History of England, principally intended for the inhabitants of India. By Henry Morris, M. C. S., Madras. Madras School Book Society.

Moore's Indian Appeals. Vol. 6. Part 3.

East India Register and Army List for 1858. Revised to May.

An English and Arabic Dictionary. By J. Catafago of Aleppo. Vol. 1. Arabic—English.

Eastwick's Hindustani Grammar with Selections for Reading. Second Edition. By the Rev. G. Small.

A Manual of Teaching, for the Assistance of Students in Normal Schools, Pupil-Teachers, &c. By G. H. Rodgers, Head Master of the Boys' School, Lawrence Military Asylum. Sanawur: Lawrence Military Asylum Press.

Memoranda of the External Trade of Sind, for 1857-58. By P. M. Dalzell, Deputy Collector of Customs. Kurrachee, Sindian Press.

Notes of the Revolt in the North Western Provinces of India. By Charles Raikes, Judge of the Sudder Court, and late Civil Commissioner with Sir Colin Campbell. London. Longman.

Confucius et Mincius; les quatre livres de Philosophie Morale et Politique de la Chine, traduits du Chinois par M. G. Panthier. Paris.

De l'authenticite de l' inscription Nestorienne relative a l' introduction de la Religion Chretienne en Chine, Par M. G. Panthier. Paris.

Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India. Being Extracts from the letters of Major W. S. R. Hodson, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, Commandant of Hodson's Horse, including a Personal Narrative of the Siege of Delhi and Capture of the King and Princes. Edited by his brother, the Rev. George N. Hodson, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London. John W. Parker and Son.

The Great Indian Mutiny of 1857, its Causes, Features and Results. By the Rev. James Kennedy, M. A., Benares. London. Ward and Co.

Scraps from the Kit of a Dead Rebel. Edited by C. D. L. London. John Chapman.

The Administration of Justice in British India: its Past History and Present State, &c. By William H. Morely, of the Middle Temple, Esq., Barrister at Law, &c. London. Williams and Norgate.

Missionary Sketches in Northern India, with some reference to Recent Events. By Mrs. Weitbrecht. London. James Nisbet and Co.

The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results. In a Series of Letters from the Rev. Alexander Duff, D. D., L. L. D., Calcutta. London, J. Nisbet and Co.

Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, Bombay. By the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, A. M., Missionary. London. J. Nisbet and Co.

The Revolt in India and the Transactions in China, 1856-57, &c. Illustrated by Maps, Plans, and Miscellaneous Sketches. Edinburgh. W. and R. Chambers.

The Indus and its Provinces, with Maps. By W. P. Andrew, Author of "Indian Railways as connected with the Power and Stability of the British Empire in the East." London. W. H. Allen and Co.

An account of the Mutinies in Oudh and of the Siege of Lucknow Residency. With some observations on the Causes of the Mutiny. By Martin Richard Gubbins, Financial Commissioner for Oudh. With Illustrations. London. Richard Bentley.

Oriental and Western Siberia; a Narrative of seven years' Travel in Siberia, Mongolia, the Khirghis Steppes, Chinese Tartary, and Central Asia. By T. William Atkinson. With Illustrations and a Map. London. Hurst and Blackett.

The Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in India. Edited by his daughter, Sophia, the Marchioness of Bute. London. Saunders and Otley.

Mrs. Sherwood's Popular Stories of India, written during her residence there, with Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment. The Indian Pilgrims. History of George Desmond, addressed to young men going out to India. Little Henry and his Bearer Boosy, a Tale of Dinapore. Sergeant Dale, his Daughter and the Orphan Mary, a Story of Cawnpore. Little Lucy and her Dhaye, a Tale of Delhi. Ermina, a Tale of Calcutta. Arzoomund, a Tale of Hindostan. The Ayah and Lady, a Series of Tales, illustrative of the Commandments. New Editions. London. Houlston and Wright.

Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic, and Palæographic; with Useful Tables, illustrative of Indian History, Chronology, Modern Coinages, Weights, Measures, &c. By the late James Prinsep, Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Collected and edited by Edward Thomas, Esq., late B. C. S. London. John Murray.

The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi. By the Rev. J. E. W. Rotton, Chaplain to the Forces. With a Plan of the City and Siege Works. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

The Crisis in the Punjab, from the 10th of May until the Fall of Delhi. By Frederic Cooper, Esq., C. S. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

Eight Months against the Bengal Sepoys during the Mutiny, 1857. By George Bourchier, Captain, Bengal Horse Artillery, with Plans. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futteghur, and Oude. By W. Edwards, Esq., B. C. S., Judge of Benares, and late Magistrate and Collector of Budaon in Rohilcund. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

India in the Fifteenth Century, being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the century preceding the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, from Latin, Persian, Russian and Italian Sources. Now first translated into English. Edited, with an Introduction, by R. K. Major, Esq. Printed for the Hakluyt Society.

Topics for Indian Statesmen. By John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister at Law, Madras, Author of "The Rebellion in India." London. Richardson Brothers.

William the Conqueror, a Historical Romance. By General Sir Charles Napier, G. C. B. Posthumous Work. Edited by Lieut. General Sir William Napier, K. C. B. London. Routledge and Co.

The Anglo-Indian Almanac. Second year 1858. London. Indian News Office.

Gazetteer and Gazetteer Map of the Seat of Rebellion in India. London. Madden.

Suggestions relative to the Re-organization, Discipline, and Future Management of the Bengal Army, by Lieut. Col. Hunter, of the Bengal Service.

The Indian Religions : Results of the Mysterious Buddhism. By an Indian Missionary. London. T. C. Newby.

The Moslem and the Hindoo. A Poem on the Sepoy Revolt. By a Graduate of Oxford. London. Saunders and Otley.

British India : its Races and its History, with special reference to the Mutinies of 1857. By John Malcolm Ludlow, Esq. 2 vols. Cambridge. Malcolm and Co.

Christ and other Masters. Part I. Introduction. Part II. The Religions of India. Part III. The Religions of China, America, and Occanica. By Charles Hardwicke, M. A., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge. Macmillan and Co.

The British Army in India : its Preservation by an appropriate Clothing, Housing, Locating, Recreative Employment, and Hopeful Encouragement of the Troops. With an Appendix on India :

the Climate of its Hills, the Development of its Resources, Industry and Arts ; the Administration of Justice ; the Black Act ; the Progress of Christianity : the Traffic in Opium ; the Value of India ; Permanent Causes of Disaffection, and of the recent Rebellion ; the traditional Policy ; Misgovernment of Native Rulers ; Annexations of their Territory, &c. By Julius Jeffreys, F. R. S., formerly Staff-Surgeon of Cawnpore, and Civil Surgeon of Futtegurh.

The Defence of Cawnpore by the Troops under the orders of Major General Charles A. Windham, C. B., in November, 1857. By Lieut. Colonel John Adye, C. B. Royal Artillery. London.

Notes on Indian Affairs. By the Hon'ble F. J. Shore. New Edition. 2 vols. London.

Des Sentiments de justice et de Humanite de l'Angleterre dans la question Indienne. Lettre á la presse français. Paris. Techener.

Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et en Thibet, T. III. Depuis l'etablissement de la dynastie tartare-mantschoue jusqu' à la mort de l'empereur Khang-Hi en 1722. par M. l' Abbé Huc. Paris. Gaume Freres.

Maximes de Saint Ignace, avec les sentiments de Saint François Xavier. Paris. Julien, Lavier et Ce.

Asie—Mineure et Syrie, Souvenirs de voyages. Par la princesse Madame Belgiojoso. Paris. Michel Lévy Frères.

La Chine, Resumé Histor, de l' insurrection et des événements qui ont au lieu dans ce pays depuis le commencement de la guerre de l' opium jusqu en 1857. Avec grav. et une Carte. Paris. Barba.

Memoire sur la Chronologie Japonaise Précédé d' un aperçu du temps anté-historique, Par Leon de Rosiny. Paris, Maisoneuve and Ce.

Moeurs des Aïno, insulaires de Ye so et des Kaurillies. Extract des ouvrages japonais et des relations des voyageurs Européens. Paris. Maisoneuve et Ce.

Scenes de la vie Arabe. Medine. Premiere Série. Par M. A. de Goudrecourt. Paris. Cadot.

Souvenirs d' un chef de Bureau Arabe. Par F. Hugonnet. Paris. Michel Levy Freres.

Les Dannés de l' Inde, Par Niery. Paris. Librarie Nouvelle.

Histoire des Conquetes et de l' Administration de la Compagnie Anglaise en Bengale, Par William Bolts. Paris. Michel Lévy Freres.

La Fiancée du fils du ciel, Roman Chinois inédit, Par Pierre Zaccone. Paris. Boisgard.

Le droit et le devoir de l' homme (en langue Arménienne) Par Théodore Sarkis. Paris. Chez l' Auteur.

Voyages Dans l' Indoustan, l' Indo-Chine, etc., Par E. Garnier Paris. Mame et Ce.

Histoire de Mehemet Ali, vice-roi d' Egypte. par Paul Mouriez. Paris. Chappe.

Roman historique du comte de Sainville en langue Arménienne, par Cabaradgi. Paris. Chez l' Auteur.

Un Français en Chine pendant les Années 1850 à 1856, Par M. Roy. Tours. Mame and Ce.

Histoire de la guerre de l' Inde, illustrée 1 re Serie, Par Emile de Labedolliére. Paris. G. Barba.

Aperçu général de la science comparative des langues, pour servir d' introduction à un traité comparé des langues, Indo-Européennes Par M. Benloew. Paris. A Durand.

Voyages A'Ibn Batouah, texte Arabe, accompagné d' une traduction par C. Defreny et R. Sangumetti T 4 e. Paris. Duprat.

Suez et Périm, Réponse à l' article du *Times* du 7 Avril, 1858, Par Barbié du Bocage. Paris. Amyot.

Mémoires de Lutfullah, gentilhomme Mahométan ; trad. de l' Anglais par Lanoye. Paris. Hatchette et Ce.

De Delhi à Cawnpore. Journal d' une Dame Anglaise, Par Maynard. Paris. Levy.

Aventures de Kamrup ; texte Hindoustani ; publié par Garcin de Tassy.

Les Memes ; traduction Française. Par G de Tassy. Paris. B Duprat.

Vocabulaire Hindoustani—français pour le texte des aventures de Kamrup, edité par G. de Tassy, Par M. l' Abbé Batrand. Paris. B. Duprat.

Public Feeling in regard to the removal of Mr. W. Tayler from the Patna Commissionership, as indicated by notices of the Press, Extracts from Contemporary Historians, &c. Calcutta. Thacker.

The Overland Route to India and China with twelve illustrations. Edinburgh. Nelson.

The Government of India, as it was, as it is, and as it ought to be. London. Hardwick.

India and the East India Company, a Brief Account of Hindostan from its Invasion by Alexander the Great ; together with the History of the East India Company in her dealings with the Natives and Princes of India. With Observations on Brahmanism and on England's Duty in the Future Government of India. London. Simpkin.

Telegraphic Communications with India. London. W. H. Allen.

Facts and Fancies of Indian Life, Comic, Sentimental, and Significant, from Sketches. By William Tayler, B. C. S. To be published in numbers. Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co.

A Gallop to the Antipodes returning overland through India, &c. By John Shaw, M. D., F. G. S., F. L. S. London. J. F. Hope. *(In the Press.)*

The Parsees. Their Religion, History, Manners and Customs. By Dosabhoy Framjee. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

Service and Adventure with the Khakee Ressalah, or the Meerut Volunteer Horse, during the Mutinies of 1857-58. By Robert Henry Wallace Dunlop. London. *(In the Press.)*

Ibn Abd-el-Hakem's History of the Conquest of Spain. Now edited

for the first time (in Arabic) with critical and exegetical Notes, and an Historical Introduction by John Harris Jones. London. Williams and Norgate.

The Second and Third volumes of the supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, 1797—1805. Edited by the present Duke. London. John Murray.

Brialmont's Life of the Duke of Wellington, translated with Emendations and additions, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M. A. Maps, Plans and Portraits, vols. I and II. London. Longman and Co.

Brief Narrative of the Defence of the Arrah Garrison, written by one of the besieged party. To accompany Mr. W. Tayler's Picture of the Attack. London. Thacker and Co.

Short Sermons on Indian Texts.
Nos. 1 and 2. The Empire of the Middle Classes.
No. 3, Caste and Conversion.
By Henry Meredith Parker, Bengal Civil Retired List. London. Thacker and Co.

A Narrative of the Indian Mutinies of 1857. Madras. Asylum Press

L' Anglicanisme et Les Tortures dans L' Inde. Par M. Ph. Van der Haagen. Paris. Tournai.

Geschichte des Englishchen Reiches in Asien. K. F. Neumann. Leipzig. Brockhaus. London. Trübner and Co.

A Comprehensive History of India. Civil, Military, and Social, from the first Landing of the English to the Suppression of the Sepoy Revolt. By Henry Beveridge, Esq., Advocate. To be issued in parts. Glasgow. Blackie and Co.

The Public and Private Correspondence of Charles Marquis Cornwallis. Relating chiefly to India, &c. Edited with Notes by Charles Ross, Esq. 3 vols. *(Announced)* London. Murray.

History of the Afghans. By J. P. Ferrier. Translated from the Original MS. by Capt. William Jesse. *(Announced)* London. Murray.

Handbook for Travellers in India. Being an Account of the Three Presidencies and of the Overland Route. *(Announced)* London. Murray.

The Chinese : Inland,—on the Coast—and at Sea, from 1852 to 1856. By Robert Fortune. London. Murray.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS ON INDIA AND THE EAST.

Bill for the Transfer of the Government of the East Indies to the Crown (No. 2.)

Copies of Orders issued by the Court of Directors regarding the Castes of Hindoos from which the Native Army is to be recruited.

Cotton in India. Part 2—Madras.

Copies of Minutes and Correspondence relating to the Treaty of 1857, with Mohammud Ali Shah, the then King of Oude, &c.

Copy of Despatches from the Governor General and East India Company, relating to Oude.

Mutinies in the East Indies—Further Papers—No. 6.

Indian Mutinies. Further Papers (No. 7) in continuation of No. 5. Bringing down the History to Nov. 30.

Army Estimates (1858-59) containing the Good Service Pensions bestowed on the Indian Officers, with details of their services.

Despatches Relative to Advantages to be granted to Retired Officers and men settling in the Colonies and India.

Papers respecting the Public Debt of India. Statement of the Revenues of India, the Military Force employed there, and Papers concerning the raising Recruits for such Force.

Letters, Despatches, and Memorials of Remonstrance connected with the subject of the Press in India.

First Report of the Select Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of India, with the minutes of evidence taken before them.

The Oude Proclamation with the letter of the Secretary to the Government of India, and East India House Secret Committee Letter, relating to the Proclamation.

Papers relating to the arrangements for a General Department of Audit and Account in India.

Returns relative to the Officers of the East India Company's Army, distribution of the Forces in each Presidency, Recruiting and various other subjects.

Return relative to Letters and Despatches to and from India, Departments of the East India House, with Salaries, &c.

Report from the Select Committee on the Transport of Troops.

Copy of Correspondence respecting the Resignation by Sir Peregrine Maitland, of the office of Commander-in-Chief at Madras.

Copies of Papers and Correspondence between the E. I. Company, the Governor of India, and the King of Oude, relating to the Claim of Col. Robert Frith on the Government of Oude.

Copies of Correspondence with the Indian Government, showing the Progress of the Measures adopted for carrying out the Education Despatch of 9th July, 1854.

Report from the Select Committee on Ameer Ali Moorad's Claim (Coffey's Petition) with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index.

Copies of Reports and Despatches relative to the Protection afforded by Maun Sing and others, to Fugitive Europeans, at the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny.

Further Papers on the subject of the Despatch of Troops to India from the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and Mauritius.

Copy of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 13th April, 1858, relating to Education Proceedings in Behar.

Copies of all Acts, Notifications and Proclamations of the Government of India, concerning the Coinage, Currency, and Legal Tender of the Territories under the said Government, from 1st May 1834 to the date of the latest Accounts received.

Bill for transferring the Government of the East Indies to the Crown (No. 3)

An Account of the Military Force employed under each Presidency in British India in each year, from 1852 to the latest period, distinguishing the Royal Troops from the East India Company's; and of the Royal Troops, the Cavalry from the Infantry; and of the Company's, the Cavalry, the Infantry, and the Artillery; the European from the Native Troops; and the Regular Corps from the Irregular.

Second Report from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India); with the Minutes of Evidence taken.

WITNESSES EXAMINED:

Mr. George Macnair.
Mr. Josiah Patrick Wise.
William Theobald, Esq.
Mr. James Dalrymple.
Mr. James Thompson Mackenzie.
John Abraham Francis Hawkins, Esq.
Mr. Neil Benjamin Edmonstone Baillie.
Joseph Gabriel Waller, Esq.

A Map of India shewing the Products of the various districts, to accompany the Report.

Indian Colonization. Third Report with Minutes of Evidence.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES,

AND

LIST OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST, PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futteghur, and Oude, by William Edwards, Esq., B. C. S. London. Smith, Elder and Co. 1858.

THE great Indian rebellion of 1857 will certainly not cease to be remembered, from any want of chronicles of its details. Publications representing this memorable event in every phase of its development and progress, have issued from the press. Historical narratives, political treatises and pamphlets, tales of personal suffering and adventure, are already before the public, and "the cry is still they come." Amongst the latter class of records, excepting the tale of Lucknow and its siege, perhaps none will be read with more genuine sympathy than the book now before us—the "personal adventures" of Mr. Edwards, formerly magistrate of Budaon. The title is unambitious, but the events related, though of a purely personal nature, are, as the author modestly hopes, "not without interest." Decked by no labored garniture of words, disfigured by no improbable exaggerations, the tale is told with that simple and unaffected pathos, which carries conviction to, and awakens commiseration in, the heart of every reader. We find nothing of the "blood and thunder" school, to excite or rather pervert astonishment, but every event is so graphically related, every emotion so vividly yet naturally portrayed, that, irresistibly carried along by the narrative, we feel alternately elated or depressed with the author himself. We see stamped on every page the mark of the Englishman and the Christian, the undaunted fortitude of the one sustained and elevated by the humble faith of the other. "I 'thought it my duty," he says, "not to desert my post, but stick to 'the ship as long as she floated. I went into my room and prayed 'earnestly that God would protect and guide me, and enable me to do 'my duty." With men animated by such a spirit, we need never fear the worst for India.

Placed as magistrate and collector of Budaon, "the sole European 'officer in charge of a district, with a lawless population of 1,100,000 'souls," Mr. Edwards had good reason to be alarmed when the fatal storm of mutiny burst in May at Meerut. After having done all in his power to quiet the district, but in vain, he felt that his "work 'was over, that the ship had sunk under him, and that it was high

'time to provide for his own safety." Obliged to flee, he threw himself on the protection of those he had formerly befriended. But times had changed. A faithful Seikh peon, indeed, Uzeer Singh by name, adhered throughout with admirable constancy to his master; but with few exceptions, Zemindars, who nominally remained faithful to the British rule, seemed in doubt whether to receive or repulse the fugitive. The British "raj" apparently was over, the Mussulmans were triumphant, the Feringhee therefore might be slain with impunity; on the other hand, a lingering doubt still remained in the hearts of these time-servers, that our prestige had suffered but a temporary eclipse, in which case hospitality and treachery would soon meet with their due reward. Some therefore with feigned hospitality received the unwelcome guest, others coldly repulsed him; a third party treacherously betrayed him. The people too, taking the cue from their leaders, were by turns favorable or adverse to his escape; but in spite of all these obstacles, Mr. Edwards contrived to reach, as he thought, a place of safety in the British station of Futtehghur. There he found the Collector, Mr. Probyn, still at his post, endeavoring to weather the storm; though conscious that mutiny was rife around him. The fearful events which took place at Futtehghur are now well-known. "The two Collectors" escaped in time, and in company with Mrs. Probyn and four children, became again fugitives.

This part of the journey was, if possible, fraught with more danger and distress, than had attended Mr. Edwards in his previous wanderings. The presence of Mrs. Probyn and her children naturally caused deep anxiety, the increased number of the party too more easily aroused suspicion, and diminished the facility of escape. Many trials did this little band pass through, and many an affecting incident might be quoted illustrating the sufferings they experienced. We select one, told with a touching simplicity befitting the melancholy subject—the death of one of Mrs. Probyn's children:—

"The poor little baby was by this time much exhausted and 'breathing very hard. His mother, whose unceasing care and devotion 'had been the means of keeping him alive hitherto, procured after 'much difficulty some hot water for a warm bath for him, which seemed to restore him; she then laid him down on a charpoy, and lay 'down beside him. She was perfectly exhausted, having had no rest 'for several nights previously, during which she had to keep him in 'her arms, and she soon fell asleep. I was lying down at some little 'distance, and suddenly missing the heavy breathing, went up to the 'bed to look at the child; all was still, and the little spirit had fled. 'I woke up the parents, who, although in deep grief at losing their 'sweet child, felt thankful that its death had been natural, and not by 'the hands of assassins. We all knelt down and prayed beside the 'little body, and then I went out with Uzeer Singh about two o'clock in 'the morning, to look for a dry spot where we might dig a grave for 'him. This was a matter of some difficulty, but at last we found a 'spot under some trees, which was not inundated, nor likely to be so.

'When all was prepared, the poor father took the little body wrapped 'in a sheet in his arms, and Mrs. Probyn followed leaning on my 'arm.

"We had some difficulty in getting through the cattle which were 'penned in the enclosure. I read a few sentences of the burial service 'over him. There was no time for more, as day was fast breaking, 'and we dare not be seen beyond the village in the day-light, so we 'laid him in his little resting place, "dust to dust, ashes to ashes, in 'sure and certain hope," and hastily covered him in. I almost envied 'him his quiet rest." Such a narrative needs no comment.

Still the fugitives held on their weary way, at one time protected from their enemies by the inundated state of the country; at another by the ready wit of some friendly escort, till at length all their troubles were ended at Cawnpore, where they arrived shortly after the tragedy of the Well, and received the shelter of the bayonets of their countrymen. How they were welcomed, and with what feelings they found themselves at peace after such sufferings and trials, may best be described in Mr. Edwards' concluding words:—

"We landed about two P. M. of the 31st August, just twenty-seven 'hours after we started, during which time we had run the gauntlet 'for more than 150 miles of river way through the midst of the enemies' 'country. A picket of her Majesty's 84th regiment was on duty at the 'ghaut. The men congregated around us, and even our own flesh 'and blood could not have more repeatedly or warmly congratulated 'us on our safety than they did; they were very tender of poor Mrs. 'Probyn, and insisted on carrying the children and our little baggage 'to wherever we wished to go. On learning that the magistrate's tent 'was a few yards off at the top of the bank, I immediately went there 'and found Sherer of our service. On announcing myself (for being 'in native dress, he could not recognize me), he was as much sur-'prised as if he had seen an apparition, for I had long been reported 'among the killed at Futtehghur. I can never forget his hearty 'welcome.

* * * * * *

"Sherer got rooms prepared for us in a house fitted up as an hotel 'close to his tents, and just beyond the entrenchment occupied by our 'troops. To get to this place we were obliged to pass the house in 'which the slaughter had been perpetrated, and the well where so 'many of these dear friends lie, whom we had so lately parted with 'in full strength and vigor.

"When we found ourselves in a house again, for the first time for 'three months, and in a position of comparative security, we felt quite 'awe-struck; and with hearts overflowing with thankfulness, we knelt 'down together to bless our God, who had so wonderfully delivered 'us from the hand of the enemy, and from those who lay in wait for 'us by the way.'"

Such is the conclusion to one of the many tales of suffering which might be related of the Indian mutiny. We have no desire to make heroes of Mr. Edwards and his companions beyond their due or to

the exclusion of others ; we believe that many harrowing details of suffering and adventure might well bear comparison with theirs ; but in no narrative that we have hitherto read, can we discern so clearly the bright and dark side of the events of this rebellion, the undying fortitude, which, amid privation and distress, has been so conspicuous in the conduct of our countrymen, and on the other hand the almost universal cold-blooded ingratitude, and insatiable thirst for blood, which have rendered the name of our enemies a bye-word and reproach among all nations.

Notes on the Revolt in the North-West Provinces of India, by Charles Raikes, Judge of the Sudder Court at Agra, &c. London. Longman. 1858.

THE great question suggested by the present rebellion is—how are we, as conquerors and administrators of India, to act for the future, so as, humanly speaking, to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe ? Our future in India has been a favorite topic for discussion during the last eighteen months, and Mr. Raikes in his "Notes on the Revolt" contributes his quota to swell the sum of what has previously been written on the subject. His pen has already described the North West Provinces during peace; we have now, in the first division of his present work, a picture of the same provinces in a season at confusion, anarchy, and rebellion. We hardly think that the facts recorded in the narrative portion of the volume fulfil the purpose for which they have been introduced, viz. to support the opinions advanced in the concluding chapters of the book ; their presence indeed might have been dispensed with altogether. Surely the public have had sufficient data to form an opinion of the exigencies of the case, in the many more detailed narratives of the facts of the rebellion, than Mr. Raikes in his recital affords. There is one chapter doubtless, containing Col. Edwardes' "graphic description" of Sir Henry Lawrence and his old staff, for the introduction of which Mr. Raikes justly claims the thanks of his readers, but on the whole, although the tale of Agra in the mutinies is certainly not devoid of interest, we doubt if that attention, which should be given to facts as the foundations of political suggestions, will be concentrated on the first 120 pages of Mr. Raikes' "Notes."

At the time of the rebellion, Mr. Raikes was stationed in a high official capacity at Agra, and shared with the garrison there all the dangers and sufferings which the hostility of the rebels occasioned. The mutiny in Agra and its incidents, the siege of the fort, the disaster of Brigadier Polwhele, the rout of the rebels by Greathed, are now matters of history, and form but instances of the unflinching determination and fortitude in all circumstances, which have preserved for us our ascendancy over India. We have space for but one short extract from this portion of the volume, which does credit alike to

the heroes and narrator of the incident, "I must describe the conduct 'of the British soldier in the day of sickness and pain. For weeks 'that the ladies watched over their charge, never was a word said by 'a soldier which could shock the gentlest ear. When all was over, 'and when men of the sick and wounded as recovered were 'declared convalescent, the soldiers, in order, as they expressed it, 'to show their gratitude for the kindness of the ladies, modestly 'asked permission to invite their nurses, and all the gentry and 'society of Agra, to an entertainment in the beautiful gardens of 'the Taj. There under the walls of the marble mausoleum, amidst 'flowers and music, these rough veterans, all scared and muti-'lated as they were, stood up to thank their country-women who had 'clothed, fed, and visited them when they were sick. Every lady in 'Agra was ready to join in this good work, and not one of them but 'will bear testimony to the delicacy of feeling and conduct, as well as 'the hearty gratitude, of these brave men."

So much for the introductory portion of the book, let us look for a moment on the "piece de resistance," which Mr. Raikes has prepared in the hints for our future policy, embodied in the concluding chapters of the volume. Here, no doubt, the author is more in his element. More than twenty years' experience of Indian official life have afforded him great facilities for the observation of the excellencies and defects of systems of administration, and although the "Notes" contain little that is new, still the fact that the spirit which dictated them is not unknown in high places, is an encouraging omen for our Indian reformers.

The punishment of the old, and the constitution of a new, native army; the education of the masses; the organization of the police; the policy proper to be pursued by Government in religious matters towards the natives—such are the topics on which Mr. Raikes with all well-wishers of India has been meditating. With all his views, as expressed in the volume before us, we cannot coincide, but that the policy which he recommends will be ultimately adopted in spirit, is no longer a question of probability or expediency, but of certainty and necessity. That mutineers and rebels must be punished for their crime with signal, yet discriminating, severity, is a proposition which only extreme partisans of the Manchester school of politicians would attempt to controvert. That a new native army must be held in check and overawed by a proportionate number of European troops, and may advantageously be divided against itself by a judicious intermixture of conflicting sects and tribes, has been advocated without success by very competent authorities ere now. We trust however that the lessons taught us by the mutiny have not been forgotten, and that the system of high caste in the army, denounced so vehemently by Sir Charles Napier, has finally and for ever disappeared.

The question of education for the great body of the people is likewise discussed by Mr. Raikes. Vernacular instruction, as attested by the mutinies, has been worse than useless. "Many of 'our bitterest enemies were the native doctors and surgeons, who

'had studied European science in the vernacular, all their lives." Contrast with this statement the record of the utility of English education amongst natives. "I found it to be a general rule, that 'where you had an official well educated at our English Colleges, 'and conversant with the English tongue, there, you had a friend upon 'whom reliance could be placed. So few were the English scholars 'among our enemies, that it was the custom of the mutineers to burn 'our intercepted despatches, rather than attempt to get them deciphered. 'They would trust nobody who even knew English. I may be reminded 'that Nana Sahib's minister was an English scholar, but the exceptions 'are sufficiently rare to prove the rule. * * * I conclude therefore 'that this is not the time to press vernacular education on the people. 'But the Government should fix a standard of secular education, *in-* 'cluding English Literature as a sine qua non, and bestow a liberal 'grant-in-aid to all schools coming up to that standard."

One more quotation we feel compelled to give on the subject of religion. Mr. Raikes is no advocate for truckling to caste, no enthusiast for increasing hypocrisy by offering a premium for the professors of Christianity in the shape of temporal advancement, but earnestly and eloquently pleads for the adoption of the true policy on this point, toleration to every, undue favor to no, religion—"Let 'the Hindoo and Mohammedan see clearly that whilst we boldly profess our own, we desire not to constrain their mode of 'belief; that though we are not indifferent to all religions, we 'treat all men alike. If we hold India as conquerors, we rule it as 'moderators. Our vocation is to keep the public peace, not to govern 'the public mind. If a Hindoo thinks proper to paint his nose with 'vermilion, to tie his hair in knots, to squander his money on nautch 'girls, or pagodas, let him do so. But when he wants to sacrifice his 'infant children to the river gods, to sing filthy songs on the high-way, 'or to stop up his grandfather's mouth with mud, and then launch him, 'still living, into the sacred stream, our laws should interfere. In like 'manner if the Mohammedan solace his spirit by beating his breast, and 'calling on his prophet or martyrs in public procession, we should allow 'the procession and fanaticism to pass on; but when he rushes about 'sword in hand frantic with drugs we should take away his arms, and put 'him to cool in the nearest police station. Even so, if under the garb 'of religion, a minister of Christianity were to offend decency, public 'or private, the law would strip his gown from the offender.

"The public servant of Government, whether military or civil, should 'not attempt to preach a crusade, or spend his time in exhibiting religious 'dogmas, or discussing doctrinal points with the natives his subordinates; 'for this reason above all others that this is the surest way to make hypocrites not converts. Let the soldier or civilian assist the Missionary with 'his purse, his counsel, or his prayers, but let him not usurp an office 'which is inconsistent with his duties to the state."

In discussing these and similar topics Mr. Raikes has confined his attention to the prospects of the natives of India alone. There is another element however soon to be introduced, which must materially

influence the policy of our legislators, and which will no doubt tend to advance those plans for the good of our Indian subjects which Mr. Raikes advocates. India, no doubt, must now practically be thrown open to all; as a consequence there will certainly be a large influx of Europeans into the country who will make their voice heard, and justly too, in the administration; and looking at the question in a merely negative point of view, the very fact of their presence and example, will, by elevating the minds, as much as by weakening the strength and prejudices of Hindu and Mussulman, effectually prevent the recurrence of such an emergency as has now awakened us to the necessity of a new and more vigorous policy.

Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army, during the Mutiny of 1857. *By Colonel George Bourchier, C. B., Bengal Horse Artillery. London. Smith, Elder and Co.* 1858.

As time wears on, and the men who bore the first brunt of the mutiny, and were most active in putting down the first risings of rebellion, have rest and leisure given them, and covered with wounds and glory sit in peace in merry England, each under his own vine and his own fig-tree, leaving the work they have so nobly initiated and carried out to be completed by others; every part of the great events in the midst of which we have been living during the past year, has its painter and historian, and we can now almost gather into one great historical focus, the rays of fact, and adventure, and hair-breadth escape, which are streaming from every district and every scene of revolt. While Delhi and Lucknow stand as central points of interest to the politician and the man of war, other districts less famous, abound in story, if possible more thrilling, though less bulking before the eye of the general spectator. The press has been fertile in works that have fully illustrated the state and narrated the history of every rebellious district, with perhaps the exception of Central India. The gallant and glorious Sir Hugh Rose has yet to find a chronicler worthy of being his historian, a panegyrist worthy of such a subject.

Colonel Bourchier begins his story with the Punjab, with Sealkote, where he has stationed under a Brigadier, who seems worthy of a place beside Lloyd and Hewitt. He formed part of the column that was organised under General Nicholson, which, after sweeping the Punjab in pursuit of mutineers from Jullunder to Umritsur, to Phillour, again across the Beeas to Umritsur, to Battala, to Goordaspore by a most severe march, to Trimmoo Ghaut on the Ravee, where after two engagements four hundred of the enemy were left killed or wounded, and subsequently the whole mutinous brigade was destroyed, finally returned to Umritsur, again to await fresh orders from Lahore. Leaving the column, the author visits his family at Simla, and on his return finds it at Paneepat, and they are all within sound of the guns at

Delhi. They join General Wilson's force, with their "bands playing and hearty cheers." We have then a picture of the operations before Delhi, with extracts from Major Norman's journal, and an account of its final assault and capture. In the course of it the author informs us that the notorious Subadar of artillery, Bukht Khan, who raised the standard of rebellion in Rohilcund, and until his defeat at Nujjufghur, was the commander of the rebel forces, was like Nana Sahib, very fond of English society. "At one time when studying Persian he used to come twice a day to my house to read and talk with me. He was a most intelligent character, but a more dreadful hypocrite never stepped on earth."

The story is continued, after a good picture of street fighting in Delhi, and of the state of the city after the capture, by an account of the column of pursuit which started from the Ajmere Gate on the 21st of September, under Col. Greathed, numbering in all 2,790 men, of whom 930 were Europeans. We have the battle of Gazee-oodeen Nuggur, then at Bolundshur, and at Koorjah. We have then the engagement at Allyghur, and the battle of Agra; and on the 26th of October the entry into Cawnpore, reflections on the massacre, the relief of Lucknow, the defeat of the Gwalior contingent, a glance at Etawah, Mynpoorie, and Futteghur, and finally the departure of the author for Simla, where on the 18th of January 1858, he found himself in the midst of his family. The volume concludes with a detailed account of the massacre, written by one who had access to the best sources of information. It is the work of a rough and daring soldier, written with little literary grace or accuracy, but presenting a clear and spirited account of a greater number of events than most Indian officers were connected with during 1857.

An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh, by Martin Richard Gubbins, of the Bengal Civil Service, Financial Commissioner for Oudh. London. Bentley. 1858.

In the last number of this Review, we ranged at the head of an article on the Siege of Lucknow, a list, by no means insignificant, of records of that memorable event. Subsequently however to the publication of these memoirs, other narratives relating to this subject have appeared, amongst which none ranks higher in importance than Mr. Gubbins', "Mutinies in Oudh." The well-known abilities of the writer led the public to entertain great expectations of the value of his written experiences, and the book accordingly on its appearance was favorably received as well as vigorously criticized. On the whole, Mr. Gubbins' narrative has stood the test well; as a chronicle of events, it is calm, faithful, and lucid; the writer, noting incidents day by day from the first symptoms of mutiny down to the evacuation of Lucknow, gradually collects, weaves, and blends them into a continuous and connected story, thus affording us a minute and pleasingly related

account of the siege and its details. Previous publications on this subject have commonly partaken more largely of a personal character; in Mr. Gubbins' narrative on the other hand, we discern more of the historical, in combination with the personal, element; and although the author never allows us to lose sight of himself as apparently the principal actor in the scene, we can more easily separate each incident from its hero, and gain a general view of the whole. It would have been well had Mr. Gubbins preserved more of the historical spirit in recounting his tale. Egotism, we can call it by no milder title, is apparent throughout the course of the narrative, too often painfully so, when the writer by indirectly disparaging others, seeks to add lustre to his own reputation for wisdom or foresight. What Sir Henry Lawrence did for Lucknow, both before and throughout its beleaguerment till his death, has been admiringly and gratefully confessed by all, and we do not think the public will commend or sympathise with that spirit, in which, under the garb of richer approval or palliation, Mr. Gubbins contemptibly contrives to introduce censure of Sir Henry's measures.

Apart from this fatal blemish the narrative is as interesting as valuable. The style is free and fluent; the incidents are simply, yet eloquently related, and the attention of the reader is unflaggingly maintained till the end. The events of the siege of Lucknow are now too well known to need recapitulation or resumé here. We will but quote specimens to illustrate our author's style. In description he particularly excels. Take the following interesting picture of the return of Ungud the spy :—

"Nor could any picture more characteristic of the siege be presented, than one which should represent Ungud just after one of his midnight entrances, recounting to our eagerly-listening ears the events which he had witnessed. The low room on the ground-floor with a single light carefully screened on the outer side lest it should attract the bullets of the enemy; the anxious faces of the men who crowded round and listened with breathless attention to question and answer: the exclamations of joy as pieces of good tidings were given out, and laughter at some of Ungud's jeers upon the enemy. More retired would be shown the indistinct forms of the women in their night attire, who had been attracted from their rooms in hopes of catching early some part of the good news which had come in. The animated and intelligent face of our messenger, as he assures us of the near approach of help, occupies the foreground. All these together form a scene which must live as long as life remains in the memory of us all."

Or take the animated description of the evacuation of the Motee Munzil :—

"Again let us turn our eyes to the group of officers and men on the left of the mess enclosure. They are standing directly opposite to the entrance of the Motee Munzil from which they are separated by a broad high-way. But down this road, sweeping the line that leads to the Motee Munzil, fly thickly the bullets from the Kaiser Bagh, which is distant about 450 yards. There is a pause. Presently the passage is attempted, and European and Seikh, the one in red, the other

'with swarthy visage, and a dress of corresponding colour, stooping, 'dart across the road. There they go by twos and threes, racing across 'the passage, and are lost from sight at the entrance of the building. 'Thank God! not one has been left on the road; the fire has, we hope, 'been harmless. But is the Motee Munzil unoccupied? That we can 'not tell. It has been closely watched during the day, and no hostile 'figure has been detected there, but some shots fired from its neigh-'bourhood have aroused suspicion that those extensive courts may not 'be wholly empty. Some shots are now fired inside. Ah! there is 'some work doing! Few minutes elapse, when see! the enemy is 'flying from a postern close by the river bank. There are about seven-'ty-five of them, and as they issue they run for their lives down the 'right river bank. Our men have not discovered them. Ah! now 'they see them and five or six rifles are discharged after the fugitives. 'One only falls, but he is motionless, and will rise no more. The rest 'take to the river, hastily stripping themselves of some of their clothes. 'They wade across; but as the water rises about them the fire of our 'rifles increases, and showers of bullets strike the water all along the 'single file of men. They have reached midstream, and now their 'heads alone are visible. Sometimes some struggling and confusion 'may be seen, doubtless where a bullet did its errand, but at last almost 'all succeed in reaching the opposite bank, and are lost in the orangery 'of the Hazaree Bagh."

The greater part of Mr. Gubbins' volume is of course devoted to the narration of the events of the siege, but besides a simple narrative we have a few disquisitional chapters on the causes which led to the mutiny. In treating this question Mr. Gubbins has disappointed the expectations of many. High official position and long continued intercourse with the native population, it was supposed, should have eliminated more ample and definite information on this point than is afforded in these chapters. That Mr. Gubbins, however, should have supplied but scanty facts in support of the view which he adopts, is natural and excusable. It has been abundantly proved that neither high official position nor long continued intercourse with the natives form the "open sesame" in investigating the causes of a rebellion like the present. The view which is favored by Mr. Gubbins may or may not be correct; evidence *pro* and *con* is not awanting, but we doubt whether any fixed decision on the point can be arrived at before the calm which will follow the storm. When men's minds are cooled down, and the country is tranquillized, we may perhaps discover facts which will throw light on the origin of this rebellion—but at present it seems unfair to expect from Mr. Gubbins more than he offers, a *probable* explanation of the causes which led to its outbreak.

Scraps from the Kit of a Dead Rebel. Edited by C. D. L. London, John Chapman. 1858.

Such glorious nonsense it has never been our lot to meet before, save in the incipient attempts of half-educated school-boys. Poetry is

out of the question, but rhyme, reason, grammar, thought, language are all alike wanting. How so respectable a publisher as John Chapman could put his name to such a farrago of rubbish, we do not know. The title is evidently with reference to the events of the day in India, to catch the unwary, and seduce the ignorant into purchasing. Even looking at it in that light, it is meaningless and foolish. Even a laugh cannot be extracted from the genuine crassitude of a work which we have noticed by way of warning all our readers. We blush to write it that the would-be poetaster is evidently an Anglo-Indian. There are three, and but three, collections of words or versification having reference to India. "Reverie in India," "Sketch of a Ruined Hindoo Temple," and "The Fall of Gysopah (southern Maratha country)." From the first, by way of justification, we take the following :—

"The night is hot, I cannot sleep,
Musquitoes buzzing bite my flesh.
On a scorching bed I fevered toss,
And watch a lean dog through the wide door-pass.
Nothing about me glad or fresh ;
Too sad to read, too weak to be cross ;
Hot and restless and all alone,
On my dismal bed in my dismal tent
I lie, and unwillingly con the past.
To wrench from an exile a banished groan,
From one whose boast is a spirit unbent,
While tears trickle helplessly fast."

The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, from the Outbreak at Meerut to the Capture of Delhi. By John Edward Wharton Rotton, M. A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; one of the Chaplains of Meerut, and Chaplain to the Delhi Field Force. With a Plan of the City. London, Smith, Elder and Co. 1858.

Delhi and its last siege have found but a poor historian. As the literature of the rebellion grows, the critic inclines to look more at the historical and literary merits of the narratives it produces, than at first, when every tale was easily believed, and every fact surrounded with intense interest, when the mind projected from itself that depth of curiosity and intensity of emotion that filled it; and coloured the outward with its own hues.

The writer is not natural. An affectation and *cloth*-feeling marks every page, and he cannot attend the bed of the dying, hear of the movements of the belligerents, watch the progress of the battle or the siege, or paint the character of the heroic dead, without making you feel, and most painfully, that he is a *priest*. There is no lack of charity, there is no sectarian bitterness, on the contrary ; but the priest appears throughout. In the face of such awful realities as he was living amidst, he might have written as a man, as well as dressed as one, justifying the latter however with eager haste, as though it had been very sinful. That is the true Christianity which is not,

as in this book, and in Brock's wretched life of Havelock, ever on the lip, in the features and the dress, but which, independent of and superior to all these, springs out of the heart, and shines through the whole nature, like Edwards' in the life he led in hiding, and the narrative he gives us of it, noticed above.

The English Captives in Oude, an Episode in the History of the Mutinies of 1857-58. *Edited by M. Wylie, Esq. Calcutta, G. C. Hay and Co., Cossitollah. London, W. H. Dalton.* 1858.

This is a little work which, in its subject and the interesting character of its details, may fairly rank with Mr. Edwards' story of the Rohilcund fugitives. It gives an account of those who escaped from Mohamdee and Seetapore, were for a time sheltered by the Rajah of Mythowlie, were subsequently removed to the Kaiser Bagh fettered, and by want, exposure, and massacre, reduced to the small number who figure as the martyrs of these pages—Captain Orr and his wife and child, Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his sister, and finally only Mrs. Orr, her child, and Miss Jackson. Their life under the so-called protection of the Rajah of Mythowlie, is thus described—"Ladies, accustomed to the usual luxuries of life; two delicate little 'children,—the one but three years of age, a beautiful little blue-eyed 'creature, poor little Sophie Christian, whose thoughts constantly re-'verted to her mother, and who saddened the hearts of her companions 'by ever asking them why that beloved mother had not accompanied 'them,—the other, Captain Orr's own daughter Louisa, a little older, 'who bore up under all the dreadful trials and privations to which she 'was subjected, with astonishing patience and resignation; and lastly 'four men, already weakened in mind and body. Such was the party 'constrained to pass day after day during this long interval, exposed 'in a dismal jungle to the intense heat of the day, only tempered by 'the torrents of rain, which at this season of the year are of such fre-'quent occurrence. Sickness too had commenced to prostrate our 'people: the deadly jungle fever had shown itself, the servants could 'no longer attend to the wants of their masters, and the ladies were 'forced to cook for the whole party. Small thin coverts, made of the 'long jungle grass and broad leaves, had indeed been erected as a 'protection from the rain; but this protection was most partial 'and ineffectual. A small supply of quinine and of other medicines 'had been obtained from Captain Hearsay; and although it had arrived 'in rather a damaged state, still, most thankfully was it received." Such a narrative as this is almost out of the class of works that should be publicly noticed or criticised. Its own sad tale, and its record of glorious God-supported endurance, are enough. We would only remark that it is, in a literary point of view, very unartistic, and hence deprives itself of much of that objective but valuable aid that even nature gives to the full heart, when it unburdens itself of its sorrows and triumphs. We cannot but feel that, had the narrative

been published as it was taken down from the lips of Mrs. Orr, it would have possessed all that pathos, and simplicity and beauty, of most of which its style and arrangement have deprived it. The record of the ladies' deliverance by the aid of Wajid Ally, and in spite of the cruel bigotry of the Fyzabad Moulavy, appropriately closes the tragedy: "The danger was imminent. From his spies, Wajid Ally learnt that 'the Moulavy might every hour be expected: no time was therefore 'to be lost. In this difficulty, Wajid Ally begged of Mrs. Orr to write 'a note regarding the danger of the position in which she was placed, 'to the address of any British officer; this note he would cause to be 'conveyed to the nearest post. The note was immediately written and 'confided to the care of Wajid Ally's brother-in-law, who, however, 'had hardly left the place when he encountered a party of Goorkhas 'under the command of two British officers, Captains MacNeill and 'Bogle. He immediately explained to them the nature of his errand, 'and led the way to the house. The Moulavy from another quarter was 'already moving in the same direction. The officers rushed in to the 'place pointed out to them. Without the loss of a moment, the ladies 'were placed in a Palankeen. No bearers could be found; but the 'servants of the officers and some Goorkhas were pressed into the ser-'vice; and Captain MacNeill, accompanying the palankeen, commenced 'his hazardous journey to General MacGregor's Camp, leaving Captain 'Bogle with the Goorkhas to escort Wajid Ally and his family. It must 'be remembered that Captain MacNeill had to pass through narrow 'streets entirely devoid of British troops, and about which the enemy 'were still hovering, and that he might, at every moment, expect an 'attack, or at all events a ball from some hidden assassin. However, 'he rushed on, stimulating and urging his men to make the most 'strenuous efforts. The Chan Bagh ravine is reached, crossed,—and 'in a little more, General MacGregor's Camp appears in sight,—on—'on—swiftly is the palankeen borne along,—the friendly Camp is at 'length gained—and the ladies are saved! It was a joyful, a glorious 'moment! Kind and cordial was the welcome with which the ladies 'were received by General MacGregor and his officers, and on the next 'day, the 20th March, 1858, they were escorted to General Sir J. Out-'ram's Camp.

A Few Words anent the 'Red' Pamphlet. By one who has served under the Marquis of Dalhousie. Third Edition. London, James Ridgway. 1858.

In the Third Edition of this pamphlet the author gives his name. He is Charles Allen, late of the Bengal Civil Service, and we are sure that a refutation of the famous 'Red' Pamphlet could not have been undertaken by a better man, at least one more free from all that, in imagination or reality constitutes 'old civilianism,' in the ordinary acceptation of that term. At the time that the 'Red' Pamphlet was issued it excited, and deservedly so, much attention in every class

in India, and in the Indian classes in England. The style, the facts, the evident knowledge of much that was behind the scenes, of the writer, gave it a popularity that, like that of all ephemeral pamphlets, ceased with the circumstances and passions which gave it birth. The most unfortunate thing about it was that, not content with holding up Sir Charles Napier in a light that was strange, as a man of calm political foresight and administrative ability, he proceeded to pull down the only idol that Anglo-Indians have had an opportunity of setting up since the days of Wellesley. This was a mistake, and a grievious one. For we believe that if any man did all that man could do by the wisdom and energy of his measures to prevent rebellion, by binding India firmly to the British throne, and spreading the arts of civilization and peace, and by providing means to quell that rebellion and turn away its fury, that man was the Marquis of Dalhousie. It would be judging the events of history and Providence too rashly to say that no mutiny would have ever happened, had he kept th reins in that hand which was as gloriously firm as it was mildly gentle ; but there is a likelihood that it would have been crushed in the bud. So far as this pamphlet is a vindication of Dalhousie, we think it successful, nay, we would go further and state our belief that its vindication of Mr. J. P. Grant is also most fair and just.

But why has Mr. Allen spoiled so good a cause by mentioning, in the same breath with them, such men as Dorin, Peacock, Birch and Lord Canning. His defence of the first is most lame, we fear almost dishonest, if not that, certainly very ignorant. We would not here enter on those personalities unto which these rival pamphlets tempt us, but Mr. Allen knows that the author of the 'Red' Pamphlet applies the term 'Sybarite' to the late President in Council in a different sense from 'giving good dinners.' Mr. Allen, we feel assured, has much quiet irony under the following defence of Canning—"*Lord Canning's character is too well known to need my advocacy.*" Nor is Mr. Allen at all successful in meeting his enemy's remarks on the discouragement of European settlers and capital in India by his service. "With regard to the suggested future encouragement of the settlement of independent Europeans, it may be asked, when has the Saxon in India wanted or required Government patronage. All that he requires there as elsewhere is a fair field and no favour ;—and that he has had. When, and how, and where have members of the Civil Service encouraged the cultivation of opium ; and when and how, and where have they neglected the cultivation of Cotton ? And if they have ; why and how do these acts tend to shut out independent Europeans from India ?"

We believe Mr. Allen to be honest, and after the Fourth Report of the Colonization Committee, and the evidence of members of his own service, we would advise him to be silent on this point, or at least not set up such a defence as this.

The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India. Edited by his daughter, the Marchioness of Bute. In two volumes. London, Sanders and Otley. 1858.

THIS work is a mistake. It is one of the many instances afforded us by the press during the last two years, of books published on India solely or chiefly because they will sell, owing to the unusual, and we trust by no means temporary, interest excited. The noble family who are proud, and to some slight extent justly so, of the reputation and honours of the writer of this Private Journal, could certainly not have had such a motive, but were actuated rather by the belief that the occurrences and sentiments recorded in it might be of use in the late crisis. This we very much doubt, and had any one been consulted, whose knowledge of India and of the administration of the Marquess is extensive, we feel assured these volumes would not have appeared. They are simply tame, trifling, twaddling. The fact of the journal being private, and being dedicated by its writer to the "dear, little companions" of his expedition, and as a proof "of the solicitude felt for them by a fond father," since it has not prevented publication, must not be allowed to disarm, or remove far from the reach of, criticism.

The value of such a book as this ought to be two-fold: either first and chiefly, as a record of the private life and thoughts of a man holding so distinguished a position as a Governor-General of our Indian empire; or secondly, as a father holding a certain kind of intercourse with his family, which has that about it which will recommend it and make it interesting to the public to whom its publication appeals, and be a sufficient excuse for letting in the vulgar gaze on the sacred sphere of the family. As to the latter, even had the journal been given in all its entireness, the question naturally arises—who cares for an account of the family life of the Marquess. His love of, and his journal for, his children must be like those of other people. But from the fact of the more private parts of the Journal having been kept back, it is evident that we can consider it only from the first of the above-mentioned points of view.

In the former sense, the value of the book must depend on the character of the man, his administration as Viceroy, his influence on his time, and on the future of the empire. Now the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, was not a man of the kind to render his journal valuable. He was appointed as successor to the Earl of Minto, and reached Calcutta in 1814, where, according to his own very much over-drawn statements, he found himself in a position of unusual military, political, and above all, financial difficulty. In his journal, he complains most loudly of this, as most men do, who succeed to an office of difficulty in any case, and in all times, and naturally find it conducive to their own reputation indirectly to depreciate the doings of their predecessors, and the difficulties left them as a legacy. And this

was the real weakness of the Marquess. He was vain, excessively vain, and resorted to means, both socially and politically, to feed that vanity. In his journal this is painfully apparent, so much so, that the father seldom appears, will seldom let down his dignity, or lower the height of the stilts on which he ever walks, even in the presence of his children. Self-complacency and quiet satisfaction, nay the direct assumption of honour and exultation where there are no causes for them, often mark the pages of the volume before us. Succeeding, as he did, to power, at perhaps the most critical period in the history of the East India Company before 1857,—the year 1813, on the 13th of July of which year, the bill for opening the trade to India was passed, he had an opportunity of laying the foundation of an internal policy, which the Ghoorka and Pindarree wars need not have prevented him from pursuing. But coming out with the office of Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor General, and having gained his high office almost entirely by his previous military reputation, he left the work of civilisation to successors who came long after him—to Bentinck and Dalhousie. Viewed in reference to his military exploits in India, we can say of him that he did sufficiently well to be considered a pupil of the school of Wellesley, by his conquests in his own person, and in the persons of Ochterlony, Gillespie, Malcolm and Hislop. He added territory to, and by the Court of Directors he was looked upon as having consolidated the power of the British empire in India. After nine years' service he retired on the 9th of January 1823, to be succeeded, not by Canning, who, after his appointment, preferred to succeed the Marquis of Londonderry in the Foreign Office, but by Lord Amherst. As we look over the list of Governors General, and mention with pride and gratitude the names of the great and glorious, we stop not at that of Hastings. From Wellesley there is a gap till Dalhousie comes on the scene, a gap filled by good but not great, by wise but not brilliant, by successful but not immortal, men.

The journal has no literary merits. Its style is unnatural, stiff and artificial. The ease, the grace, the 'heart,' the simplicity that ought to characterise it, are wanting. They who know the private life and family history of the man, will not be at a loss to account for this. Interspersed with remarks on the politics of the hour, his own policy, and his own difficulties and exploits, we have descriptions of his tours and marches, his receptions and viceregal visits, his opinions of Indian officials and pictures of Indian society. The journal is very full of remarks on the manners, amusements and exhibitions of the natives, also on snakes, wild beasts, and what were then the curiosities of natural history. The writer was evidently out and out 'Old Indian,' no friend to annexation, to our present relations to tributary states, and present ideas and treatment of native princes. Our space will not allow us to give extracts from the journal.

Papers on the subject of the Instruction of the Native Employés of Government in the Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Offices. Lahore. 1858.

THE Punjab has never been famous for its schools of education and learning, nor did the Seikhs ever manifest a predilection for literary pursuits. Maharajah Runjeet Sing could neither read nor write. The records of his Government were kept in the archives of a powerful and ready memory. His Sirdars and chieftains were scarcely more erudite than himself, and were more skilled in sword play, and matters of fence, than with the pen or the primer. When we succeeded to the legacy of anarchy and misrule left us by the Seikh Durbar, we had to choose whether we should carry on the affairs of the Government through the instrumentality of illiterate Punjabees who could fight when need demanded, or educated Hindostanees who were abhorred by the people. Vacant offices were filled up by a pretty free mixture of both classes, but as was unavoidable under our paper system, perhaps the lion's share of the appointments fell to the Hindostanees. Consequently the Punjab Amlah were, on the whole, probably the most illiterate and worst educated in all India. In 1856, Government resolved to introduce a course of annual examinations, with a view to secure that the Amlah were familiar with at least the ordinary routine of their duties, if they could not lay claim to superior scholarship. All ministerial officers, below the grade of extra assistant, receiving more than ten rupees per mensem, were to be examined once a year. Tehseeldars, superintendents of settlement, and Sudder Serishtahdars were to be examined by commissioners, whose decision as to passing and rejecting was to be final. The Amlah of the sudder station, and the Peshkars or Naibs of Tehseels, and Thannahdars, were to be examined by the Deputy Commissioner, and the Tehseel Amlah by the Tehseeldar; the decision in each case being final.

The scheme has had only two years' trial. But if examiners of this kind were necessary before, they are doubly needful now. During the disturbances of 1857, the ranks of the native officials were weeded of a very large proportion of Hindostanees, who were the only men possessing a competent education or more than a superficial knowledge of business routine. The Punjab Government was therefore left to be administered by a set of men who, whatever may be their abilities, are men of only indifferent attainments. Several of the Punjab Tehseeldars are unable either to read or write, and some of even the native extra assistants have not much whereof to boast in the way of education.

Having resolved on examining the native Amlah it became incumbent on Government to point out where and how the information required for their examination was to be got. Mr. Cust, late Magistrate of Banda, had drawn up a memorandum regarding the method he had adopted in his district for training and educating the native officials, and which was published in the selections from Government Records. The Punjaub Government accordingly adopted that memorandum as explaining the best and simplest method of instruction. But there the matter rested.

Examinations, it is true, were enforced, but Mr. Cust's suggestions for educating and training native ministerial officers in the usual routine of their duties, were never acted on. The present pamphlet is a reprint of Mr. Cust's memorandum which had been submitted in the form of a letter to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, with the reply thereto. It contains also the Punjab rules for the annual examination, and a useful appendix called "The Moonshee's Urdoo Library," giving a list of the different books which the native officials will find most useful in preparing for the annual examination.

The method pursued by Mr. Cust, when Magistrate of Banda, can best be given in his own words :—

"As a preliminary measure, during my last tour last year, I spoke separately and alone, to every employé, asking casual questions, and informing them distinctly of what I intended to do. I also served out a copy of the cheap translation in the Vernacular, of the "Directions to Collectors and Settlement Officers" to every man. To the excellence and faithfulness of this translation I bear willing testimony, having now had ample opportunities of testing its merits; the cost was only Re. 1-5-0, which was less than a burkundaz would pay for his sword. To facilitate the teachers and pupils, the Catechism in Urdu was prepared also, and, with the sanction of the late Lieutenant-Governor, published.

"To the Tehseeldars, nine in number, I spoke seriously, exhorting them to read themselves, and form classes in their Tehseels, for the instruction of their Amlah. Some turned entirely a deaf ear ; others have gallantly assisted me. I was prepared for opposition, and the principle of passive resistance. Notwithstanding repeated reminders during the months of April, May and June, I was informed, that in some Tehseels no progress was being made : on the other hand, the whole of the Sudder Amlah were nearly ready for examination ; and in the town of Banda, two or three of the best informed had opened Schools, where every evening instruction was given, and a large body of candidates for public employ, with the additional spur of hunger, qualified themselves, begging to be examined before it came to their turn.

"On the 1st of July, the class of Canoongoes assembled, ten in number, to whom were added some of the Sudder Amlah. The Tehseeldar of Banda, assisted by a Naib of another Pergunnah, assembled them for a morning and evening lecture ; they were many, more or less prepared ; they went through the whole of the "Directions, to Collectors and Settlement Officers" in the lecture, question by question, and, after fifteen days, they were ready for examination.

"In the same way the class of Gomashtas was presided over by another Tehseeldar and another Naib ; the class of Wasil-bakee Nuvees, Siaha Nuvees, Araiz Nuvees ; and in short, during the three months, each class came into Banda to be instructed and examined. Some men came quite ready ; others soon picked up what was required. The Sudder Amlah were formed into classes also, and candidates for employ joined themselves to whichever party best suited them. An interest was soon excited ; the thing began to be talked about ; members of the Judge's establishment, and of the other Civil Courts, of the Magistrate's office, and sons of Vakeels, volunteered to be examined.

"Whenever a class was ready, I was informed : the number of a class to be examined was never to exceed nine; the hour of examination was 7 P. M., in my private house. When the class had seated themselves on the carpet before me, without any books, the book of questions was opened by myself, and beginning from the first to the last, the number of the question was indicated by myself, and the question slowly read out by one of the Tehseeldars present. An hour or more was occupied, and about seven questions at random, to be answered *viva voce*, fell upon each party : and wonderful accuracy, and felicity of expression, were shown by many. There could be no tricks or favoritism ; and even suppose that some were crammed for the occasion, it is a step gained : for if, as I propose, the examination be annual, the matter crammed this year, will be digested by next year, as it relates to the daily work, in which they

are employed all the year round. Those who were rejected, (which did not often happen) had to come up again with another class. Many nights were occupied in examining 143 men: frequently the Assistant Collectors and Deputy Collectors sat by, following the questions; and to the rear there was always in attendance a large body of "passed men," "nearly ready," and the interest taken by them in the progress of the examination, the murmur of dissatisfaction at some blundering answer, showed, *that a spirit of emulation had been roused.*

* * * * * * * * *

"The annual School of Instruction causes the assembly of all employés once a year at the Sudder station; changes can then be made, and the painful duty discharged, of weeding out veterans. Men must not be allowed to do their duty by deputy; where pension is allowed, it should be granted, and where it is not, the interests of the State still require that a person, not able to discharge the duties, should be removed."

This is a case in which the competition and examination system seems to be made good use of and not abused. In Mr. Cust's hand it may long be so, but if the principle and practice spread under the guidance of mere enthusiastic charlatans, unmitigated evil to the public service will be the only result. With this 'caveat' we should like to see such schools introduced into the Punjab. Perhaps the day is not far distant when the reproach of ignorance, at present too truly brought against many of the Punjab Amlah, will be numbered among the things which have been.

William the Conqueror, a Historical Romance, by General Sir Charles Napier, G. C. B. London. Routledge & Co. 1858.

THIS work issues from the press under the editorship of the late author's brother, Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier. The announcement of a novel from the pen of the hero of Meanee seems to have caused considerable surprise among the reading public—and good grounds for it too, perhaps. Considering the eccentric genius of the author, and his having been a daring and successful warrior, and not an unskilful politician, that he should also have a place among the novel writers of the age, might reasonably excite surprise. But the subject he has chosen falls in with his thoughts and habits as a soldier. The career of William affords full scope to the descriptive powers of one who spent most of his life in camp and field, and whose ears were more familiar with the harsh sounds of war than with the gentle accents of peace. The work has a public history of some little interest. It was written in 1837, and in that year sent to Colburn who returned it, but not till after it had been read by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. He expressed a favourable opinion of it, and the editor seems to imply in his preface, that Sir Edward in "Harold" has appropriated some of the ideas worked out by Napier in William the Conqueror. We think Bulwer is a writer who has no necessity for borrowing the conceptions of other people. His power as a *maker* or creative artist is abundantly manifest in his numerous works.

Though Sir Charles does not write with the freedom and classic grace of Bulwer, yet we think that his conception of the "Vala," or Sorceress, whom he makes to play a most conspicuous part in the

chapter of accidents, is much superior in imaginative power to the "Vala" of Bulwer. In 'Harold' she seems only an ordinary Danish matron, exercising an influence over others by magic and mysterious ceremonies, but as Bulwer himself says, still "essentially human even when aspiring most to the secrets of a God." Sir Charles on the other hand gives her much more of the supernatural, and makes her a far more necessary character to his work than "Hilda" is to "Harold." Here is Napier's description of her.—"She was of an extraordinary 'and commanding stature, large of bone and meagre, but of an upright 'and portly presence; her face was fair, of a reddish line and freckled, 'her features regular but of a severity approaching ferocity."—"She 'seemed one whose sex was more designated by her attire than by 'nature, which had so fashioned her that whatever garb she donned, she 'might pass for male or female accordingly. Her dress was as striking 'as her appearance. A light blue tunic descended below her knees; 'the cape buttoned round her throat was studded with globes of glass, 'and on each glass were cut mystical characters. A band of black 'sheep-skin, lined and edged with that of a white cat, confined her thick 'and long silvery hair, which fell like an avalanche down her back, and 'over each shoulder. From her zone, which was a large serpent's skin, 'studded with precious stones, all marked with cabalistic signs, was sus-'pended a large bag containing her instruments of magic. Her sandals 'were of untanned calf-skin tied with thongs which were again fasten-'ed with buckles of bright steel. She held a wand hung with many 'charms, and at the end of it was a globe formed of a human skull set 'in a cup of crystal."

Her companions were two dogs; we will let Napier describe them. "Ho! Vafthrudner! A deep low bark from a dog within the tower 'answered. Ho! Gangrader. And again, the answer was a similar 'growl. Then the small door of the tower opened and forth stalked 'Vafthrudner and Gangrader in all the majesty of canine dignity. 'They were heavy looking animals, of enormous size, such as are 'seen in the Alps, but these seemed more fierce. Their paws were 'white, their coats a reddish ground with dark spots, and their flat 'broad heads were more like tigers' than lions'."

Truly, they are no unfit companions for a Sorceress! But we must give a short outline of the story. The scenes are laid both in Normandy and Britain. Duke William afterwards "the Conqueror" visits England, and receives from the feeble Edward a promise of the English Crown on his decease. His marriage with Matilda of Flanders, and all its attendant adventures, are then detailed, and the efforts made by William to subdue some of his powerful vassals are also largely described. Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, having been reconciled to Edward and his outlawry removed, goes to Normandy, and is there kept prisoner by William, and only released after having sworn on the most sacred relics to renounce all interest in the English Crown, and become a faithful vassal of William as the expectant of the throne of England. Harold returns, the English king dies, and Harold by the last words of Edward, and the unanimous wish of the English people is proclaimed king of the Saxons. William, determined to make good

his claim, assembles a vast army, receives the benison of the Pope, and lands on the shores of England. Harold having defeated his brother Fostig in the north, hastens to meet him. The two armies engage near Hastings, and after a long and bloody contest, the Normans are victorious, and the Saxon king is slain.

Such is the historical skeleton or substratum of the romance. Interspersed are numerous personal adventures of Harold and William; and the loves of Harold and the swan-necked Edith engross a large share of the reader's interest. Sir Charles writes with characteristic energy and *nerve*, but his style lacks flexibility and grace. The reader feels a stiffness and formality in the narrative which becomes tedious when long continued. The book exhibits considerable power of imagination however, and many of the most striking scenes are not only well conceived, but graphically described. There is a super-abundance of thrilling incidents and the chief interest is not concentered in the denouement as in a skilfully constructed novel, but allowed to exhaust itself in the course of the narrative. The result is that the reader wearies as he goes on, and when he gets to the end feels as much relief as if accomplishing a task. The history is represented as being dictated by the old knight Sir William Mallet (a vassal of the Duke of Nomandy and a sharer of his fortunes,) to the boy Wace, and he gives him now and then some sage remarks by way of comment which, from the peculiar sarcastic tone running through them, plainly declare that Sir Charles Napier speaks. His brother says in the preface, that when he wrote the work he was feeling rather sore from some political injustice, and that feeling crops out as unmistakeably as the old rocks are sometimes seen forcing their way through the more recent super-incumbent strata. Witness the following :—

"History affords examples. Ay, boy! I have seen it happen to our 'great Conqueror, that when his generals grew rich and had gained 'immortal honor by the efforts of his genius, they grew slack in zeal 'for war and for their country." And this other:—"It may be said boy 'Wace; that insults offered by the vile ought not to affect noble 'minds, but this is an idle theory. Brave men heed not so much the 'insults of some base wretch as they are disturbed and irritated 'that they have not power to chastise the reptile as it deserves. The 'bite of the bug will deprive the strongest of their rest."

The accurate knowledge of the history of the period shews a considerable amount of reading and research, and the realisation of the men and manners of that comparatively rude and lawless age shews a considerable amount of mental power and original genius, but as a work of art we are not inclined to place it in the front rank, or pronounce it a success. We finish with Napier's description of the battle of Hastings and the death of Harold. The Normans are assaulting the Saxon defences.

"On! on! was the cry, yet no courage could force that rampart of 'strong shields, sharp weapons and staunch soldiers crowning the ridge. 'We were repulsed and went rolling down the height, friend and foe, 'dead and living, in one confused mass. Harold's voice was heard above the mighty din.

" Keep the heights, Saxons, keep the heights ; the victory is ours."
' —Part disobey and give the Normans an advantage. William in order
' to draw the mass of the Saxon army into the plain resorts to strata-
' gem.

" He ordered his army again to attack and feign flight. He suc-
' ceeded, the Saxons thinking the Normans were routed, raised a general
' shout and dashed down into the plain. Harold saw the ruin. " Stand
' firm, cried he to his guards, and the rush up the hill will come anon,
' and we may save these madmen yet."

' Ye heroes of Asgaard, how they fight, added he, looking down upon
' the conflict, O God what madness drew them from the hills ; uttering
' this exclamation, he dashed his battle axe on the ground as one beside
' himself.

" Gurth guard the heights, I will go down and try to save the maniacs."

" No ; no, rise ! stay thou upon the hill, or all will be lost, let me go,"
' saying this, Gurth rushed down followed by his bold brother Sweyne.
" The height, the height' ; Now Normans, " now or never follow
' your duke," shouted William, and with responding cheers his warriors
' once more, a serried line of steel, dashed up the slope. Duke William
' led but gained not that part of the height where Harold fought, and
' under one blow of whose destroying battle axe, riders and steeds often
' fell together. He drove on Normans before him ; it was death to
' encounter the terrible warrior. That day he had no rival but
' William.

" The Normans assault again. The Saxons made desperate resistance,
' and when their rampart was beaten down, closed shield to shield, pre-
' senting a barrier which no effort could force, and from behind which
' their heavy long-handled battle axes, and stubborn spears, struck with
' resistless force.

" Thickly and desperately did the assaulters push up their footing on
' the table land, and hundreds of self-devoted Saxons, closing with their
' enemies, flung themselves headlong with their foes in mortal struggle
' down the steep. There were seen dying men hurling their weapons
' madly as they lay, and expiring with the effort. Yet the impenetrable
' line of Saxons held the crest unbroken, and once more the scales of
' fate, seemed turning against the Normans ; one moment longer, and
' again would the invaders have been driven back by the intrepid sons
' of the soil. " Now relics befriend us," cried the bishop, as an esquire
' handed him his bow, and the arrow headed with the holy nail the pre-
' sent of the Pope to William. " I vowed that if the battle went hard,
' this arrow should turn it, high in the air let it fly and heaven direct its
' fall." Whizzing the shaft disappeared in the sky and the man, the
' words, the act; all drew attention from friends and foes—for an instant
' their struggle ceased. The uplifted axe hung suspended in mid air,
' and knee to knee, and shield to shield, for a moment kept their hostile
' pressure motionless. Harold, whose glance watched all changes of that
' tumultuous field, beheld with surprise this sudden suspension of the
' fight, following with his eye the up-cast looks of the combatants, the
' descending arrow sank deep into his brain, and the great the glorious
' hero fell a corpse."

A Memoir, Letters and Diary of the Rev. Henry S. Polehampton, M. A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, Chaplain of Lucknow. Edited by the Rev. Edward Polehampton, M. A. and the Rev. T. S. Polehampton, M. A. London, Richard Bentley. 1858.

THIS, the last production, as yet, of the Literature of the Rebellion, must with Mr. Edwards' Adventures rank unquestionably as the best. Simple and natural, unartistic and unartificial, pathetic and heart-touching, and withal, manly and English-like, this book and its subject are worthy of each other, and of the scenes and the nation that have given birth to both.

Henry Polehampton was in all respects a man, and in very many approached near to the Paul-like ideal of a Christian, struggling with the most untoward circumstances and most calamitous woes, and in strength not his own overcoming even in the hour of his death, and winning for himself the 'crown of life.' In the triumphant cloud of witnesses who are now beyond the sorrow and the strife, and whose names and memories are the treasured heritage of every Englishman, Henry Polehampton is not the least glorious. Born in a Middlesex village of which his father was Rector, he spent his boyhood at Eton, where he was, boy-like, more distinguished for fearless honesty of nature and success in manly sport, than for his knowledge of Greek and Latin. At swimming, boating and cricketing, especially the second, he was almost unequalled, and laid the foundation of a character, that, sanctified by the Spirit, made him the hero he afterwards became. He passed from Eton to Oxford where he studied with credit, though not distinction, and where also his expertness at swimming and his daring goodness of heart gained him the Humane Society's medal "ob civem servatum," saving as he did, in most perilous circumstances, a drowning man. The act is at once typical and representative of his future. We soon see the manly young fellow consecrating his soul and body to the service of God in the office of His ministry, and in 1849 appointed to the assistant-curacy of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, where, like the curate in Kingsley's 'Two Years Ago' he wrought night and day amid the duties of a large and populous parish, and when cholera broke out, found himself alone to discharge them. But seeking for a higher sphere—at least for one that would raise him above genteel penury, and becoming engaged in 1852 to his future wife, Emily Allnatt, the daughter of a barrister-at-law in his parish, and whose name is imperishably associated with his own as a heroine, he looked to a chaplaincy in India, and was appointed by Mr. Butterworth Bayley.

Polehampton with his wife set out for Calcutta by the 'Pera,' on the 4th of January 1856, appointed by God, as it now seems, for that field of suffering and toil on which he died. While he bore with him some plate and a purse of eighty guineas presented by the sorrowing parishioners of St. Chad's, he also rejoiced in the possession of a pint-pewter, the prize awarded to his boat as second in the last race, that for 'auld

lang-syne,' he indulged in eye pulling again, as he on several occasions did, on the Goomtee, where it flows past Lucknow. In these two incidents we see the sources of his success and glory. He was a man, and God by his Spirit made him a true Christian and servant of Himself. He did not, for it is nowhere demanded, sacrifice the former to the latter, as so many of his class too often do, but on its basis God built up an elevated and energetic piety, which sanctified, purified, and used his manliness for the highest ends. That pint-pewter is now a precious relic. From it in the siege he constantly drank, "it was the last vessel which touched his dying lips;" and it was still further consecrated by his heroic wife in her hospital and other philanthropic ministrations.

It has been said that no body of men, taken as a body, have done less in their day and generation, all circumstances considered, than they who constitute the ecclesiastical establishments of our Indian Presidencies; that there are a few great names, Thomason, Grant, Martyn, Heber, Buchanan and Wilson, but the mass—? This has been traced to the mode of their selection, the motives of their appointment, and the nature of the position, as, till lately, the servants of a body jealously afraid of the shadow of an attempt to spread Christian truth among the heathen or Mahommedans, and so keeping out of their service the only men who are worth anything as ministers—the evangelistic and self-denying, and repressing the expansive force of the Christian love and duty of such as are in it. It may be, but if ever man died to redeem the character of his profession and his class, that man was Polehampton. He came to India in the company of Dr. Kay, of itself an admirable introduction to work and views of work in a heathen land; he landed, resolved to be, as far as he could, a missionary, and to devote all his energies to the advancement of the then-projected Oudh Mission; when he reached Lucknow, to which by his own choice he was appointed, he was alone, had the whole ecclesiastical duties of the 53rd Queen's on his hands, of the civil station, and (voluntarily undertaken) of the Martinière with its eighty boys and eight masters. In the midst of duties that soon undermined even his fine constitution, his chief regret was that his sphere was so far removed from the heathen, but he preached, he collected money, he spoke and influenced in private, and exercised in all true respects the highest of offices—that of a missionary-minister. And as he anxiously looked forward to the arrival of Mr. Harris his colleague, (whose wife writes the well-known Lady's 'Diary of the Siege') it was not that he might have ease, but "help in organizing missionary as well as other work." Through his influence a native baboo was led to declare himself openly for Christianity, and the following account of his baptism in such sad and solemn circumstances is taken from Polehampton's Journal of the siege, under the head, Monday, 29th June:—

"Our baboo came to-day. As it is quite possible that this is the last or *almost* the last time we shall ever see him, I thought it well to ask him if he were now willing to be baptized. He was; and after much conversation with him, I baptized him in my room here; only Emmie being present. I could have wished that he should have been baptized in church, before many witnesses; but it is better as it is under present circumstances. He says, however, that, if he is asked whether he is a Christian, he shall not deny his Lord. God give

him grace to bear witness to Him! I believe him to have been long a sincere Christian at heart. He has Edward's address; and, in case of our dying here, or being killed, will write to him. I gave him fifty rupees to help him in case of our death. He could not take more, or I would have given him one hundred."

Mrs. Polehampton afterwards speaks of the assistance she received from him, even to the washing of her clothes :—

"One day he came to me, looking very faint, with his white cap and dress saturated with blood, but with a strange expression of pleasure on his face On my asking what was the matter, he said, "I am very glad; I have been shot in the head." I had noticed for some time past that he had showed perfect indifference as to his safety, and seemed quite fearless when walking about under fire. But his present apparent joy rather startled me. I sent him at once to the European hospital, as I knew that Dr. Thompson would attend to him for me. He examined the wound, and found that it was only a slight one, as the ball had not entered deeply, but had struck him, and glanced off. He bandaged it, and sent him to lie down for the rest of the day. The next morning, to my astonishment, he returned to me, looking pulled down by the loss of blood, but otherwise all right again. Soon after this, he grew so anxious to go outside the garrison to see what was going on, and to find out what had become of our house in cantonments, that he insisted on going out disguised as a common coolie, and said that he was almost certain he should not be recognised, but should come back to me in three days. I tried hard to persuade him not to venture, and told him that, if he went, I should never expect to see him again. However, he had set his mind upon it, and went out leaving me the following note :—"My dear madam, I have been to Mr. Harris." (I had told him that I could not consent to his going without his first consulting Mr. Harris.) "He said to me some Christians have gone out, and he heard they "are all killed; their blood scattered about the ground. I think myself to "death as a dream. I am not the least frighted of it. If I die, I will see Mr. "Polehampton. Is it not a good thing for me? I hope God will protect me, "if I put my trust in Him."

"This was the last I ever heard of him, and I have not the least doubt he was killed at once, as soon as the sepoys saw him; for he was well known to them as being with us, and he had attended church regularly for many months. Not long before the siege, Henry baptized him, and he then told us that he had made up his mind to profess himself openly as a Christian, without fear of consequences, if the time should come for him to be tried. Even all our servants, who ran away just at the commencement of the siege, were killed outside. Every one, who was known to have done any sort of service for the Christians was put to death. I feel so happy in thinking of the Baboo's death: I know he was so true to his Christian profession, and he seemed to me to be almost longing for an opportunity of bearing witness to his Lord. How soon, too, his desire was granted to him of rejoining his earthly master and best friend?"

Another name added to the roll of Martyrs in the infant native Church! The man who had been the best at boating, who had won the hearts of a parish by his devotion to their wants, now found full scope when cholera broke out in the 52nd, a regiment afterwards succeeded by the immortal 32nd. By the latter he was equally beloved, and the former on leaving the station gave him a substantial token of their gratitude. The manliness of the true gentleman is seen in his letter on the occasion. In his letters we have most graphic and spirited sketches of life in India, in Calcutta, his remarks on the persons he met in which are perhaps a little too free, and in Lucknow. His account of Boileau's death, and the subsequent capture of the notorious robber Fuzzul Ali, by Lieut. Clarke is good. But the interest culminates when he approaches the mutiny

The burning of Wells' bungalow, the firing of the sepoy lines, the rise of the 71st and 48th and of the 7th cavalry, the flight to the Residency, and the arrangements there, are rather glanced at than described. Up to the last, Polehampton, as yet a stranger to Asiatic history and native character, believed like so many that no mutiny would take place, that the people felt the rule of the British to be a blessing.

The work begins with a memoir of Mr. Polehampton up to his visit to India, from which period his own letters take it up, continuing till he enters the Lucknow cantonments 21st May 1857, where his Diary begins, which ends on Saturday, July 18th, with the words "talked a good deal to Charlton to-day, and prayed for him." On the 20th he died from the effect of a wound through the body on which cholera supervened. Rightly do the editors abstain from drawing the veil that covers the dying scene. He wished "to be left quite alone with his wife and his God." His last words were "peace now and for ever." The story is continued by Mrs. Polehampton's letters and Diary, and finally closes by an inspection on Saturday, the 13th of February 1858, by Mrs. Polehampton in company with Dr. Bremner, of the sick and wounded on board the '*Himalaya*,' which was to convey her to England. She landed at Plymouth, June 8th, after a long, though pleasant, voyage. As a specimen of her part of the book we cannot select better portions, than the first from a letter to her husband's brother, and the second from her Diary.

THE HEROINE'S LIFE DURING THE SIEGE.

. . . . "My own private life was so unvaried and uniform, that there is nothing in it worth relating. If I give you a sketch of one day, you will have an idea of what it was during a great portion of the time, that is to say, after the reinforcements came in before that, from the time of Henry's death, I had no employment of any sort. We used to pass the day in our gloomy room as well as we could, in reading, and writing, and working. After this, I used to go to the hospital after breakfast, spend as many hours there as I found necessary, and return to dinner. In the evening I only spent an hour in the hospital, and then, when it got dark, my time of *rest* came; the most precious hour I had in the day; and that I spent at my darling Henry's grave. I often wonder now, in looking back at that time, how I escaped as I did on these occasions, for the bullets were constantly flying thickly, close over my head as I was sitting at the grave, and several times shells burst within a few yards of me there. It seemed so strange that I should be one to escape.

ENGLISHWOMEN.

"*Monday, 30th.*—As we were waiting for orders this morning, Mrs. Barbor began to sketch Cawnpore, the church, &c., she and I sitting on the box of the gharree (or small carriage). While we were there, the enemy began to fire round shot upon us from the other side of the river. They must have seen us plainly, as we were in a very conspicuous place. The officers took us away in haste; and when we had gone a few yards in the rear, another round shot struck the very spot where our gharree had been. They took us back to the lines of the 5th brigade (3rd, 23rd, &c.) The firing soon slackened, and we returned half-way and breakfasted. Sat on the grass all morning. Marched at three; arrived at the barracks in Cawnpore in about half an hour. A good deal of round shot fired at us as we drove, but we crossed the bridge safely. It was quite like old times again in the midst of shot and shell. We could not cross the river without a feeling of horror, as we thought of all that had happened there, within a few yards of where we were crossing. We were *close* to

the place, where Sir H. Wheeler's garrison went into the boats, according to their treaty, and then were immediately fired on, and men, women, and children to the number of some eight hundred, all slaughtered, most of them on the spot, the rest soon afterwards. There were only four survivors of that fearful tragedy. Our three carriages were the last to cross. One of the soldiers on guard at the bridge looked in at the gharree as we reached the other side, and said, "Thank God, the sepoys haven't got at *you!*"

Six Months in British Burmah: or, India Beyond the Ganges in 1857. *By Christopher T. Winter. London. Richard Bentley.* 1858.

As a book meant to give a general idea of the physical features of the Burmese and their country, of their habits, national and social customs, daily life, religion, and literature, as well as of their relations in both peace and war to the British, this work may be received with some degree of attention by those who are totally ignorant of the subject. But it never passes beyond the vague and the general, and may be best described as partly a hasty sketch of the impression of one who was but six months in the countries of which he treats, and partly a compilation, most carelessly done, of information on the Government, revenue, literature, language, and religion of the Burmese and the British in Burmah. The chapters on 'the Burmans ethnologically considered': on 'Boodhism' and on 'the Language and Alphabet of the Burmans' are painfully meagre and defective, and must lay the writer open to the charge of book-making. A popular book on Burmah is much wanted, but this is far from supplying the desideratum. A longer visit than six months, a knowledge of the language and literature of the people, and familiarity with the great work of Crawfurd and the papers of Latter, and of Judson, Mason, and the American Missionaries, are necessary prerequisites to writing a good book for the general reader on Burmah and the British there.

Japan Opened. Compiled chiefly from the Narrative of the American Expedition to Japan in the year 1852-53-54. *London. The Religious Tract Society.* 1858.

A VERY careful, trustworthy, and altogether admirable account of the "unsealing of the 'hermetic' empire" written with the ultimate view of directing the attention of the Christian and Missionary world to the opening there presented for evangelising work.

It is based on the official records of Commodore Perry, in so far as they relate to Japan alone, to which is prefixed "a brief historical sketch of the past relations of Japan with the nations of the West" Commodore Perry's report was fully reviewed by us in Number LIV., but the historical sketch is altogether new. Amid the vast variety of works on the

East, published during the past two years, few will be found so interesting as this. The following well presents one aspect of that policy which, under the name of "annexation," and as misunderstood by those who are narrow-minded and limited in their views, has been, since Dalhousie's retirement, so foolishly condemned. In his preface the compiler well says :—

"The man of commerce will regard with pleasure the prospect of the opening of a new mart for his merchandise; and the philanthropist will rejoice that this long self-excluded race has become accessible to social improvements. But to the Christian this event possesses a singular and almost sublime importance. Underlying its secular aspects, and its social benefits, he can trace the causes and commencement of changes immeasurably more momentous than its immediate agents designed or discerned. While gratified, in common with others, with the commercial and political results of their negotiations, those results, in the Christian's view, form another link of that wondrous chain of national changes amongst the populous nations of the east, which mark out the present century as an epoch pregnant with more momentous issues to Christ, to them, and connected more intimately with the conversion of the world at large, than any other period since the apostolic age. By the breaking down of another of those mighty barriers which have obstructed the evangelical efforts of Christians, the faith and hope which rest upon God's purpose and promise are revived; that the day is at hand when, with other outcast millions of the human family, the isolated and self-excluded Japanese shall be brought as much within the sound, as they have always been within the scope of the glad tidings of great joy which are to all people.

"Connecting them with this design, the Christian will trace in the transactions which these pages record another grand movement of that majestic progress, which He is pursuing, under the promptings of boundless beneficence, whom the heavens have received "until the times of the restitution of all things, which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.' Sympathizing in his measure with the "satisfaction" with which Christ rested upon the results of his own sufferings and sacrifice, when he gave his life a ransom for many; rejoicing in every new indication that the course of Providence is forwarding the fulfillment of God's promises, and stimulated both to hope and to effort by the wider sphere of usefulness thus presented to him, the Christian will gird himself anew for the Master's service, and attempt greater things than hitherto for his cause. In his eye, the following pages will gleam with an intelligence not their own, and transactions which, to ordinary minds, possess no higher meaning nor importance than belong to "things secular and temporal," will stand out before him in characters of living light, revealing God's thoughts of peace and love towards those who are afar off, and making more apparent than ever the Christian's own path of duty to the Saviour and to the world."

An English-Hindustani Law and Commercial Dictionary of Words and Phrases used in Civil, Criminal, Revenue, and Mercantile Affairs; designed especially to assist Translators of Law Papers. By S. W. Fallon. Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co. and R. C. Lepage and Co. 1858.

THIS work is one that "all whom it may concern," all who require such a guide and special Dictionary, will welcome with pleasure. The arrangement is good, the philology accurate, the lexicography very fair, and the scholarship, we believe, most creditable. The

whole is an example of the value of those who have been born and educated in this country, as translators, interpreters, revenue and judicial officers, and public servants, wherever natives are concerned. Were such to perfect themselves in the native tongue and laws, and in the routine of British Administration, by taking advantage of the opportunities they enjoy above all others, whether native or English-born, they might distinguish themselves as a class far more than they now do. The preliminary Dissertation on Urdu, Hindi, Persian, and Arabic viewed philologically, and as "law languages," is good, and conveys not a little information that is new to the general student of languages.

An Elementary Treatise on Plane Geometry, according to the method of Rectilineal Co-ordinates. By the Rev. Thomas Smith, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta. W. Whyte and Co.; Edinburgh. 1857.

It is not the practice of this *Review* to devote much attention to works, like that named above, of a purely scientific nature. This has partially arisen from the small number, and the generally meagre quality, of such works that have been published in India. That under notice, independently of its scientific value, may be considered as having a claim on our attention, from the fact of its having been written by a gentleman who, till recently, conducted this *Review*, and contributed no small portion of its contents.

The Rev. Mr. Smith's work, though entitled "Plane Geometry," is not strictly limited to that department of mathematics which the name usually imports. The term "Plane Geometry" was given before the science had reached its full development, and when it was restricted to the properties of figures formed by the straight line and the circle; and in this confined sense it is most commonly employed. The title then fails adequately to convey a correct idea of the nature of this work, since it discusses not only some of the properties of rectilineal figures, and the circle, but also of the Conic Sections in general, and by means of the Cartesian system of co-ordinates. The author indeed seems to feel it necessary to defend the title, but the defence does not seem satisfactory, since the term employed is in common acceptation restricted to that branch of the science which forms but a portion of the substance of the work.

Of the intellectual exercise it has afforded, and the estimation in which it has been held by those who have cultivated and developed the science of pure geometry, some idea may be best formed from its history. Of its early dawn scarcely anything is known. Tradition points doubtfully to Egypt as the cradle of mathematical science, and as the source from which the first meagre knowledge of it was imported into Greece by Thales (639—548 B. C.); but from the admiration which, it is said, his easy applications of a few of its most elementary principles excited, it is evident that the

knowledge Thales did find among the Egyptians was of a very limited character. Diogenes Laertius relates his measurment of the height of a pyramid from its shadow, when that of a staff was equal in length to itself, and that he discovered that the angle in a semicircle is always a right angle. But for half a century there were but few who devoted much attention to geometry or greatly enriched it. Pythagoras (born. 580 B. C.) who also seems to have visited Egypt, and was a man of decidedly mathematical cast of mind, indefatigable in the pursuit of truth and knowledge, and most grateful for it when found, devoted his attention to geometry, and arrived at the well-known properties of triangles which form the subjects of the 32nd and 47th propositions of Euclid's first book of Elements. No results of comparatively equal value seem to have been known at the time, as it is said his joy was very great on the occasion.* That either of these philosophers imported any knowledge of geometry from Egypt has been doubted. Others, with scarcely a shadow of reason, have supposed that the knowledge they introduced was brought from India. Notwithstanding the boasted antiquity of the science of this country, there seems to be very small ground for supposing that what either of these men learnt on their travels was so far fetched. It is only in later writers, when India was to some extent known, that this origin is first hinted at; and the hypothesis is attempted to be confirmed by the supposed resemblance of some of the tenets of Pythagoras to those of the Gymnosophists of Hindustan. It is however very evident that the whole Pythagorean system of philosophy bears the decided impress of the Greek mind in its very genius. The little knowledge of the fundamental ideas of mathematics which Thales and Pythagoras taught, soon commended themselves to the Greek intellect, and if we may trust to Suidas, in that early dawn Anaximander collected the knowledge then existing into a systematic treatise. Correct principles being once attained, it needed little to entice the logical mind of the Greek to deduce from them their most remote consequences, it was indeed natural for it to do so. The problems which first enticed the Greeks to the study seem to have been the quadrature of the circle, the duplication of the cube and the trisection of an angle. Whatever may have been the real origin of these difficult problems†, they formed a lure, and the study proved so congenial to minds ever striving after the most rigorous accuracy of thought and expression, that it soon obtained the pre-eminence and the name of THE DISCIPLINE (μαθησις.) Till the time of Plato, the properties of figures formed by the straight line and the circle were the subjects of geometry, and direct deduction the only method of investigation. A new era in mathematics as well as in Philosophy was introduced by the school of that eminent thinker. The disciples of the Platonic school applied themselves in earnest to the problem of the duplication

* Ovid, Metam. xv.; Jambl. de Vit. Pythag.

† Pappus Col. Math.; Eratosthenes in Mesolabo.

of the cube, or rather to that of finding two mean proportionals into which Hippocrates of Cos had resolved it, and this probably gave rise to the lines more particularly treated of in Mr. Smith's work—the *Conic Sections*, and of which we find the first notices in their applications by Menæchmus. It was in Plato's time, and probably in his school, that mathematical reasoning on account of its pre-eminent character received the title of *the discipline*, and by him a knowledge of the science was made an indispensible condition on the part of those admitted among the number of his pupils. He had felt their value, not in their applicability to the purposes of life, but to those of strengthening the power of vigorous deduction by frequent examples, and over which the conquest is sure if only the proper means be employed. Such was one principal means by which he developed the powers of such minds as Speusippus, Heraclcides, Dinostratus, Menæchmus, and Aristotle. To Plato himself we are said to be indebted* for an invention which was to become a powerful instrument in the hands of his successors; this was geometrical analysis—a beautiful and ingenious "method of discovering truth, by reasoning from things unknown, or propositions merely supposed, as if the one were given and the other were really true. A quantity that is unknown, is only to be found from the relations which it bears to quantities that are known. By reasoning on these relations, we come at last to some one so simple, that the thing sought is thereby determined. By this analytical process therefore, the thing required is discovered, and we are at the same time put in possession of an instrument by which new truths may be found out, and which, when skill in using it has been acquired by practice, may be applied to an unlimited extent. And a similar process enables us to discover the demonstrations of propositions supposed to be true, or if not true, to discover that they are false."† Geometrical analysis thus expresses a reversal of the order of the several steps in the demonstration of a theorem, or an examination of the conditions upon which a problem is to be constructed; and is thus distinguished by Leslie from Synthesis:—"Analysis presents the medium of invention; while Synthesis directs the course of instruction."

With the arms of Alexander, Geometry may be reckoned to have passed from Greece to take up its abode in the new capital he founded in Egypt, and to render its Museum famous in the history of Science. Ptolemy Lagus or Soter (323-284) founded the school of Alexandria, which flourished as an asylum of learned men, and the chief seat of science and literature for well nigh a thousand years. The first work that proceeded from this school, may, without challenge, take rank at the head of all human productions;—a work which has been translated into the language of every nation that has made any considerable progress in science and civilization. In no science or department of human knowledge has a work appeared like the Elements of Euclid, which for two-thousand years has com-

* Proclus in Euc.; Diog. Laert. in Vit. Plat.

† Playfair.

manded the admiration of the learned, and towards the improvement of which so little has been suggested. Of its author very little is known; the Orientals say he was a native of Tyre,* but this is very doubtful, and the date of his birth can only be guessed at. His *Dedomena*, or Book of Data, still exists, though considerably corrupted, and is the first in order of the books the ancients have left on Geometrical Analysis; it is a most valuable specimen of the rudiments of this branch. After Euclid arose the last two truly great mathematicians of antiquity, Apollonius Pergæus, and Archimedes. The former flourished at Alexandria about 210 B. C. and devoted his attention chiefly to the Conic Sections, and "the elegance and extent of his investigations of the most abstruse principles of this branch left but little to be added by more modern geometricians."† In his own age he was known as *the Great Geometer*. Archimedes (287-212 B. C.) by means of the method of Exhaustions (employed by Euclid in his twelfth book of Elements) made great strides in geometry, discovered the quadrature of the parabola, and shewed that the circumference was more than $3\frac{10}{71}$, but less than $3\frac{1}{7}$ times its diameter. After these men the science they so successfully cultivated for a long time made little advance. Diophantus in the second; Pappus in the fourth, and Proclus in the fifth century of our era, are almost the only mathematicians of note. With the decay of Greek power almost all scientific learning seems to have been neglected.

Among the Romans scarcely any attention was paid to geometry, and almost the only Latin names mentioned in connection with the subject are those of Cæsar, who is said to have intended promoting the cultivation of Geometry throughout the Roman dominions; and of Boëthius in the sixth century, who translated the first book of Euclid and wrote a work on Arithmetic,—these continued the standard text-books till Euclid was again introduced to the knowledge of Europe by the Arabs.

So far the ancients:—Among the Greeks, the science, so far as their methods could conduct them, was almost perfect, and it was only men like Gauss who could make any valuable addition to it. In Conics they had prepared for the use of Kepler and Newton in the investigation of the planetary orbits, an instrument as complete and powerful as was their language for the reception and preservation of Inspired Truth; and in preparing these, whilst seeking to cultivate their own reasoning faculties to the utmost, they fulfilled no mean mission. The Roman mind was too conservative to earn honors in such fields,—it was essentially practical. Its natural element was not science, it was public business, legal practice, government, legislation and war.

An age of thick darkness intervened, and when the modern era dawned in the thirteenth century, Algebra and Geometry were introduced together, ere long to combine and assist in solving the

* D'Herbelot, v. 'Aklides' and 'Oclides'

† Young's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, &c. Lect. 20.

great problems of this physical universe. Among others who advanced these kindred sciences may be named Leonardo Bonacci, Tartaglia, Bombelli, Vieta, Roberval, Harriot, and Fermat. Bombelli had given examples of the applications of Algebra to Geometry; Vieta extended these, and Harriot (1560—1621) wrote the first treatise on Algebra in its modern form, a work of great genius and originality. To him we are indebted for the method of forming compound or adfected equations by the continued multiplication of so many simple ones. Among other things this seems early to have attracted the attention of the celebrated Descartes (1596—1667) in whose hands Algebraic Geometry grew into a science. His *Geometrie* was published in 1637, six years after the publication of Harriot's Algebra, from which it is pretty generally believed that he borrowed many of his improvements.* The second of the three books of which this work consists is a treatise on Analytical Geometry, the first of its kind. A curve is supposed to be traced out by a series of points determined from two lines or axes either perpendicular or oblique to one another, by means of an equation called, *the equation of the curve*. This equation contains two quantities expressing the distances of a point from the respective axes, and which are variable, each value of the one quantity giving a corresponding value of the other variable. Besides the two variables, called the *ordinates*, there may be several others which remain constant. If any series of values then be supposed for one of the variables uniformly and continuously changing its magnitude, it is not difficult to conceive how values may be always found for the other such that the conditions of the equation shall be always satisfied; and the points determined by setting off from the axes, distances always representing the contemporaneous values of the variables will indicate the curve. By this felicitous application of equations of two unknown quantities to the genesis of curves made by Descartes, the science of Geometry was completely revolutionised. From the law of the description of any curve, its equation is deducible, and from it all the properties of the curve flow, hence the equation may be looked upon as a formula embracing all the characteristics of the curve, and from which they may be discovered by general methods applicable to all curves. In this the main difference between the Cartesian and the ancient Geometry consists—that, whereas the latter proceeded on no general methods, and the discovery of every property required a separate effort of the intellect, the new science went on general and fixed rules for the determination of the properties of all curves. The latter as a method of discovery is indisputably the more powerful and productive of results, whilst it is not to be denied that the old Geometry was the best as a mental discipline. The method of Descartes soon drew the attention of mathematicians, and so much engrossed it as to cause them to neglect to a great extent the ancient methods for the new. On the continent this was strikingly the case; and from the time of Pascal to the present it has been chiefly cul-

* Wallis's Algebra, p. 198.

tivated by the French and German mathematicians. The change was no doubt for the better as a method of discovery, but the close and grasping character of the Greek Geometry did not accompany that of Descartes. Though not less certain in its results, the algebraical method was rather a mechanical art than a science, and its employment does not require the same expenditure of thought as the purely geometrical. Hence the student ought always to have enjoyed the benefits of a regular course of study in the ancient Geometry before he is introduced to the more mechanical and less practically logical, though most valuable, system treated of in the volume before us. As a quaint editor of Euclid has observed 'Algebra is the paradise of the mind where it may enjoy the fruits "of all its former labours without the fatigue of thinking." In Britain the case was different; Newton had contracted a great admiration for the methods of the ancients, and, after investigating and discovering his beautiful theorems by the Cartesian analysis, threw the proofs into the guise of the synthetic method. The effect of this was for a long time to check the spread of co-ordinate Geometry in Britian; the British mathematicians seemed to consider it heresy to depart from the method which Newton had sanctioned; and even in the present century Sir John Leslie attempted in his 'Geometry of Curve Lines' to supply by the old methods the demonstrations of propositions, for which such methods had long been felt to be inefficient. During the last forty years, however, many systematic works on this important department have been published; and every few years is adding considerably to their number. This is of itself a proof that there is a demand for such works; and in this highly practical age it shews that the spread of a knowledge of this branch is necessary for the preparation of engineers and other professional men for the business of life. It has also found its true place in a course of sound and useful education, not as a substitute in any form for the more logical and rigorous method of deduction, but as supplementary to it, and to which the older is absolutely necessary as a preliminary. It seems not a little surprising that the learned gentlemen who drew up the regulations for the Calcutta University, should have entirely passed over a branch of pure science of such universal application in every department of physical research—without a competent knowledge of which no student can read the ordinary standard works on mathematical mechanics, astronomy, &c. No doubt it is included in the extra subjects proposed for M. A., but the host of subjects of the highest difficulty mentioned for honors in mathematics is such as may well discourage any student from attempting to master them rather than those proposed in other departments.

Mr. Smith's Geometry, the author tells us, was first undertaken during a period of protracted indisposition, and a voyage to and from the Cape of Good Hope, in 1841-2. His object was that of providing for his classes in the Free Church of Scotland's Institution in Calcutta, a text book in Analytical Geometry better suited to his views than any he then found procurable. From time to time subsequently he added to and corrected the manuscript, and finally published it early last year when on a visit to Britain. This work then, though

recently published, seems to have been written previously to some of the treatise now most generally used in Britain. The author first discusses analytically the properties of the straight line, circle, ellipse, parabola and hyperbola, and then in an additional chapter treats briefly of the application of the analysis to some of the curves of higher degrees than the second. The treatment of the whole is simple involving only the ordinary operations of Algebra. This renders the work one of ease to the beginner, and enables him to commence at a much earlier stage than such works as require some knowledge of the differential calculus. This however is not a peculiarity of Mr. Smith's work, for though Dr. Gardner makes use of the calculus, Mr. Todhunter and others have discarded it from their elementary works. Much of Mr. Smith's method seems to be his own; the equations he requires, he almost always derives in the first case in the most general form, and thence shews how the particular cases flow from it; this, though not the most encouraging at first sight, has its own advantages, and is calculated to give the learner an ultimate command over the subject not attainable by every method. In the course of perusal there are some things that appear as defects or omissions, as well as things in his methods of solution which, if not always very elegant, are at least somewhat original. The decided want of the book is the entire omission of polar equations, which however different from the method of co-ordinates, is both necessary to a thorough knowledge of analytical plane Geometry as an instrument of investigation, and to enable the student to read with intelligence and appreciation works on physical science, in which operations of an analytical kind are frequently employed. Though the author has made no reference to such as Pascal's theorem and Transversals, these may be considered as beyond the aim of the treatise. In a work of the kind we should have expected to find definitions of such terms as "equation of the first degree" and "tangent," before using them. The position of the single unknown quantity on the right side of an equation, instead of the left, is not elegant, and the expression "concourse of a line with a circle" (p. 28) is scarcely in good taste. Such slips as these, and the omission of the necessary limitation of the conditions of the problem in § 126, are only such as may be expected to occur in first editions, as must also errata in the printing of what was correctly written.*

It might have improved the work, had a collection of exercises been appended to each chapter; for, of whatever value the explanations of a well written text book may be to the learner, the lessons are best imprinted in his mind by being put in practice. On the other hand there are many problems discussed of such a nature as are likely to awaken young minds of a mathematical cast, and set them a thinking for themselves; such are those in §§ 136 and 210,

* From these Mr. Smith's treatise is not free, though they are generally such as may be easily corrected; thus, in the notes (p. 31) we find "an elliptic alone" for "an elliptical one;" on page 12, (line 3 and last line) $\frac{x''}{x}$, $\frac{y'}{y}$, for $\frac{x''}{x'}$, $\frac{y'}{y}$; and in §239, "tangent to the ellipse," when "a tangent to the hyperbola," was evidently meant.

which by the bye might as well have been grouped together, and those in §§ 387, 388,* 390 and 409, the last being Newton's method of trisecting an angle by the conchoid. The want of abridged forms of notation can scarcely be considered a defect in a work intended only or chiefly for elementary instruction. The abridged notation is often a stumbling-block to beginners, and when a good elementary work like the present has been mastered, it is easily acquired.

We only hope the author may meet with such encouragement in the sale of the work, as may reward him for the pains he has bestowed upon it in order to provide a good introduction to Analytical Geometry of two dimensions.

Narrative of the Campaign of the Delhi Army. By Major H. W. Norman, Deputy Adjutant General of the Bengal Army. London; W. H. Dalton, Cockspur Street. 1858.

This is an official report, published by permission of the Governor General. Its author went down in May with General Anson from Simla on hearing of mutinies at Meerut and Delhi. He was then Assistant Adjutant General. In a few days the Commander-in-Chief died, and a new man took command who was totally unacquainted with Indian warfare. In the first engagement Colonel Chester, the Adjutant General, (one of the few men who cheered on others in that great crisis,) perished in the field. Henry Norman then acted as Adjutant General. He was relieved by Brigadier Chamberlain who very speedily was laid aside by a painful wound, and was unable to resume charge of his office till the day of the assault. During all the interval, amidst the changes of commanders, with sickness, and the fire of the enemy, slaying hundreds, Henry Norman performed the duties, and exhibited throughout such Christian courage, and such consummate judgment and temper, that at the end of the operations he was recognized by the whole force as the foremost staff officer of the army. As soon as Delhi was taken he marched down with Brigadier Greathed's column; then joining the Commander-in-Chief, rode by his side throughout the relief of Lucknow. He was made Deputy Adjutant General, with the official rank of Major, and continued at his post till compelled by a wound, received at Bareilly, to seek rest for a month at Umballah. Like Sir Hope Grant, and a few more, he had been engaged almost without intermission for thirteen months, and in that time had been more than fifty times under heavy fire.

His Narrative never alludes to his services, but there is not a Delhi officer who disputes his claim to eminent distinction. Many speak

* The problem in this section may serve as a specimen:—"To find the figure which the extremity of the shadow of a vertical pole traces out during the day, on a horizontal plane." If, with Delambre, we consider that as the sun in the course of each day describes a parallel of declination, a ray passing just over the top of the perpendicular pole will describe a conical surface, it is easily seen that the intersection of this surface with the horizon must be a conic section. Mr. Smith's analysis determines under what conditions it is any particular section.

with enthusiasm of his uniform cheerfulness, his constant zeal, his conspicuous example; but he never speaks of himself in complaint or in boasting. He is a subaltern still, because his regiment, (the 31st,) was loyal, and did not kill its senior officers; and the Queen according to etiquette "cannot" make him a brevet Major, a C. B., nor "can" she thus honor Willoughby, Osborne of Rewah, nor Charles Nicolson who led the gallant Probyn into action; nor "could" she thus reward Salkeld or Willoughby if they were living; and thus etiquette dooms us, as far as in it lies, to worn out Brigadiers and helpless Colonels. A man like Charles Reid of the Sirmoor Battalion would have been in command of a division under Napoleon. Services like his, with his invincible hand in his invulnerable post, (never once, in the long four months of seige, leaving his post to visit the camp,) would have caused him to be prized as a hero and rewarded worthily. But in the English service he finds himself now disabled by his wound, and as a Major and nothing more, must probably relinquish active service. No one grudges Probyn, young as he is, his Brevet Majority and Companionship of the Bath. But he owes them not to his merit only, but to his merit combined with the fact that he became a Captain through casualties during the mutiny. His Commander in the second Punjab Cavalry (H. John Nicolson's brother,) a man of longer standing in the service, is still Lieutenant Nicolson, and bears about him the permanent mark of his sufferings and his devotion, and the consciousness, that, thanks to etiquette, he has been superseded. Cases of this kind might be multiplied. Perhaps in Major Norman's this hardship is less felt, because his official position opens prospects to him which etiquette itself cannot destroy.

The pamphlet before us was published at home when the public was absorbed by Lucknow, yet certainly no one who understands recent events will deny that the Delhi army both did most, and endured most, in the campaign of last year. Sir Archdale Wilson's despatch was a worthy record of its exploits. We have since seen many elaborate productions which have narrated far less important operations far more ornately. Indeed it seems to be the fashion to "despatch" despatches only after four or five months have been devoted to their composition. The taking of Jhansi was very ably described, but the tale we apprehend might have been narrated the next week. And if the capture of Culpee is strikingly described, we may be permitted to say that six months were not required to prepare the picture. And so with respect to results. General Franks killed, he informs us, 800 men without losing one of his own. Other officers who were present reduce the number of slain very considerably. Thus our confidence is somewhat shaken; and we turn with no slight comfort to Sir Colin's despatch on the Lucknow Relief, and to this Duke of Wellington sort of plain unadorned narrative of facts. We find notices of simple incidents scattered about, without a single word of comment, and we feel that they need none. Thus, when the siege began, the whole of our force consisted of 600 Cavalry, 2,400 Infantry, and 22 field guns, with a weak siege train. The cholera was never absent from the camp; on the day of the assault there were

in camp no less than 3,074 sick and wounded. The enemy were represented to the English public by such well informed statesmen as Mr. Vernon Smith, as shut up in "Delhi Fort," and destined to be overwhelmed in a few days. Major Norman quietly says—"Suffice it to say that a wall twelve feet thick, with a 'ditch in front of considerable width and twenty-four feet deep, with 'an admirable glacis covering the wall for a full third of its height, 'bastions in capital order, each holding ten, twelve or fourteen pieces of 'heavy artillery, so as to form flanking defences around a city seven 'miles in extent, with the river on one face, constitute a formidable 'position;" "On the morning of the 9th June the Guide Corps consisting of there troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry (rifles) 'marched into camp under the command of Capt. Daly. This distinguished body of men had marched at the hottest season of the 'year from Murdan on the Peshawar Frontier to Delhi, a distance of '580 miles, in twenty-two days, and though the infantry portion were occasionally assisted with camels or ponies on the line of road, the 'marching was a surprising feat, even for cavalry," "The truunions 'of one eight-inch howitzers giving way one after another, these 'pieces were sunk in the ground and used as mortars, their shell having a very long range. In our batteries we used the enemies' 'ordnance captured at Badlee, and as we had no ammunition for the captured twenty-four pounders, though that of this calibre fired by the 'enemies were picked up and sent back again." "At the lowest estimate 'the numbers of the insurgents were 30,000 men. These guns, as 'we know, were numerous as even they could have desired, and 'their ammunition appeared inexhaustible. The force was insufficient to invest event one third of the place, and access to the left 'bank of the Jumna was at all times perfectly secure, by the bridge-'of-boats, which was under close fire of their ordnance at Selimgur, and fully 2,500 yards from our nearest guns. We were therefore powerless to prevent a constant stream of re-inforcements, and 'supplies from pouring into the city, and were thankful that we 'had been so far enabled to keep open our rear and freely to communicate with the Punjab, whence all our resources well drawn. Had the 'numerous cavalry of the insurgents been directed with judgment and 'boldness, it is not too much to say that we should have been put 'to the most serious straits." "The rifles commenced with 440 of all 'ranks; a few days before the storm they received a re-inforcement 'of nearly 200 men; their total casualties were 389. The Sirmoor 'battalion commenced 450 strong and was joined by a draft of ninety men. Its total casualties amounted to 319. The guides commenced 'with about 550 (cavalry and infantry), and the casualties were 3033."

This kind of military writing is worth volumes of poetry about "their red lines" which in fact were never approached by the Russian Cavalry, and the Highlanders assulting first breaches that were really carried by others, and any numbers of campaigning letters full of word-painting, in which men draw on their excited imagination for their facts. And in like manner this siege of Delhi will prove to have been a feat of arms with which none

of the much vaunted but bloodless victories in other places will bear comparison in the eyes of posterity. When history is hereafter calmly written, multitudes of our present oracles will be dumb and forgotten, and the importance of the contest at Delhi, the achievements and endurance of our army, and the energy of the great man in the Punjab who fed its supplies, will beam forth resplendently on the page of truth. The only publication in which these things have as yet been fully told is the Narrative before us, and in that there is in every line the spirit of the soldier and the stamp of calm veracity.

BENGALI WORKS.

Alláler Gharer Dulál [*Dulál of the house of Allál; or The Spoiled Child.*] *By Tek Chand Thackoor. Calcutta*, 1858.

We hail this book as the first novel in the Bengali language. Whatever may be our estimate of the intrinsic worth of the hundreds of novels that are daily issuing from the English and the European press, it is certain that prose works of imagination form no inconsiderable portion of modern literature. Fictitious literature has had three different phases of manifestation in the history of the human race; first, fables; secondly, romances; and thirdly, novels. The age of fables is gone by. The world has become far too practical to be pleased with dialogues between lions and mice, frogs and cranes, the thorn and the rose-bush. Such stories could give delight only in the infancy of the human race. Hence the day of Pilpay, of Esop, and of La Fontaine, is irrecoverably gone. The age of romances too is past. The stories of Jack the giant-killer, Puss in boots, the Devil on two sticks, the tales of Betál, the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, Orlando Furioso, and the like, do not give us that delight which our great-grand-fathers received from them. We have become too unpoetical, too utilitarian to derive amusement from those unreal and extravagant fictions. The world of to-day is a matter-of-fact world. We prefer the real to the unreal—the probable to the extravagant. We like the world of living beings—men of real flesh and blood—men possessing like passions with ourselves. Hence the origin of novels.

Though novels occupy a large niche in modern European literature, Bengali literature has hitherto been entirely destitute of them. There has, doubtless, been plenty of stories; but those stories have always partaken of the nature of the romantic, while the element of impurity runs in them all. It is, therefore, with peculiar pleasure, that we hail the rising star of Bengali fictitious literature in the unpretending little book, the title of which we have placed at the head of this notice. Tek Chand Thackoor (who by the way is none other than the intelligent native gentleman, who has the charge of the Calcutta Public Library, under an assumed name)

Tek Chand Thackoor, has written a tale, the like of which is not to be found within the entire range of Bengali literature. He is evidently well read in English novels. He seems to be familiar with Defoe, Fielding, Scott, Dickens, Bulwer, Thackeray, and other masters of fiction. Whether he has succeeded in catching the spirit of those immortal writers, and in transfusing some portion of their spirit into his mother-tongue, those of our readers, who are able to peruse the story in the original, will judge for themselves. For the benefit, however, of such of our readers as are unacquainted with the Bengali language—and they, we fear, constitute by far the majority, we shall here subjoin an abstract of the story. But, at the outset, we think it desirable to present to our readers our author's brief and modest English preface:—

"The above original novel in Bengali being the first work of the kind, is now submitted to the public with considerable diffidence. It chiefly treats of the pernicious effects of allowing children to be improperly brought up, with remarks on the existing system of education, on self-formation and religious culture, and is illustrative of the condition of Hindu society, manners, customs, &c., and partly of the state of things in the Mofussil. The work has been written in a simple style, and to foreigners desirous of acquiring an idiomatic knowledge of the Bengali language and acquaintance with Hindu domestic life, it will perhaps be found useful. The writer thinks it well to add that a large portion of this tale appeared originally in a monthly publication, which met with the approval of a number of friends, at whose request he has been induced to conclude and publish it in the present form."

The hero of the novel is Moti Lal—the son of Baburam Babu—of the village of Baidyabati, about fourteen miles north-west of Calcutta. Being greatly indulged in childhood, Moti Lal grew up a very naughty boy; and his wishes having never been crossed, he spoke of "catching hold of the moon, and of eating cannon-balls." His education, if education it can be called, began at home, where he was initiated into the mysteries of the Bengali alphabet by a teacher of the regular *Gurumahasaya* type, who sitting cross-legged, with rattan in hand, and leaning against the wall, used to doze, and now and then break the silence with the well-known words, "Boys, go on with your writing." With the slumbering pedagogue, Moti Lal played a variety of tricks. He sometimes danced before him, at other times held up a plantain to his mouth by way of mockery, now thrust a stick into his nostril, and now threw a live coal into his clothes. The woe-begone pedagogue, not quite relishing the jokes of his facetious pupil, bethought himself of a plan to get rid of him. He accordingly went to Baburam Babu and said, that Moti Lal had finished his Bengali education—though the fact was, that he had not gone much beyond the double consonants. The fond father, overjoyed at the wonderful progress his son had made in his studies, determined to give him some knowledge of Sanscrit. He found a Sanscrit teacher in the person of the Brahman cook of the family, who, blockhead as he was, pretended, for the love of gain, to be acquainted with that learned language. But the cook-professor had not studied his pupil. Moti Lal after a few days plainly told his teacher that if he dared to vex him any longer with the subtleties of Sanscrit

Grammar, he would break his head by dashing against it an eleven-inch brick. The awe-stricken Pundit imitated the policy of the *Gurumahasaya*, represented to the father that Mati Lal had made respectable progress in Sanscrit, and thus got the dangerous pupil out of his hands. A Mussulman teacher was now engaged, at one rupee eight annas per mensem, besides oil and fuel, to instruct Mati in the Persian language. The Moonshee, toothless on account of age, his beard all white, his moustache, "white as flax," set himself sedulously to his work. But Mati Lal one day set fire to his beard, on which the venerable sage, tormented with pain, left the house and pupil for ever, exclaiming as he went out "*tobah! tobah!*" Mati Lal having mastered the Bengali, Sanscrit, and Persian languages, it was resolved to crown his education with English. He was, accordingly, put into Mr. Sherborne's Academy in Calcutta. This worthy East Indian gentleman rejoiced in a corpulent body, and thick-set brows, chewed *pawn-leaves* the live-long day, had always a rattan in his hand, inspected the classes occasionally, and spent the rest of the school-time in smoking. Mati Lal soon made himself famous in the school. He was at the head of every row, and the master of all mischief. The sons of Bacharam Babu, in whose house Mati was a boarder, he soon corrupted, with whom and other boon companions, he ran into all manner of excesses. One day they were caught by the police in the act of gambling. The case was tried in the Calcutta Police—the celebrated Mr. Blacquiere being Magistrate. By the eloquent pleadings of counsellor Butler—the skilful management of the native pleader Bacharam, the "wet-cat of dissimulation,"—and above all by the perjury of Thak Chachá (Uncle deceit), the "emperor of chicanery," and whose "very bones produced enchantment," Mati Lal was acquitted; while the sons of honest Bacharam, who would not have recourse to unfair means, were committed to prison. Baburam Babu with his son, and Thak Chachá, who from this time became his "right trusty and well-beloved cousin-and-councillor," were returning to Baidyabati, when they were overtaken by a storm in the river, from which they narrowly escaped with their lives.

Mati Lal having thus finished his education, lived in his father's house at Baidyabati, and, gathering around himself a motley crew of fellows of the baser sort, made the streets of that village echo with the sounds of their mischief. To-day they plundered the property of a poor man, to-morrow they burnt the house of another; and of their mischief there was no end. The inhabitants were sorely vexed. Cracking their fingers they prayed—"May you be soon destroyed." Mati's mother, who was an excellent lady, and his two amiable sisters, Pramadá and Mukshoda—one of whom was a widow, and the other married to a Koolin Brahman, were heart-broken at the conduct of the wicked boy; while the fond and imbecile father, blind to the faults of his eldest-born, looked upon him as the jewel of a son. When Mati was sixteen years old, he was married to the daughter of a rich Babu of Manirampore. The nuptial rites were celebrated with great pomp, on which occasion Thak Chacha played a conspicuous part.

Mati Lal had a younger brother of the name of Ramlal. This boy was the pride of his mother and the delight of the village. He had begun early to tread the paths of virtue chiefly through the teaching of one Barada Babu. This gentleman, a native of Eastern Bengal, was well educated in English, had no faith in the popular religion of his country, worshipped the God of nature, and was exact in his morals and unwearied in well-doing. By attending to the instructions of this man, as well as of his friend Bani Babu of Bali, Ram Lal became somewhat lax in his observance of the religious rites of the Hindus. This circumstance excited the anger of Baburam and of his Mentor—Uncle deceit. The latter personage, at no loss for deceitful contrivances, made an elaborate plan to get rid of the hated Barada Prasad. He lodged a complaint against him in the Hoogly Court; and Barada Babu was taken up on suspicion of murder. As soon as Barada Babu with his companions—Ram Lal and Bani, was seated on a blanket under a tree in the purlieus of the court, a whole crew of petti-foggers offered to carry his case successfully through. False witnesses, also came in shoals to be hired. But honest Barada Prasad relied on his innocency. He contrived to state his case in English to the Magistrate directly. The case was dismissed to the great chagrin of Thak Chacha. Baburam Babu in his old age married a second wife. At the celebration of the nuptial rites, many jokes were cracked by facetious women on the baldness and toothlessness of the octogenarian bridegroom. But the stain of the nuptial turmeric had scarcely been rubbed off the old gentleman's body, when he sickened and died. The funeral rites of the deceased were solemnized with becoming splendour to the no little delight of the Brahmans of the village. As Ram Lal had, by his exact morals and freedom from superstition, increased his father's displeasure, he was left penniless, while Mati Lal was constituted sole heir of his father's estate. On his accession to his father's *guddee*, Mati Lal gave himself up to pleasure. Crowds of flatterers flocked around him. Thak Chacha and Bacharam became his counsellors, and led him on to ruin. He wasted his substance in riotous living. On his mother's remonstrating with him, he struck her, and threw her down to the ground. The mother, heart-broken at her son's shame, left the house, and banished herself along with her youngest daughter, the eldest having died some years before. The gentle and virtuous Ram Lal was forbidden to enter into the ancestral house; and he too exiled himself, and took a journey to the North-West. Mati Lal having thus got rid of his good mother, amiable sister, and virtuous brother, became undisputed master of his house, and did whatever seemed right in his eyes. But his means had become scant. His father had left him a large debt which had greatly increased by his costly pleasures. Thak Chacha and Bacharam, however, made a capital plan to retrieve their patron's fortunes. A portion of Mati Lal's Zemindari was mortgaged, and the money was placed in the hands of an English gentleman—Mr. John, who opened an Agency House in Calcutta of the name of John and Co. Of that firm Mati Lal was nominally made banian, while Thak Chacha

and Bacharam took care to have all the business in their hands. After a short time John and Co. failed, and Mati Lal, reduced to the brink of starvation, repaired with his boon companions to his Zemindari at Jessore.

Meanwhile Thak Chacha obtained his merited reward. Ever active in plotting mischief, he had for a long time been in the habit of perpetrating forgery, in the company of one Bahulye. The Calcutta Police having got scent of the affair, he was arrested. While in custody he disclosed in a dream the particulars of his crime. He was committed to the sessions. The Grand Jury found a true bill against him. His trial came off before a large crowd of natives, Mr. Butler pleading on his behalf. The Jury gave in a verdict of "guilty." The Chief Justice Russell sentenced him and Bahulye to transportation beyond the seas for life.

At Jessore Mati Lal was running headlong into the debts of vice. Ignorant of Zemindari affairs he was robbed, right and left, by his agents. He quarrelled with Indigo-planters and was over-reached by them. His pleasures had become very expensive, and he was a ruined man. He was at last brought to his senses. The pleasures of the world palled upon him; and he was disgusted with the companions of his debauchery. He left Jessore and betook himself to a wandering life. A little before, through the roguery of Bacharam, Mati Lal's ancestral house had been occupied by a stranger, and his wife and step-mother had obtained shelter under the hospitable roof of Baradá Babu. Mati Lal travelled to Benares, where he profited greatly by the instructions of a Hindu sage. He became a changed man. He wept at his past follies, and began to lead a life of piety. Ram Lal, who had travelled as far as Brindában, met there his mother and sister, who were wandering about as beggars. They then left Brindaban with Baradá Babu—whom our author makes all but ubiquitous, and came to Benares, where they joyfully welcomed Mati Lal in his right mind. The rejoicing family came back to Baidyabati, took possession of the ancestral house, and thenceforth lived together in happiness and contentment.

Such is the story which our author has told us, with a deal of humour and pleasantry, in a book of 180 pages. That the story, in some parts at least, is wanting in *vraisemblance*, must be admitted by every one acquainted with the inner life of native society. That Mati Lal's mother should forsake her son's house, simply because she was once beaten by him, will appear improbable to those who know of the strength of a Bengali mother's affection to her son; still less probable will it appear that the mother and sister of a rich Babu—and a Zemindar to boot, should be so far reduced in circumstances as to be under the necessity of begging from door to door in a strange land. The same remark is applicable to our author's placing Mati Lal's wife and step-mother under the roof of Barada Prasad. The fact is, in Hindu society, no respectable family is ever reduced to so low a condition as that depicted by our author. Is it probable that the rich Babu of Monirampore, Mati Lal's father-in-law, should not think of

sometimes he smiled, and sometimes he frowned—now he talked like a saint, and now he acted like a bully. Business over, after bathing and dining he used to sit by his wife and smoke in his *hookah* of *bidri*. It was at such times that the husband and the wife spoke together of their joys and their griefs. Thak Chachi was greatly respected by all the women of the neighbourhood. They all had the conviction that she was well versed in charms, incantations, amulets, conjurings, enchantments, and other occult practices. Hence many women held private consultations with her. Like god, like goddess—Thak Chacha and Thak Chachi were an incomparable pair. The former made money through sheer force of genius, the latter by her science."

We conclude with a fight, the like of which, we fear, may be witnessed any day in the Mofussil :—

"Mati Lal is engaged in boisterous merriment with his boon companions, and the *Naib*, spectacle-bestrid, opening the day-book, is writing and drying the ink, when all of a sudden some *ryots* came running and bawled aloud, saying, "Sir, the rascally planter is ruining us. The rascal has come down himself, and is ploughing the land on which we have sowed. What a sowing the rascal is spoiling! The scoundrel is harrowing up our ripe corn!" The *Naib*, collecting about a hundred men hastened to the spot, and saw the planter —a *solah* hat on his head—a cheroot in his mouth—a gun in his hand—cheering on his men. The *Naib* went near and timidly uttered one or two words. The planter cried out—"Drive him away! drive him away! beat him! beat him!" immediately the two parties began plying their *lattics*. The planter was about to fire on the *Naib*, when the latter adroitly hid himself alongside a hedge of thorn. The party of the zemindar was worsted in the fight, and a few men were killed. The planter went away, with colours flying, to the factory-house, and the ryots, who had taken advance-money from the planter, returned to their several homes weeping and saying, "what a fate! what a fate!" The planter, on returning to the factory house, opens a bottle of Soda-water and drinks it with brandy, whistles, and sings—his dog playing pranks before him. He knows in his innermost soul that it is impossible to do any thing to him. The judge and magistrate often dine with him. The *Amlahs* of the police and the *adawlut*, in consequence, look upon him as Pluto himself. Besides, should there be an investigation of the matter, he had nothing to fear, as a case of this sort, so far as regarded him, could come up only in the Supreme Court."

Pudártha Jnán Darpan, [*The Mirror of Natural Science.*]

Is a small treatise compiled by Babú Raj Krishna Adhya, a teacher of the Chinsurah Free Church Institution, for the use of vernacular schools. The subjects treated in it are, air, clouds, rain, dew, steam, fogs, snow, thunder and lightning, meteors, ignes-fatui, the rain-bow, storms, earth-quakes, volcanoes, springs, and rivers, the phases of the moon, and solar and lunar eclipses. The intelligence with which the above-mentioned subjects are treated reflects credit on the writer; but the style is unnecessarily high. If the writer aims at popularity he should adopt a more simple and easy style.

Swapna Darshan, [*A Dream.*] *By Behari Lal Chakrabartti.*

As our author was taking repose of an evening, he dreamed a dream in which the genius of India appeared to him and described in high-sounding words the forlorn state of his fatherland. We regret we cannot felicitate our author on being a "glorious dreamer."

Khrishta-Dharmma-Sar [*The Essence of the Christian Religion.*]

Is a translation of a Catechism prepared by the celebrated Revd. Thomas Charles of Bala. The translation is good, and reflects credit on Babu Dwarika Nath Banerjea, the translator. From the English preface attached to it, we infer that it has been published under the auspices of the mission of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists at Sylhet. The Catechism may be characterized as a short compendium of Christian theology. It is divided into ten sections, the subjects of which are as follows :—Creation and the Creator, the Fall of man, the person of Christ, and the Covenant of Grace, the work of Christ, Faith, the Holy Spirit, manifestation of Christ in the believer's soul, the law of God, means of obtaining God's favour, and the last day. We wish the scripture-proofs had been quoted in full, instead of being merely indicated by numerical figures. As it is, the little book must be very useful to those native Christians (and they constitute by far the great majority) who are unacquainted with the English language. We wish it all success.

Padyete Rachita Jishu Khrishta Charitra, [*The Life of Jesus Christ in Bengali Verse*] ; *Calcutta ; Baptist Mission Press,* 1858.

This book, which is exactly 200 pages long, published under the auspices of the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book-Society, contains a versified account of our Saviour. It is nothing else but a harmony of the Gospels, put into the commonest of Bengali verse called *payar*. The versification is in general good, though we have not been able to discover a single spark of poetic fire in the dull mass. Robert Hall would have characterized it as "a continent of mud." yet we dare say, the book will be of some use. The Bengali, who is passionately fond of poetry or rather of jingling rhyme, will read it through. What we want however, is not a *versified* but a truly *poetical* account of Christ, and a poetical account moulded and fashioned by the genuine spirit of oriental poetry. A poetical account of Christ written in the spirit, and after the model of the life of Krishna in *Shrimadbhagbat* would be an inestimable boon to the cause of Christianity in India. Such a book would produce greater effect than all the tracts and books which the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society has issued since the date of its institution.

Shiber Brittanta, [*Account of Siva, &c.*] *Calcutta ; Baptist Mission Press.* 1858.

This volume, also published by the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society, consists of six tracts on six different Hindu

gods and goddesses; the first tract is on the worship of Siva; the second, on the worship of Jagannath; the third, on the worship of Durga; the fourth, on the worship of Kali; the fifth, on the divinity of the Ganges; and the sixth, on the worship of Krishna. All of them have been written by Babu Bipra Charan Chakrabartti, Catechist of the Church of Scotland Mission, Calcutta. As the tracts are written in an easy and popular style, and are filled with quotations from the Hindu Shastras, they are, we think, calculated to be useful in demolishing error. We have received two small pamphlets containing hymns; one composed by Babu Biprahcharan Chakrabartti, author of the tracts noticed above; and the other by Babu Kali Das Chakrabartti, Catechist of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta. All that we can say regarding them is, that as first attempts, they are very creditable. We must, we fear, reject cart loads of hymn books composed both by Europeans and natives, before we can have a hymnology worthy of the Church of Christ in Bengal.

Padmini Upákhyán (Padmini—A Tale of Rajasthan.) By Ranga Lal Banerjea. Calcutta. 1858.

In the last Report of the Vernacular Literature Society, occur the following sentences:—"Their (the committee's) standing premium of Rs. 200 has been advertized continually, and several original works of more or less merit have been forwarded for their approval, but none have yet been judged of sufficient merit to receive the prize. The best among them was the *Padmini Upákhyán*, a tale in verse, by Babu Ranga Lal Banerjea. Although this was not equal to the standard which they had fixed, and had also the draw-back of not being in prose, yet, as it possessed decided merit in some respects, they resolved, if the author published it, to grant him a certain sum as an encouragement." Two reasons are specified in the above lines for rejecting the *Padmini Upákhyán*; *first*, it was not equal to the standard which the Committee had fixed; and *secondly*, that it was in verse. For the second reason we have no quarrel with the Committee of the Vernacular Literature Society. Tastes differ. All people do not relish poetry; and Lord Bacon tells us that some of the fathers called poetry "vinum demonum." But we *have* a quarrel with the Committee on the score of the first reason—"It was not equal to the standard which they had fixed." What is that standard? And who were the adjudicators? "It was not equal to the standard which they had fixed," we verily believe, for the poem, we suspect, is considerably higher than that standard. Seriously, if the Committee refuse to accept compositions of the merit of the tale before us, they may wait a quarter of a century before they find a single book suited to their taste.

The subject of the poem before us is taken from Col. Tod's Annals of Rajasthan. The readers of Indian history are familiar with the stirring story, but it will bear being told again.

In the days of Allaoodeen, emperor of Delhi, there ruled over the "six-gated" castle of Chittore, in the wilds of Rajputana, a Hindu chief of the name of Bheem Sing. He was "equal to Yudisther in piety, to Sahadeva in manly beauty, to Arjoon in bravery, and to Bheem in personal prowess." He had a wife of the name of *Padmini* or the water-lily. Her personal charms were truly captivating. "She was a sea of beauty; nature made her in retirement; equal to the goddess sprung from the ocean when it was churned." Nor was she wanting in the excellencies of her moral character. "Fidelity to her husband revelled in the lotus-chamber of her heart; bashful as a sensitive plant, pained with the touch of a stranger,—aye, keep touching aside, unable to bear the look of another." The fame of such a prodigy of beauty inflamed the passion of the emperor of Delhi. He determined to have her. Accordingly he invested Chittore with an immense army. The conflict was for a long time maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides. Great and numerous were the feats of heroism performed both by the Moslem and the Hindu. Both parties, however, at last grew weary of the contest. Allaoodeen had lost the flower of his troops; one of his sons had perished in battle; famine threatened to visit his camp, and his army was well-nigh demoralized. On the other hand, Chittore was a scene of the greatest distress imaginable. The sword, famine and pestilence had done their work—"men and women with bare skin and bones lay in the house of the dead, and unnumbered vultures surrounded them." Allaoodeen proposed terms of accommodation. These were only that he should have a sight of the queen—the famed Padmini. Bheem Sing saw his wife and acquainted her with the terms on which the Moslem offered him peace. Padmini, feelingly alive to the miseries of her people, and regarding herself as the cause of all their troubles, consented, with this important qualification, however, that as her personal appearance before the Moslem would be a lasting disgrace to her family and race, she would favour him with the sight of a reflection only of her person in a mirror. To this Allaoodeen acceded. A pavilion of marvellous magnificence was erected for the purpose. Thither Allaoodeen went unattended. As the exquisitely beautiful figure on the mirror struck his eye, he fainted and fell down to the ground. Bheem Sing took him up and proceeded along with him to the Moslem camp. The wily Mussulman, having got the Hindu Chief in his power, kept him in close confinement, and promised to release him only on condition of delivering up his wife to him. Great was the grief of Padmini on hearing of the sad news of her husband. But a Khetriya woman as she was, she was not unnerved by sorrow. She meditated plans for her husband's release. She wrote a letter, in her own hand, to Allaoodeen to say, how delighted she would be to become the emperor's wife, and that she had resolved on going to him with her thousand maids of honour in a thousand *dhoolies*, after having first bade adieu to her husband in his cell. Allaoodeen's joy knew no bounds. His camp became a scene of festivity. He went to Bheem Sing with Padmini's letter in his hand. The Hindu Chief knew not what to make of it. He

was certain it was the queen's hand-writing. He was overpowered with grief, and declaimed on the faithlessness of the female sex. But the thought afterwards struck him, that his beloved consort might, after all, be planning his release. In the meantime, the heroic Padmini, like another Joan of Arc, armed herself *cap-a-pied* and stepped into a *dhooli*. In the thousand *dhoolies* which attended her reclined no blooming maids of honour, but grim-visaged Rajput heroes armed up to their teeth, covered only with woman's veil. The stately procession awoke no alarm in the Moslem camp. After a few moments' interview Padmini and Bheem mounted two fiery coursers that had been made ready for the purpose, darted like lightning across the plain, and reached the impregnable walls of Chittore. Allaoodeen, mad with rage, ordered the ladies in the thousand *dhoolies* to be given up to the licentious fury of the Moslem soldiery, when lo! from every *dhooli* leapt a stalwart Rajput, and carried havoc and desolation to the ranks of Alla's troops. Allaoodeen, over-reached and disheartened, raised the siege and returned to Delhi. Thus ended the first siege of Chittore. In the following year, however, Allaoodeen returned and anew invested the city. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and breaches were made in the walls. The king was sorely pressed. A voice, as from heaven, bade him, for the safety of the city, to send his eleven sons to battle. The king obeyed the heavenly vision. One by one, his ten sons perished in fight, after having performed deeds of valour. He put his eleventh son on the throne, bade farewell to his consort, and went himself to war. Padmini, despairing of the safe return of her royal husband, ordered a funeral pile to be raised, and with her thousand maids of honour perished in the flames. The king, descrying from the field of battle the smoke of the city, and understanding what it meant, went into the thickest of the fight, and perished. The Hindu troops were routed. The young king fled. Alla entered, in triumph, into the city, and learnt the fate of Padmini.

Such is the story which our poet has gracefully told us in many a line of "linked sweetness." The *Padmini Upákhyan* is of high, and, considering the present state of vernacular literature, of extraordinary literary merit. We know of no poet, excepting perhaps Babu Ishwar Chundra Gupta—the editor of the *Probhákar* newspaper, who has approached Bharat Chundra so near as Babu Ranga Lal Banerjea. His versification is faultless, his diction pure, his images chaste. Familiar with Bengali, Sanscrit, and English poetry, he has not thought it robbery to appropriate some of the finest images of the best poets in those languages; neither has he so servilely imitated them as to quench in him the spirit of invention. He is not wanting in that "fine phrenzy" in which the eye of a genuine poet rolls. Bating the somewhat egotistical preface in Johnsonian Bengali prose, the poem is a most valuable contribution to vernacular literature. There are passages in it of considerable power and great beauty. We only regret that we cannot reproduce these passages to the mere English reader.

LIST OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST, PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

(In addition to those already noticed in this Number.)

My Escape from the Mutinies in Oudh. By a Wounded Officer. 2 vols. London; Richard Bentley.

Mills' History of India. Vol. 10.—Index.

Thornton's History of British India. New edition, in one vol.

China.—Letters written to the *Times*, by their Special Correspondent, Wingrove Cook. Uniform with Russell's "Crimea."

Journal of an English Officer in India. By Major North, 60th Rifles, Aide-de-Camp to General Havelock. London. Hurst and Blackett.

Notices of Madras and Cuddalore in the last century, from Journals of Missonaries of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. (1726-1738) London. Longman & Co.

The Indian Reckoner, showing the value of any quantity of goods from one to ten thousand, at any rate from one pice to two hundred rupees, progressing from 3 pice to twenty rupees. Also embracing Tables of Bazaar Weight into Factory and English Weights, Interest, Income, Wages, Rent, &c., by Day, Month, or Year; Exchange and Commission. By F. A. D. Merces, Accountant-General's Office. Bombay. Thacker & Co.

The Way to Regain India; by Malcolm Lewin, Esq., Author of "the Way to Lose India," &c. London. James Ridgway.

Legislation and Policy for India. Being the Speech delivered by John Bright, Esq. M. P., in the House of Commons on the second reading of the India Bill, 24th June, 1858. London. Stanford.

India Three Thousand Years Ago, or the Social State of the Aryas, on the banks of the Indus in the times of the Vedas. By the Rev. Dr. Wilson. Smith, Taylor and Co. Bombay.

The British Raj contrasted with its predecessors, with Preface, by Colonel Sykes. By Dosabhoy Framjee. Bombay.

Tables of Interest. In two Parts. By Merwanjee Manookjee. Settna. Bombay.

Letters briefly describing the Causes of the Indian Outbreak, &c. By an Indian Officer. L. M. D'Souza. Bombay.

Competitive Examinations for the Civil Service. By Henry Lacon Anderson, C. S., Fellow of the University of Bombay, Secretary to Government, &c. Smith, Taylor and Co. Bombay.

Scinde and the Punjab, the Gems of India in respect to their vast and unparalleled capabilities of supplanting the Slave States of America in the Cotton Markets of the World. By J. G. Collins. London. W. H. Allen.

Plan for the Military Seizure and occupation of the Temple and City of Mecca, as an offensive and defensive measure for the War in Asia. London. Stanford.

The War Reserve. By a General Officer. London. Hardwicke.

Sketches and Incidents of the Siege of Lucknow. From drawings made during the Defence, by Clifford Henry Mecham, Madras Army, with Descriptive Notices. By George Couper, Esq., late Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude. London. Messrs. Day and Co.

Essai sur l' histoire de la Civilisation en Russie, par M. de Gerebtsoff, 2 vols.

La Question de l' Or, Les Mines de Californie et d' Australie, par Leversseur. Paris.

Congreve Richard—L'Inde, Trad de l' Anglais. Paris. P. Jannet.

Biblitheque Historique Armenienne ou Choix des Principaux Historiens Armeniens trad. en Français—Chronique de Mathieu d' Edesse Continuée, par Gregoire le Pretre. Paris. Durand.

The Westminster Review, No. 28, October.
Article 2.—Indian Heroes.

The London Review, No. 21, October.
Article 2.—Arabian Philosophy.
Article V.—Use of the Roman Character in the Indian Languages.

The Eclectic Review, Septeniber.
Article 3.—Lord Metcalfe.

A Larger Grammar of the Tamil Language in both its dialects. By the Rev. G. U. Pope. Madras.

A Hand-book for Travellers in Syria and Palestine, including an account of the Geography, History, Antiquities and Inhabitants of those countries, the Peninsula of Sinai, Edom and the Syrian Desert. London. Murray.

A Hand-book of the Cotton Trade. By Thomas Ellison. London. Longman and Co.

India, an Historical Sketch. By the Rev. George Trevor, M. A. Canon of York, late Chaplain in the Madras Establishment. With a map. London. Religious Tract Society.

A Review of Col. Adye's Defence of General Windham. By a Civilian. London. Simpkin.

Die Elephantiasis oder Lepra Arabica. C. F. Hecker. London. D. Nutt.

Fragments de 'Mahabarata' traduit du Sanscrit en Français. Paris.

Life in Victoria. By William Kelley, 2 vols. London. Chapman and Hall.

Die Reformen des Osmanischer Reiches mit Bessenderer Berücksichtizung des verhältnisses der Christen des Orients zur Turkischen Herrschaft. Von F. Eichmann. Berlin.

L' Orient. Les Reformes de l' Empire Byzantine Par Petripros-Bey. Paris. Denter.

Oeuvres posthumes de Alex de Stourdza T 2e. Notions sur la Russie. Mission au Kamschatka. Paris. Denter.

Etudes sur les Indes Anglaises avec une carte par Vandevelde. Bruxelles. Tanera.

Aperçu general des langues semetiques et de leur histoire. Par Leon de Rosny. Paris. Just-Rouvier.

Maximes populaires de l' Inde meridionale. Texte traduit et expliqué Bruxelles. Bhoue et Schultz.

Mission de la Cochin Chine et du Tonkin avec gravoürs et une carte Geographique. Paris. Douniol.

(Ce volume contient : Relation de la mission du Tonkin par le p. Alexandre de Rhodes (1630 à 1648) et forme le 2e vol. des Voyages et Travaux des missionnaaies de la Compagnie de Jesus, publiés par les peres de la meme Compagnie. Le premier vol. a paru en 1857 et contchait : Mission à Cayenne.)

Les Scythes, les ancetres des peuples Germaniques et slaves. Leur etat social, morale, intellectuel et religieux. Esquisse Ethnogencalogique et historique. Strasbourg. Treuttel et Wurtz.

Recherches sur la date de la foundation de la tour de Babel par Leseur. Paris. Duprat.

Principautés roumaines et l' Empire Ottoman. Paris. A. Franck.

Etudes sur l' avenir de la Russie. Par Schedo Ferrotti. Berlin. Boline et Schultz.

Barges, l'abbe.—Inscription phenicienne. Nouvelle interpretation. Paris. Duprat.

Two Lectures on the Indian Mutiny delivered at the Southampton Athenaeum. By Major R. W. Bird. London. Bosworth and Harrison.

A Memorandum on India addressed from Singapore to Metternich by Lieut. Gen. Jockmus. With a Preface. London. Tanford

Life in China. By the Rev. W. C. Milne, for many years missionary among the Chinese. With original maps of Ningpo, Shanghai, &c. New Edition. London. Routledge.

Revue Des Deux Mondes. Seizième Volume. Paris.

Livraison du 1e Juillet—2 Episodes de la Guerre de l' Inde en 1857—II—La Siege de Lucknow et le General Havelock, Par M E—D Fagues. 3—Les Voyageurs en Orient et la Turqui, depuis le Traité de Paris—III—Del' Avenir des populations Chretiennes orientales, Par M Saint-Marc Gerardin. 6—Un Botaniste en Chine, Par M Charles Lavollée.

Livraison du 1e Aout—6—Une Campagne maritime dans l' Ocean-Pacifique pendant la derniere guerre I—L' Expedition de Petropavlosk, Par M Ed du Hailly.

Livraison du 15 *Aout*.—Derniers temps de l' empire Mogol—Molhar Rao—Holkar et Rano-Dye—Sindyah. Par M. Theodore Pavie.

Livraison du 1*er Septembre* 1858.—Une Campagne dans l' Ocean Pacifique—II. Les Escadies Alliées dans le mer du Japon et de Tartarie à la poursuite de l' Escadre russe en 1855 par M. Ed. Du Hailly.

Journal of the Statistical Society of London, 12, St. James' Square, Vol. XXI. Part III. September 1858. On the Statistics of Indian Revenue and Taxation. By Frederick Houdriks. London. J. W. Parker and Son.

The Retrospect of 1857. Carefully revised and corrected ; Lahore. Punjabee Press.

One thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, or a Narrative of the Mutiny of the Bengal Army, and the campaign in Upper and

Central India, compiled from transcripts of official documents, and the private correspondence of many of the eye-witnesses of the events, which are therein detailed. Punjabee Press, Lahore. Plans of some of the principal Cantonments, in which disturbances have taken place, illustrate the volume.

Commercial Annual during 1856-57 and 1857-58. By P. Bonnaud. Calcutta.

A Concise and Easy Introduction to the Hindustani Language, including grammar, reading lessons, and vocabullary, in the Roman character; with a Key to the pronunciation; adapted for self-instruction, and for the use of those who wish to acquire a practical knowledge of the language. By Professor Monier Williams, M.A., of University College, Oxford, late of East India College, Haileybury; assisted by Cotton Mather, Esq., of University College, London, Professor in Cheltenham College, lately a Resident at Benares. London.

Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East. Proceedings of the 59th year 1857-58, containing the Anniversary Sermon. By the Rev. John C. Miller, D. D. London. Seeley.

The Food Grain of India, with Introductory Remarks on the development of resources of India. By J. Forbes Watson, A. M., M. D., &c., Bombay Army. London. Smith, Elder and Co.

Sermons and Addresses delivered in the Chapel of Marlborough College, 1852-8. By George Edmund Lynch Cotton, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. Cambridge. Macmillan and Co.

Romaic Beauties and Trojan Humbugs. By Rattle-Brain. London. Tweedie.

Views and Flowers from Guzerat and Rajpootana, beautifully coloured from original drawings, with descriptive Letter-Press, by the Rev. G. L. and Mrs. Allen, late Indian Residents. London. Paul Jerard.

From New York to Delhi, by way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China. By R. B. Minburn, junr. New York.

The Mutiny of the Bengal Army. An historical narrative. By one who has served under Sir Charles Napier. Complete in one volume.

Colloquial Dialogues in Hindustani. To which is annexed a short Grammar of the Language, and Vocabulary. By Ghulam Mohammed, Munshi, Bombay. Author of various Oriental Works. Bombay: Thacker and Co.

Audi Alteram Partem. By Major General Thompson, M. P.

Twelve years of a Soldier's Life in India, being extracts from the letters of Major W. S. Hodson, B. A., Trinity College, including a personal narrative of the Siege of Delhi, and Capture of the King and Princes. Edited by his brother, the Rev. George H. Hodson, M. A. London. John W. Parker.

England and India, an Essay on the duty of Englishmen towards the Hindoos. By Baptist Wriotheshly Noel, M. A. London. James Nisbet.

Creoles and Coolies ; or five years in the Mauritius. By the Rev. Patrick Beaton. M. A. London. Nisbet.

A Memorial of the Futteghur Mission, and her Martyred Missionaries. By the Rev. J. J. Walsh, sole survivor of the American Mission there. London. Nisbet.

The Night, the Dawn, and the Day, or the Reformed Church bringing India to Christ, with a Retrospect of its Spiritual Condition, &c. By the Rev. Richard Croly, M. A., Incumbent of Dunkeswell. London. Nisbet.

The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion ; being a View of the Disasters that befel the Mission in the North-Western Provinces, and of the spirit displayed by the Native Brethren during their protracted sufferings. By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M. A., formerly Missionary at Benares and now at Singapore. London. Nisbet.

Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India, in 1857-58. By Captain Oliver J. Jones, R. N. with numerous Illustrations. London. Saunders and Otley.

Two years in Syria. By T. Lewis Farley, late chief accountant of the Ottoman Bank, Beyrout. London. Saunders and Otley.

Letters from Delhi during the Siege. By H. H. Greathed, Esq., Political Agent. London. Longman and Co.

A General Description of China with the history of foreign intercourse down to 1857. By Sir John F. Davis, Bart. New edition revised and enlarged, 2 vols. London. John Murray.

Report of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Dublin in August and September 1857. London. John Murray, Contains.

——— on the Lotus or Sacred Bean of India. By Dr. Buist.

——— Messrs. Herman and Robert Schlagentweit's Notes on some of the animals of Tibet and India.

——— Dr. Edward Haughton on the Oriental Bath.

——— Major-General Chesney on the Routes of Communication between England and India.

——— Mr. Richard Gull on the Character, Estate and Ethnological value of the Indo-European Element in the language of Finland.

——— Sir John F. Davis on China, in more immediate reference to pending operations in that quarter.

——— Mr. Robert Schlagentweit on the Routes pursued by himself and brothers in the Himalayas, Thibet, and Turkistan.

——— Mr. Herman Schlagentweit on some Human Races in India and Upper Asia.

The Quarterly Review No. 208, October. London. Murray. Article 8, Sir Charles J. Napier's Career in India.

The English Course, selected for the University Entrance Examination, December, 1859. Published with the sanction of the Senate of the University of Calcutta. Calcutta. Lepage and Co.

The Ruby's Smile, a metrical tale of Woman's Hate and Woman's Love, followed by an Appendix containing several miscellaneous Poetical Pieces. By Thomas Philip Manuel. Calcutta, D'Rozario and Co.

Letters on Christian Missions.' By a Layman of the Church of England. Calcutta. G. C. Hay and Co.

PARLIAMENTARY AND OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Missionaries and Idolatry.—Despatches and Orders relative to the Countenance of Missionary efforts by the Government, and of the Connection of the Government with Idolatry and Mahommedanism.

Report on the Growth of Cotton in India.—Part 3—Bombay.

Report on East Indian Railways, together with Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.

Territorial Revenues and Disbursements of the East India Company, for the year 1856-57, and Estimates, 1857-58.

Accidents on Railways—Report, with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.

Copy of the Correspondence that has taken place between the Court of Directors and the Local Governments of India and the Indian Railway Company on the subject of running Trains on the Lord's Day.

Transport of Troops to the East Indies.—Report from Select Committee.

Colonization and Settlement (India).—Fourth Report from Select Committee, with Evidence and Appendix.

General Report of the Administration of the several Presidencies and Provinces of British India during the year 1856-57. Parts I, II, III. Calcutta.

Indian Civil Service Examination Papers, 1858.

Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India, for July, August and September, 1858.

Report on the Districts of Midnapore, &c. by Henry Ricketts, Esq., C. S. Calcutta. 1858.

———— of Cases in the Nizamut Adawlut from April to June, 1858.

———— of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, from 1st May, 1857, to 30th April, 1858.

Decisions of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, for March, 1858.

Photograph Plans of the Gol Goomuz at Beejapoor.

Annals of Indian Administration, Parts VII. and VIII.

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. XLV. Report on the Agricultural Exhibition in the Provinces in 1853.

————No. XLIX. Collections of Decrees of Landholders and Tenants in Malabar.

Report on the External Commerce of Bombay, for 1857-58.

The Port of Calcutta and the "Port of Mutlah," considered in connection by a Railway or a Ship Canal, post 8vo. Calcutta.

Hong Kong,—Extracts of Correspondence on the subject of Emigration from Hong Kong and from the Chinese Empire to the British West Indies and to Foreign Countries, and their Possessions since the 1st day of January 1853.

Report of the Commissioners to enquire into the Question of Promo-

...rement in the Higher Ranks of the Army, fol.

E... (Cotton): a Selection of Papers showing the Measures ...ce 1857 to promote the Cultivation of Cotton in India, par... Bengal and North Western Provinces, part II. Madras, part III. Bombay.

Que...ns (in English) on ... subjects treated of in the Punjab Code Civil Justice as modified by the Circulars of the Judl. Comr. ...pared by R. N. Cust, Esq., C. S., Commr. and Supdt. ...hore Division.

The Darogah's Police Manual, published by authority of the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, and compiled by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Clarke, late Officiating Commissioner Lahore Division, with a copious Appendix attached of Circulars of the late Board of Administration and Judicial Commissioner connected with the Police,

Questions on subjects treated of in the Punjab Darogah's Manual. In two parts. In English. A Translation in Oordo.

...lar Orders issued by the Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab, from the year 1853 to 1856 (both inclusive) relating to—Civil Justice; Criminal Justice; Jail Mannagement; and Miscellaneous Subjects. And illustrated with a number of Maps and Plans.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India from 1854 55 to 1855-56 inclusive. No. XVIII.